

“Show Me the Race or the Nation without a Flag, and I Will Show You a Race of People without Any Pride”: The Flags of Black Nationalist Organizations as Disambiguating Responses to Polysemic National Symbols

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Introduction

In 1900, songwriters Will Heelan and Fred Helf published their composition, “Every Race Has a Flag But the Coon.” Over a jaunty ragtime beat, the singer intoned:

The leader of the Blackville Club arose last Labor night,
And said, “When we were on parade today,
I really felt so much ashamed, I wished I could turn white
'Cause all the white folks march'd with banners gay;
Just at de stand, de German Band,
They waved their flag and played 'De Wacht am Rhine,'
The Scotch Brigade, each man arrayed
In new plaid dresses marched to 'Auld Lang Syne.'
Even Spaniards and Sweeds, folks of all kinds and creeds,
Had their banners except de coons alone;
Ev'ry nation can brag 'bout some kind of a flag,
Why can't we get an emblem of our own?
For Ireland has her Harp and Shamrock,
England floats her Lion bold,
Even China waves a Dragon,

Germany an Eagle gold;
 Bonny Scotland loves a Thistle,
 Turkey has her Crescent Moon,
 And what won't Yankees do
 For the Old Red White and Blue,
 Ev'ry race has a flag but the coon."

He says, "Now I'll suggest a flag that ought to win a prize,
 Just take a flannel shirt and paint it red,
 Then draw a chicken on it, with two poker dice for eyes,
 An' have it wavin' razors 'round its head;
 To make it quaint, you've got to paint
 A possum, with a pork chop in his teeth,
 To give it tone, a big hambone
 You sketch upon a banjo underneath,
 And be sure not to skip just a policy slip,
 Have it marked four-eleven forty-four.
 Then them Irish and Dutch, they can't gey us so much
 We should have had this emblem long before.
 . . . Ev'ry race has a flag but the coon."¹

Heelan and Helf's ditty was a popular success, being performed by more than one hundred touring vaudeville singers, and being stocked in sheet music stores for at least two years, although its price decreased as its novelty waned.² It remained a fixture on the vaudeville circuit for years, and was to be found in programs as late as the 1930s.³

The song was part of a craze for "coon songs" that had been kicked off with the success of the 1896 song "All Coons Look Alike to Me." "Coon songs" were written in imitation of stereotyped African American speech patterns, using the ragtime rhythms that emerged as syncopated beats and flatted notes of southern work songs met the popular marches of the late nineteenth century.⁴ African American and white songwriters contributed to the genre. Ernest Hogan, composer of "All Coons Look Alike," was African American, and defended his composition by noting that it "opened doors for African-American musicians" through the popularity of stage performances of the tune.⁵

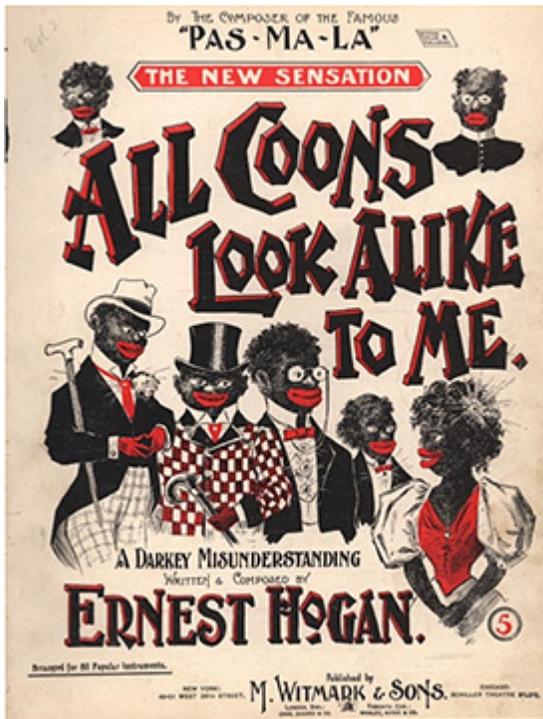


Figure 1. Sheet music for “All Coons Look Alike to Me.” Source: http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah_663819.

Coon songs mocked African Americans by portraying them as “lazy, dishonest, cowardly, immoral, vicious, gluttonous, and stupid.”⁶ Although at first popularized by white singers in blackface, coon songs soon became part of the repertoire of African American performers as well, occasioning impassioned debate about the propriety of such performances.⁷ As late as the 1940s, African Americans recalled the ire that the flag song aroused, with its implications not only of African American depravity, but also the idea that blacks were not represented by the U.S. flag: “Once, years back . . . a bright young man, at a concert, sang [the song]. Reverend [Horace C.] Bailey flayed him with tribute to the ‘Stars and Stripes.’”⁸ However, Patricia Schroeder notes that coon songs were embraced by many African American performers as a “form of political activism, a way for young, cosmopolitan black musicians and performers . . . to challenge the racial status quo and thus participate in the creation of modern discourse” by using exaggerated gestures and facial cues to signal to African American audiences that they recognized the absurdity of the stereotypes presented by the lyrics.⁹

That demeaning songs should have arisen in the 1890s is perhaps not surprising, as the era was one of continual setbacks to African American participation in the civic life of the United States. The era saw a dramatic increase in laws rolling back voting rights and enforcing segregation in public facilities, informal but very real segregation of housing throughout the country, revisionist history about the Civil War and Reconstruction offered in schools and popular entertainment, and a wave of lynchings that was to last through the 1940s. Responses to these developments among African Americans varied, but one of the trends of the era was the organization of associations to promote the interests of African Americans. Some, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), advocated for greater inclusion of African Americans within the broader society. Others embraced a philosophy known as “black nationalism.”

The core idea of black nationalism is that African Americans—or more broadly, black people around the world—should “organize themselves on the basis of their common color and oppressed condition to move in some way to alleviate their situation.”¹⁰ As E. U. Essien-Udom writes, black nationalists urge that African Americans “must become consciously aware of their identity as a group in America; they must realize their degradation and strive by individual and collective effort to redeem their communities and regain their human dignity . . . to reclaim for themselves and their group the normal self-pride and confidence which their history in America has denied them.”¹¹ The possible courses of action stemming from that philosophy range from agitation for independent black-ruled nations to organizing economic cooperatives within black neighborhoods. Seldom have black nationalists called for a politically independent African American polity. Rather, they have regarded African Americans “a nation within a nation,” as early black nationalist Martin R. Delany wrote in 1852.¹² African American pride was often coupled with patriotism—“we love our country, dearly love her, but she don’t love us,” Delany wrote.¹³

Importantly for this discussion, black nationalism typically involves promotion of a separate ethnic identity of black people, with unique symbols and cultural expressions. Kinfe Abraham notes that these symbols arose in a spirit of nationalism like that seen throughout the world during this period, which was an “affirmation of . . . heritage” in the face of atomizing effects of imperialism and industrialism.¹⁴ Anthony Smith observes that notions of “national identity” are formed by myths and rituals that “bring together in a single potent vision elements of historical fact and legendary elaboration to create an overriding commitment and bond for the community”; the myths

may include a collective geographic origin, common ancestry, or heroic forebears, and be expressed through culture and tradition.¹⁵

For descendants of enslaved people, largely stripped of the languages, foodways, and dress of their ancestors, nationalism centered around shared geographic origins—which was also the distinction that white society used to separate the races, before belittling them in “coon songs.” Dexter Gordon identifies the efforts of black nationalists to unify people of African descent as a rhetorical construction of a “collective subject”—that is, a group of people who are “presented as united in such a way as to allow for the transcendence of divisions such as interests, age, and class.”¹⁶ Vexillologists will recognize such representations of collective subjects in most of the rhetoric around the idealization of national flags as representatives of “the people” of a political entity. In fact, Sasha Weitman notes that flags are one of the ways nations “establish their individuality” as separate from other groups of people.¹⁷ However, as will be made clear, black nationalist flags never were entirely embraced by the populace they aspired to represent.

An Early Effort

The spirit of growing black nationalism naturally revealed itself in flags. In 1904, a professor at Wilberforce University named H. Y. Arnett circulated a proposal to counter Helf and Heland’s song. Arnett urged “every colored institution” to fly his design. It was reported,

Prof. Arnett thinks the staff should be made of weeping willow, to commemorate the fact that women and children in slavery days kneeled and prayed under weeping willow trees. A black border will be appropriate to symbolize the color. In the center will be the pictures of five representative colored men of the race who stand for the enlightenment of the people

Pictures of Frederick Douglass, Major Martin R. Delaney [*sic*], the late Bishop Richard Allen, the late Bishop Daniel A. Payne, and Booker T. Washington will be on the flag.

Mr. Arnett thinks the colored people need a flag of this sort, and he believes it will solve the race question.¹⁸

Elsewhere, Arnett was recorded saying, “We need a flag of this sort to rally our people.”¹⁹

While Arnett believed a unique flag would serve the interests of African Americans, others rejected the idea in favor of demanding that the Stars and

Stripes represent all citizens. An editorial in the *Wisconsin Weekly Advocate* wondered,

Can absurdity further go? At a time when every nerve is being strained to its utmost tension to uphold the idea—no, not the idea, but the fact—that the Negro is an integral part of this great country, and that it is his highest ambition to be so recognized and acknowledged, we cannot imagine anyone but a freak or semi-maniac promulgate such an idea as has emanated from the presumably gray matter of the brain of Prof. H. Y. Arnett.²⁰

Other ridicule included the statement, “This is about the raggedest solution that has yet been offered,” and the prophetic, “There is but one flag for representation of the United States of America. . . . There is no other flag and there cannot be. Therefore, the design of Professor Arnett . . . for a flag for the negro will come to nothing.”²¹ It seems Arnett’s offering was not embraced, as there appears to be no record of his design having been manufactured or flown. It did remain the butt of jokes for several months, however, as evidenced by the comment, “Why doesn’t Henry Arnett offer his flag to William Monroe Trotter as a suitable emblem for a man without a country?”²² (Trotter was a newspaper publisher in Boston who made waves and enemies by vociferously opposing Booker T. Washington.²³)

A Spurious Flag Design

Another response to Helf and Heland took the form of a fraud. In 1912, a number of newspapers circulated a story about J. L. Lennox, a bishop of the Zion African Evangelical Church in Cleveland, Ohio, who witnessed a vaudeville show that featured “Every Race Has a Flag But the Coon.” When he left the theater, Lennox encountered an African American man fighting with a white Irish spectator who found the tune catchy enough to keep singing it as the show let out. Lennox determined to prove the vaudevillians wrong, and designed what he called “a flag for the negro race.” At the 85,000-strong conclave of his denomination held in Sandwich, Ontario, in August 1912, the assembly adopted his design.

The articles included a lengthy explanation of the elements of the flag and their symbolism. The *Savannah Tribune* reported:

The flag, religious in its significance, is of red, white, blue and purple. It carries twelve stars in a field of purple—the bars are red, white, and blue. The purple represents the robe worn by Christ just before the crucifixion.

The red—"Though our sins be as scarlet, they shall be made white as snow."
The white—The purity of the saints.
The blue—The loyalty of the negro to the United States.
The bars, twelve in numbers represent the twelve apostles.
Each star is supposed to represent something in Biblical history.
One is two-pointed and represents Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.
A three-pointed star represents the third person of the Trinity.
A four-pointed star represents the four Gospels.
A five-pointed star, the five human senses.
A six-pointed star, six days of the week.
A seven-pointed star, the Sabbath day.
An eight-pointed star, the eight persons in the Ark.
A nine-pointed star, the mother's travail.
A ten-pointed star, the Ten Commandments.
A noticeable omission is the eleven-pointed star, for which a blank is left in the field. "The eleventh star would represent Judas Iscariot," Bishop Lennox said Wednesday. "He was a traitor, so I left his star off."²⁴

However, it was an elaborate ruse. While numerous papers—as far abroad as the *Times of India*—rewrote the same copy, it seems that a false press release had been distributed via wire services. The *Cleveland Gazette* debunked the story, by noting that "there is no Negro bishop in Cleveland by the name of Lennox."²⁵ Moreover, there does not seem to have ever been a denomination called the "Zion African Evangelical Church," and Sandwich, Ontario (now incorporated into Windsor), was a small town lacking facilities to host 85,000 convention-goers. The earliest appearance of the story was in many newspapers on 29 August 1912, implying that a single source had been relied upon by several publications.²⁶ The story appeared in other papers later that fall, and was brought to the attention of yet more readers by pieces (both editorials and letters to the editor) reacting to the report. The *Gazette's* attempt to disprove the story does not appear to have been picked up by other papers, resulting in a misconception that the historical record refers an actual flag design.²⁷

The name of the hoaxer and his or her motivations remain undiscovered. It was one of many "fake news" stories that appeared in newspapers of the day.²⁸ However, the story bears some of the hallmarks of an urban legend, perhaps invented to mock African Americans. Many urban legends traffic in stereotypes and, as Georgina Boyes notes, "are told because they express in a succinct and entertaining form what narrators wish to present as a truth about contemporary

life and behavior.”²⁹ Among the stereotypes about African Americans current in 1912 was that they entertained “dangerous pretensions” to the status of whites; while they might wear fashionable clothes and expensive jewelry, they would betray their true natures through a lack of taste and restraint.³⁰ The ornate, complex design of the flag, in a color traditionally reserved for royalty, is suggestive of a subtle ridicule of African Americans.

“Communicative Opacity” and the Perceived Need for an African American Flag

Perhaps of more importance than the fictional design is the reaction to the notion of a flag for the black race. Black nationalism never *necessarily* implied a rejection of patriotism for the United States. In a celebrated instance at the 1968 Olympic Games, champion runners Tommie Smith and John Carlos saluted the American flag with a clenched fist, a symbol of the Black Power movement. When later asked if he meant to disrespect the flag, Smith replied, “No way, man. That’s my flag . . . But I couldn’t salute it in the accepted manner, because it didn’t represent me fully; only to the extent of asking me to be great on the running track, then obliging me to come home and be just another nigger.”³¹ Similarly, reactions to a separate symbol for African Americans were mixed. The large number of African American newspapers that reprinted the 1912 hoax—and the plausibility its creation being spurred by an offensive song—seemed to indicate an interest among many African Americans to assert their distinct character as a people. Such thoughts could only have been bolstered by the jibes of the *Washington Post*, which opined:

There is something so trite and commonplace about stars that the pity is the Rev. Lennox couldn’t have arisen above the conventions . . . and given to the world a banner with a device typical of African ideals and aspirations. What a flag it might have been made if in the purple field had been placed a quarter section of a Georgy watermelon . . . and the body of the banner had been made of up spring chickens quartered and razors rampant.³²

On the other hand, many African Americans were loyal to the United States flag—just as Horace Bailey had been in the battle of songs. The *Weekly Advocate* (Zanesville, Ohio) proclaimed, “The Stars and Stripes are as much to the negro and ever will be as it is to any Anglo-Saxon who ever trod American soil. The negro has stood with his broad breast with a courageous heart in the forefront of many bloody frays in honor and defense of the nation’s pride. The old flag, why should we not call it ours?”³³

The reaction by many African Americans against a separate flag for their race shows how the U.S. flag had come to hold a number of meanings. For those advocating its use by African Americans, the flag represented the aspirational qualities of justice and fair play embodied by one interpretation of the country's founding documents. For others, however, including the Ku Klux Klan (which made the American flag an important part of its rituals), the U.S. flag stood for white supremacy. Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney has explored situations in which symbols carry multiple meanings—a condition called “polysemy.” In the case of political symbolism, polysemy can lead to “communicative opacity.” While one group within the nation continues to interpret the symbol in its own way, other more powerful groups may assign new meanings to the symbol but rely on the older interpretation to give a societal imprimatur on displays of the symbol associated with the new meaning.

She cites the use of cherry blossoms by the armed forces of Imperial Japan during the Second World War: the cherry blossom had traditionally been associated with many important rites of passage, representing youth and beauty. In 1899, one famous poet, Nitobe Inazō, compared the beauty of cherry blossoms to the chivalric traditions of samurai warriors. Over the next few decades, the cherry blossom came to be a military symbol, used on uniforms and medals; eventually the image of a falling cherry blossom became an emblem of a soldier's sacrifice of his life in duty to the emperor. When the Japanese military initiated the suicidal airplane attacks known as *kamikaze* or *tokkotai* missions, each plane was painted with a cherry blossom. To the commanders, the cherry blossom was explicitly a symbol of the pilot “willingly” sacrificing his life. However, to the pilots, that connection was not as clear:

For Sasaki Hachirō, a *tokkotai* pilot, explicitly skeptical of the war ideology . . . cherry blossoms first appeared as a sunny symbol of youth and beauty. . . . Later, cherry blossoms became a symbol of an ideal society and an ideal human being of modesty and purity. . . . Ultimately, as the time of his sortie approached, cherry blossoms became the symbols of pilots, including himself, falling like petals. At this point Sasaki directly linked cherry blossoms and soldiers' deaths, but not as part of the *pro rege et patria mori* ideology. As their death became imminent, these student soldiers desperately tried to rationalize why they had to die in their youth. During this process, to aestheticize their deaths as sublime was comforting.³⁴

As this example demonstrates, alternative assignments of meaning to a symbol may linger in the minds of some while new meanings are intended by

those displaying the symbol. Ohnuki-Tierney calls this situation “communicative opacity”: it occurs when the use of polysemic symbols prevents people from truly understanding the intentions of those with whom they share a visual environment. Communicative opacity may continue for as long as symbols are extant—the embrace of the U.S. flag by both civil rights protesters and their opponents is a prominent example.

However, polysemy does give rise to non-ambiguous alternative symbols. Linguists have noted that in environments where words have multiple meanings, speakers more readily use words with distinct meanings.³⁵ While I have been unable to find studies on this behavior in usage of non-verbal symbols, it stands to reason that it occurs. We see in the rhetoric used by proponents of a unique flag for African Americans a perceived need for a symbol different from the polysemic United States flag. Arnett felt that an African American flag would provide a symbol that would allow African Americans to unite against oppression. Later, Marcus Garvey and Elijah Muhammad would both claim that a distinctive flag marks African Americans as a proud people with symbols of their own, who did not need to rely on symbols created by white people that had, at times, been flown during oppressive activities to signify the might of the state.

In the ensuing years of the First World War—during which African Americans were drafted into a segregated army and denied promotions—and the following “red summer” of 1919 characterized by a large number of mass attacks on African American communities by white mobs, the propositions of black nationalism took on added appeal, and a genuine flag for the black race, which is flown to this day, became a widespread symbol in the United States and throughout the world.

Universal Negro Improvement Association

Marcus Garvey, born in Jamaica in 1887, envisioned a world in which black people, whether in colonized areas of Africa and the Caribbean, or in majority-white territories such as Europe and the United States, would take pride in their appearance, organize for economic self-sufficiency, and ultimately, be governed by members of their own race. His slogan “Back to Africa” was sometimes intended literally—with the aspiration of cultivating an independent republic for dispersed Africans to inhabit, which would then have the diplomatic clout to pressure other governments for equal treatment of their black citizens—but was often metaphorical, recalling the days before the slave trade and colonization, when black people controlled their own destinies.³⁶ If black people in

Africa and elsewhere would unite to overthrow the literal colonial oppressors in the continent, and resist the acquiescence to white modes of thought that deemed black people outside the continent as lesser—what Garvey called “mental slavery”—then the African people all around the world could take an equal place among the races.³⁷ As Garvey said, “If you believe that the Negro has a soul, if you believe that the Negro is a man, if you believe the Negro was endowed with the senses commonly given to other men by the Creator, then you must acknowledge that what other men have done, the Negro can do.”³⁸

To achieve these ends, Garvey organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914, and came to Harlem in 1916 to raise funds and recruit American members. The growth of the UNIA was astonishing; from 13 members in 1916, it grew to have branches in 25 states, with an estimated membership of around one million by 1919.³⁹ A comparison to India may be appropriate. Sadan Jha notes that the movement to adopt an Indian national flag many decades prior to independence was part of a nationalistic movement that sought to create a single Indian people—out of a welter of linguistic and religious communities—in distinction to the British who ruled over them.⁴⁰ So also in the United States large numbers of African Americans gravitated to a new movement that embraced black identity, complete with a flag and other symbols of nationhood, as distinct from the white-dominated American national identity. As Garvey noted, “This race of ours that cannot get recognition and respect in the country where we were slaves, by using our own ability, power and genius, would develop for ourselves . . . a nation of our own . . . that would get as much respect as any other ambassadors from any other race or nation.”⁴¹

The UNIA pursued a number of means to proclaim the message of black nationhood, including a newspaper, the *Negro World*, and cooperative economic enterprises such as the Negro Factories Corporation.⁴² As well, the UNIA took on the trappings of government, establishing embassies, appointing an aristocracy, adopting a national anthem, and choosing a flag.⁴³

While the flag was officially adopted at a convention of the UNIA in 1920, it had been in use unofficially since at least 1918.⁴⁴ That year, an FBI informant noted that in the offices of the *Negro World* newspaper, “there hangs the new Ethiopian flag which is of red, black and green—Garvey explained that the meaning of these colors were that ‘the black race between blood and nature to win its rights’ which he characterizes as a very noble thought.”⁴⁵ The colors were quickly adopted not only as flags but also in the garments worn to UNIA rallies.⁴⁶

Garvey made clear the importance of the flag to creating a spirit of nationalism:

Although we are loyal to the Stars and Stripes . . . although we are loyal to the Union Jack . . . we are also loyal to the Red, Black and Green of Africa. Show me the race or the nation without a flag, and I will show you a race of people without any pride. Aye! In song and mimicry they have said, "Every race has a flag but the coon." How true! How true! How true! Aye! But that was said of us four years ago. They can't say it now, because those of us who are members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association love the flag of Africa so much that if any man dares to insult the Red, Black and Green of Africa, we will be willing to shed the last drop of blood, even as the Anglo-American, the Anglo-Saxon would shed the last drop of their blood if anyone dishonored the Stars and Stripes, or the Union Jack.⁴⁷



Figure 2. The Universal Negro Improvement Association flag on parade. Source: <https://www.buyblackmovement.com/MarcusGarvey/>.

The effect of the UNIA flag was electrifying. Some of the greatest successes in recruiting members for the UNIA came in the rural South, where the flag was flown in parades, and at protests. The visible symbol of black nationhood, directly analogous to the familiar symbol of American nationhood that is the Stars and Stripes, did much to dispel suspicion of the UNIA as a subversive organization among conservative African Americans.⁴⁸

The most widely publicized economic venture of the UNIA was a steamship company, dubbed the Black Star Line. This riposte to the famous White Star Line was appropriate, not only in terms of racial nomenclature, but also in its expression of the purpose of the UNIA's line.⁴⁹ The White Star Line was noted for catering to European immigrants crossing the Atlantic to settle in the United States.⁵⁰ Garvey considered the relatively open immigration policies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a conspiracy to overwhelm the black population of the country and "make the white people independent of Negro labor; thereby depriving them of the means of livelihood."⁵¹ The Black Star line was intended to facilitate the emigration of black people to Africa, mirroring what the White Star Line had done.

As was customary for steamship lines, the Black Star Line had its own pennant, unveiled in 1919. The FBI reported, "Two large silk green flags were unfurled. . . . These flags contained red silk stripes running from tip to tip and crossing each other, with a large black star covering the points where the stripes intersect."⁵² As ships of the Black Star Line sailed into ports throughout the United States and the Caribbean, they wore the red, black, and green colors, arousing excitement similar to that demonstrated around the UNIA's flag.⁵³

There are multiple explanations for the choice of colors by Garvey. Ernest Cashmore recalls a tradition among Rastafarians of "red representing the spilled blood of blacks, green as nature, and black the colour of Africans' skins."⁵⁴ However, he does not identify the source of that explanation. William Crampton considers the FBI report of the "Ethiopian flag" as possibly indicating a misunderstanding that red, black, and green were the colors of the polity called the Ethiopian Empire in East Africa, but he also points out that it may refer to the "idealised African homeland."⁵⁵ Support for the latter view is found in the frequent rhetorical use of Ethiopia, the last uncolonized African kingdom, as a metonym for universal black nationhood, as in the UNIA's anthem, "Ethiopia, Thou Land of Our Fathers." Garvey himself gave an interview explaining that "Red showed their sympathy with the 'Reds' of the world, and the Green their sympathy for the Irish in their fight for freedom, and the Black—the negro."⁵⁶ Garvey's economic philosophy was critical of capitalism as a means of pushing down wages for black workers, and he envisioned a "worldwide system of economic cooperation" similar to that dreamed of by certain parts of the Socialist movement.⁵⁷ The Irish independence movement was one that inspired Garvey: for example, he "named the UNIA headquarters in Harlem 'Liberty Hall' because the Irish nationalist and socialist James Connolly had previously named his headquarters in Dublin 'Liberty Hall,'" and Garvey's title

of Provisional President of Africa rang changes on the name of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic that proclaimed the Easter Rising in 1916.⁵⁸

Although the UNIA quickly shrank as it encountered financial troubles and Garvey was deported in 1927 after a federal conviction on controversial charges of mail fraud, its flag has lived on in popular memory. These days it is often used without reference to the UNIA, and called the “African Liberation Flag,” “Pan-African Flag,” “African Nationalist Flag,” and other similar names. Garvey’s philosophy of African racial unity was to prove greatly influential to the leaders of African independence movements, such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Hastings Banda of Malawi, and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. The effect of the UNIA flag is obvious in the designs of the post-independence flags of the latter two nations. In South Africa, the African National Congress adopted its flag of gold, black, and green in 1924 as a direct response to the inspiration of the UNIA flag.⁵⁹

In the case of Ghana, Crampton speculates that Nkrumah encountered the early followers of the Rastafarian movement, which embraced the green, yellow, and red flag of Ethiopia, during a visit to Jamaica in the 1930s, and combined them with the black star of the UNIA’s shipping line to create the iconic Ghanaian flag of 1957 that inspired so many flags of post-colonial African nations.⁶⁰ The black star, while it has been embraced by many of Nkrumah’s fellow-citizens as a uniquely Ghanaian symbol, nonetheless “epitomized Nkrumah’s nationalist ideology” and has likewise made its way into other African flags, including São Tomé and Príncipe and Guinea-Bissau.⁶¹

It is tempting to think that the saltire of the Black Star Line flag influenced the legislators who designed Jamaica’s flag. However, records of the 1962 parliamentary debate over the new flag show that the saltire was introduced to better distinguish the original design of a horizontal tricolor from the flag of Tanganyika. However, the parliamentarians did acknowledge the influence of the black stripe in Garvey’s flag upon the choice of black as one of Jamaica’s colors. The green and gold were “the colours of the City of Kingston.”⁶²

The UNIA colors and the black star have persisted as political symbols. In the 1960s and 1970s, a new crop of black nationalist organizations developed, ranging from the Republic of New Afrika, which demanded that five southern states be turned over to black citizens; to the Congress of African Peoples, which seeks to “reconstruct a Global African Village based on common views and values”; to the All-African People’s Revolutionary Party, which seeks to unite all black people under “scientific socialism”; to the Black Liberation Army, a “politico-military organization engaged in armed struggle against the U.S.

government.”⁶³ Each of these employed the colors and patterns of the UNIA flag in their own symbolism. As well, in this period a cultural version of black nationalism emerged in which, as Cornel West observes, “the veneration of ‘black’ symbols, rituals, styles, hairdos, values, sensibilities, and flag escalated.”⁶⁴



Figures 3a–d. Symbols of black nationalist organizations influenced by UNIA iconography. Republic of New Afrika, Congress of African Peoples, All-African People’s Revolutionary Party, and Black Liberation Army. Sources: Tunis (username), commons.wikipedia.org; Congress of African People, “Harambee Movement’s 10 Point Program for Pan African Unification, congressofafricanpeople.blogspot.ca; All-African People’s Revolutionary Party, “Pan-Africanism: The Total Liberation and Unification of Africa under Scientific Socialism,” www.aaprp-intl.org/about-us; The Transmetropolitan Review, “Route 8: To Infinity, From Hell,” thetransmetropolitanreview.wordpress.com.

More generally, however, black, red, and green have found use as a generalized color scheme for African American activism. For example, the UNIA flag sticker was employed in the 1970s as a decal on cars in Washington, D.C. to support unity among activist organizations.⁶⁵ The flag was draped over the coffins of prisoners killed during the battle at Attica State prison in 1971.⁶⁶ And, in a *cause célèbre*, in 1971 the Newark, New Jersey, school board allowed the black liberation flag to fly over schools with a majority of African American students. After much furor, the education commissioner ordered the practice



Figure 4. African American Flag by David Hammons. Source: Happenings CLT, "Celebrating our Independence through Art." happeningsclt.com.



Figure 5. Confederate flag in African American colors, redesigned by John Sims. Source: Pamela K. Johnston, "Artist Turns Confederate Flag into Symbol of Creative Resistance." www.nbcnews.com.

to be ceased.⁶⁷ Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, examples can be found of the flag's use in parades, protests, and on the buildings of African American organizations.⁶⁸

More lately, the flag has come into use simply as a cultural marker for African Americans, regardless of political persuasion. Examples abound of its presence on keychains, totebags, rearview mirror pennants, clocks, and other household items—just as seen with other flags. Artist David Hammons merged black nationalism with American identity in 1990 when he designed his *African American Flag*, now part of the collection at the Museum of Modern Art.⁶⁹ And, in more recent years, John Sims has “sought to disarm the Confederate flag” by displaying it redesigned in the UNIA colors.⁷⁰ It is even used in events commemorating Martin Luther King, whose philosophy was distinctly *not* nationalist—for example, in marches in his honor, and when lighting the Empire State Building for the King's birthday holiday.⁷¹ More recently, the UNIA flag has been prominent in protests against perceived injustices by police toward African Americans.⁷² The use of a formerly nationalist flag on occasions when African Americans are demonstrating for their claim to civil rights is a contrast to the classic period of civil rights activism in the 1950s and 1960s when, as Rosalind Moss documents, protesters carried the U.S. flag to the exclusion of other flags, to “assert that the U.S. flag could represent their vision of America.”⁷³

In a turnaround from its origins as a disambiguating symbol for black people separate from the Stars and Stripes or the Union Jack, the UNIA flag has itself become polysemic—to some it represents black nationalism, to others simply racial pride, or even the legacy of struggles for inclusion led by African American activists. The significance of red, black, and green thus has changed since Gil Scott-Heron mocked a leader of the NAACP in 1970 by singing, “There will be no slow motion or still life of Roy Wilkins strolling through Watts in a Red, Black and Green liberation jumpsuit that he had been saving for just the proper occasion.”⁷⁴

Moorish Science Temple of America

While the UNIA was a secular organization, other groups that emerged in the first half of the twentieth century expressed black nationalist sentiments in a religious context. In 1913, Timothy Drew began a Canaanite Temple in Newark, New Jersey, that was the precursor to the Moorish Science Temple of America, established in Chicago in 1928.⁷⁵ Drew, who adopted the name of Noble Drew Ali, taught that African Americans were descendants of Moroc-

cans, and therefore should adopt the cultural practices, including the Muslim faith, of that country. By restoring their Moorish heritage, members of the Moorish Science Temple could overcome the bad habits of thought and lifestyle introduced by white people and achieve both “earthly and divine salvation.”⁷⁶ Noble Drew Ali did not emulate the rituals of Islam as typically practiced in Africa and the Middle East, but rather presented an amalgam of “Islam, Freemasonry, New Thought, Rosicrucianism, black political thought, Garveyism, American Orientalism, Hoodoo, and Christian Science, among other traditions.”⁷⁷ Photos of Drew and his followers show them garbed in turbans and robes reminiscent of the Shriners, a branch of the Freemasons. Richard Brent Turner reports that “they carried nationality cards [reflecting their identity as “Moorish Americans”] and used as their symbol a red flag with a five-pointed star in the center, recalling the flag of Morocco.”⁷⁸



Figure 6. The flag of the Moorish Science Temple of America. Source: Wilms, “Shadow and Substance,” 63.

By claiming an alternative nationality to “Negro,” Stephanie Wilms argues, the Moorish Science Temple was trying to “disrupt the narrative of African Americans belonging to the American nation.” On a number of occasions, Ali was photographed with the Moorish flag alongside the U.S. flag, making visual statement to “transmit positive image of African-descended people, and by doing so, counter the characterizations of African Americans by contemporary” whites.⁷⁹ The apparent contradiction in these notions can be reconciled

by considering the Moorish flag as akin to those of the Irish and German Americans in Heelan and Helf's song.

In the decades after Ali's death in 1929, the Moorish Science Temple divided into various groups. While some continue to fly the Moroccan flag, one group, the Moorish American Government, has taken to using an elaborate version of the Moroccan flag. They distinguish between the present Moroccan flag, as an earthly symbol of the modern state, and the "Infinite Moorish Flag," divinely ordained symbol of the Moorish race. Interested readers may find a 30-page explanation of the symbolism of the Moorish flag at their website, but in brief: the five-pointed star represents the Moorish principles of Love, Truth, Peace, Freedom, and Justice, which are also represented by the inscription "L.T.P.F. Justice"; the quadrants of the circle stand for Fire, Water, Air, and Earth, requisite for "knowledge of manifested life"; the scimitar is the emblem of divine justice.⁸⁰



Figure 7. The "Infinite Moorish Flag." Source: www.web.archive.org/web/20150321201740/http://moorishamericangov.org/vexillologyofthemoorishflagmasteredition.pdf.

Nation of Islam

An itinerant peddler who went by the name Wallace D. Fard may have been one of the early followers of Noble Drew Ali. In 1930, Fard began preaching a new message to African Americans in Detroit, and by 1932 had organized the Nation of Islam. This organization is sometimes colloquially called the Black Muslims, but that name is misleading because there are many blacks who are Muslims, belonging to a variety of congregations. Fard, and his successor Elijah Muhammad, taught that the black race were the original humans created by God, and that an evil scientist named Yakub had created the white race 66,000 years ago.⁸¹ Unlike Noble Drew Ali, Elijah Muhammad rejected any participation with American society, which was dominated by "white devils."

As prominent spokesman Malcolm X told an audience of African Americans, “You represent a person who poses such a serious problem for America because you’re not wanted. . . . You don’t catch hell ’cause you’re an American; ’cause if you was an American, you wouldn’t catch no hell.”⁸²

The Nation of Islam flies a red flag bearing a white crescent moon and five-pointed star. The similarities to the Turkish flag are obvious, with the main difference being the orientation of the crescent toward the hoist, and the position of the star relative to the crescent. It appears that the shape of crescent may vary between different renditions, as seen by contrasting the official logo of the organization to a flag flying outside its headquarters. The variance in crescent shapes is similar to variants seen in Ottoman-era Turkish flags. The shallower crescent was commonly seen in Turkish flags of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and it was not until 1936 that the current shape of the crescent and position of the star were standardized for Turkish flags.⁸³



Figures 8a and 8b. Variations on the design of the flag of the Nation of Islam. (Top) flag flying outside Mosque Maryam, Chicago, and (bottom) flag shown on the Nation of Islam logo. Sources: www.finalcall.com; <http://www.noi.org/>.

The crescent and star are well-established Islamic symbols, so it is no surprise that the Nation of Islam should adopt them. It may be worth noting, however, that the current conception of the Turkish flag as a secular emblem of the state was not the only interpretation current in 1930. Until 1924, the Ottoman Emperor also had claimed the title of Caliph—that is, a political leader who assumes the role of protecting the Muslim community around the world, imposing order through Islamic law, and insuring the proper practice of Islam.⁸⁴ The Ottoman flag, then represented a nation where Islam stood for the unity of the people—exactly the message of the Nation of Islam.

In a treatise published in 1974, Elijah Muhammad expounded upon the symbolism of his flag. He averred that the red color represented the sun, while

the moon and star are depictions of actual heavenly bodies. The sun provides light, warmth, and life, which are necessary for humanity to enjoy the freedom to accept Islam. The depiction of the moon is a reminder of the days when that body was part of the earth and covered with vegetation, before Yakub blasted away the moon with high explosives. Its presence on the flag serves as a reminder of the slave master's depriving the black race of "knowledge of self, which is like the moon being deprived of the earth's water that it once enjoyed." The star is a symbol of divine justice.⁸⁵ The flag is occasionally seen with the letters J, F, E, and I in the corners, standing for Justice, Freedom, Equality, and Islam.

Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

After the gradual decline of the UNIA, black nationalism waned in public consciousness as the integrationist approach to African American freedom came to the fore. In the remarkable decade between the Supreme Court ruling of *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 and the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, it appeared that the three-pronged approach of litigation, non-violent protest, and political participation advocated by groups such as the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was bearing fruit. However, not all African Americans were satisfied with the rate of progress, and some resented the control white leaders still had over the economic, political, and social prospects of African Americans. Groups such as the Revolutionary Action Movement began in the early 1960s to "discuss how to introduce self-defense and black nationalist ideas into the southern freedom movement."⁸⁶ In the summer of 1966, Stokely Carmichael brought national attention to the notion by introducing a catchword: "We have got to get us some Black Power. We don't control anything but what white people say we can control. We have to be able to smash any political machine in the country that's oppressing us and bring it to its knees."⁸⁷

Among the many groups that formed to pursue Black Power was the Black Panther Party (BPP) for Self-Defense, organized by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton in Oakland, California later in 1966.⁸⁸ In its earliest phases, the BPP could be characterized as a black nationalist organization—its manifesto proclaimed, "We believe that Black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny," and called for "an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self."⁸⁹ Over several years, the ideology of the group changed "from black nationalism to revolutionary nationalism (explicitly blending socialism and black nationalism), to internationalism, and finally intercommunalism" to the point that leaders of the party asked protesters

not to display the Black Liberation Flag at their events.⁹⁰ The BPP engaged in activities of economic empowerment, but also assumed a militant stance, appearing in public carrying loaded rifles (which was entirely legal in California) and observing police interactions with African Americans. The eventual demise of the party in 1982 was preceded by a 1972 retrenchment in which all branches outside of Oakland were closed, and was no doubt hurried by a number of shoot-outs with police and federal agents, arrests of their leaders, internal disputes, and involvement of some party members with illegal drugs.⁹¹ However, they made a strong impact on public perception. As vexillologist David Martucci noted, “It seems to some people as though there was a Black Panther behind every telephone pole.”⁹²

Part of their striking visual presence was the martial attitude of party members, standing ramrod-straight in formation. Another element was the frequent use of flags bearing the black panther logo. There does not appear to have been a standard template for the flags—the logo was printed on red cloth, as well as yellow or light blue, and often ad hoc messages, such as “Free



Figures 9a, 9b, and 9c. Members of the Black Panther Party standing at attention with party flags. Sources: Baruch and Jones, The Vanguard, 94; www.cnn.com; Baruch and Jones, Black Panthers 1968, 57.



Figure 10. Lowndes County, Alabama, voter information literature, 1966. Source: Bloom and Martin, Black Against Empire, 160.

Huey,” were inscribed. Nonetheless, as part of a distinctive visual identity, that included a quasi-uniform of black berets and natural hairstyles, the flags were effective markers for the group.

The origins of the black panther symbol lie in Lowndes County, Alabama. This rural area was dominated by the whites-only local Democratic Party; even after the passage of the Voting Rights Act, in 1966 no African American voters were registered. In response, African American voters, working with Carmichael, organized the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO) to put black candidates on the ballot. For their ballot symbol, the Democratic Party chose a white cock with the slogan “White Supremacy for the Right.” In response, the LCFO adopted a black panther. The idea came from Ruth Howard, an activist who was inspired by the panther mascot of Clark College in Atlanta.⁹³ It was enthusiastically embraced by the Alabamans of the LCFO, however. John Hulett, an organizer of the LCFO, explained, “The black panther is an animal that when it is pressured it moves back until it is cornered, then it comes out fighting for life or death. We felt we had been pushed back long enough and that it was time for the Negroes to come out and take over.”⁹⁴ In Harlem later that year, a group of activists decided to form a black power organization; remembering the symbolism of the LCFO, they named their

group the Harlem Black Panther Party, and began wearing shirts with a black panther emblem.⁹⁵ Around the same time, a group in Watts, California, called the Community Alert Patrol began tailing the Los Angeles police to monitor their actions; inspired by the LCFO, they began displaying a black panther logo on their vehicles.⁹⁶ It all came together in October 1966, when Stokely Carmichael—who had worked with the LCFO—came to Berkeley to speak at a Black Power Conference. The conference organizers put out a pamphlet and flyers featuring the black panther logo, which were distributed to, among others, Huey Newton. As Newton recalled, “A few days later, while Bobby and I were rapping, I suggested that we use the panther as our symbol.”⁹⁷ Emory Douglas, the Minister of Culture for the BPP, later redrew the original logo to show a leaner cat, reflecting “that the party was about serving the under-served and undernourished. They did not want the panther to look well fed and healthy.”⁹⁸



Figure 11. The “lean” panther flag at the funeral of George Jackson, 1971. Source: Shames, The Black Panthers.

Although the organizers do not refer to it, there is a precedent for the black panther symbol. The 761st Tank Battalion, an all-African American unit that served with distinction in the Second World War, was known as the Black Panther Battalion because of their unit's symbol. They had adapted the insignia of the general tank destroyer force—a panther crushing a tank in its jaws—by adding the symbolism of the black panther, along with “Come Out Fighting,” which were the words of African American champion boxer Joe Louis prior to his 1938 victory over the German Max Schmeling, to assert that black tankers were a match for the German *panzer* units they would be fighting.⁹⁹



Figure 12. Painted rendition of the 761st Tank Battalion unit patch. Source: Hank Heusinkfeld, “The 761st Tank Battalion: Fighting the Enemy, Beating Stereotypes,” www.army.mil.

While the black panther was not a unique symbol in the black power movement, its use by the most influential organization led to its wide recognition across the country. T. N. Phu suggests that the dramatic, powerful visual presentation by the Black Panther Party was a “deliberate resemblance to the guerilla garb associated with oppositional movements in Africa, South America, and Asia,” so that although the initial aims of the party were “associated with cultural nationalism, its leaders insisted that the BPP marked a break from other prominent African American nationalist movements at the time and an increased affinity with extra-national organizations.”¹⁰⁰ The flags of the BPP certainly reinforce Phu’s argument—rather than modeling their flag on pre-existing patterns or adopting the symbols of other nations, the BPP chose a

leaping cat that was a unique design, and marked an organization that aimed for revolution.

Conclusion

Black nationalism lingers as one of many approaches to the empowerment of African Americans, although membership of many organizations has declined in recent decades. As black nationalism emerged from a political and cultural environment in which the white establishment had consistently denied full participation to black people, so black nationalist flags emerged in response to the flying of national flags—British and American—that had become polysemic, carrying multiple meanings. While some African Americans embraced the United States flag as their own, others found it to be burdened with the meanings offered by police, Ku Klux Klan gangs, and lynch mobs who waved the Stars and Stripes while robbing African Americans of their rights. Black nationalist flags began as an unambiguous symbol asserting the rights of black people as a nation, although as years have passed they too have become polysemic.

Nonetheless, the importance of flags to black nationalists often resembles the fervor with which official national flags are flown. For any group asserting a unique racial identity, the symbols of nationality are a powerful tool. The hoary old coon song, heard as derision, was riposted with vigor in the twentieth century. As Elijah Muhammad wrote of the Nation of Islam: “We are a nation and we have a Flag and this is not to be taken as a mockery.”¹⁰¹



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End Notes

1. Will. A. Heelan and J. Fred. Helf, “Every Race Has a Flag but the Coon” (New York: Jos. W. Stern & Co., 1900), <https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.100005733/>.
2. See advertisements in *Baltimore Sun*, 17 November 1900, 4; *Baltimore Sun*, 26 October 1901, 5; *New York Times*, 10 April 1902, 7.
3. “Hawthorne Plants Show to Be Held on Friday,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 6 May 1934, W3.

4. Waldo, *This is Ragtime*, ch. 1.
5. Schroeder, "Passing for Black," 141.
6. Waldo, *This is Ragtime*, 25.
7. Abbott and Seroff, *Ragged but Right*, part 1.
8. Nahum Daniel Brascher, "Thoughts To-day," *Chicago Defender*, 18 April 1942, 15.
9. Schroeder, "Passing for Black," 139.
10. Bracey, Meier, and Rudwick, *Black Nationalism in America*, xxvi.
11. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism*, 3–4.
12. Martin R. Delany, "Protest Against the First Resolution of the North American Convention," in *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*, 190.
13. *Ibid.*, 213.
14. Abraham, *Politics of Black Nationalism*, 106.
15. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, 57.
16. Gordon, *Black Identity*, 33.
17. Weitman, "National Flags," 338.
18. "Flag for the Negro," *New York Times*, 1 July 1904, 6. Douglass (1818–1895) was an abolitionist orator and publisher, and later a diplomat; Delany (1812–1885) was an abolitionist author, physician, and officer in the Union Army during the Civil War; Allen (1760–1831) was the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church; Payne (1811–1893) was a long-serving bishop of the AME Church and founder of Wilberforce University; Washington (1856–1915) was president of Tuskegee Institute and the most prominent African American educator of the early twentieth century.
19. "Race Gleanings," *Indianapolis Freeman*, 9 July 1904.
20. "All Fools Not Dead Yet," *Wisconsin Weekly Advocate*, 7 July 1904.
21. "And now comes the report from Sioux City . . ." *Indianapolis Freeman*, 23 July 1904; "There is But One Flag," *Olympia (Wash.) Weekly Reporter*, 14 July 1904.
22. "The Freeman's Woggle Bug is Asking," *Indianapolis Freeman*, 8 October 1904.
23. Fox, *The Guardian of Boston*.
24. *Savannah Tribune*, 26 October 1912, 1. Similar reports appeared in at least two dozen newspapers across the United States.
25. "Doings of the Race," *Cleveland Gazette*, 14 September 1912, 2.
26. For example, the *Macon (Georgia) Telegraph*, *Trenton (New Jersey) Evening Times*, *Dallas Morning News*, *Atlanta Constitution*, *Cincinnati Inquirer*, *Montgomery (Alabama) Advertiser*, and *Salt Lake Tribune* all printed the story on 29 August.

27. For example, the following works cite the *Africa Times and Oriental Review* story: Martin, *Race First*, 63n8; Martin, "The Emancipation of a Race," 112n14.
28. Bruce Coggeshall, "'Nobody Had a Doubt': Fake News from the Past," *The Readex Blog*, 12 December 2016, www.readex.com/blog/.
29. Georgina Boyes, "Belief and Disbelief: An Examination of Reactions to the Presentation of Rumour Legends" (1984), reprinted in Bennett and Smith, *Contemporary Legend*, 42.
30. Dormon, "Shaping the Popular Image," 462.
31. Tommie Smith, quoted in Berger, *Seeing Through Race*, 151.
32. "The Colored Flag," *Washington Post*, 7 September 1912, 6.
33. Reprinted in "Afro-American Cullings," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 18 October 1912, 6.
34. Ohnuki-Tierney, *Flowers That Kill*, 54.
35. Vanhove, ed., *From Polysemy to Semantic Change*, offers a number of studies of this phenomenon.
36. For the literal projects, see Ewing, *The Age of Garvey*, 83–84 and Robinson, *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought*, 24–25; for rhetorical use of "pan-racial national consciousness," see Patsides, "Marcus Garvey, Race Idealism and his Vision of Jamaican Self-government."
37. Christian, "Marcus Garvey and African Unity," Garvey, "The Work That Has Been Done," 10.
38. Marcus Garvey, "Explanation of the Objects of the Universal Negro Improvement Association," July 1921, reprinted in Ellis and Smith, *Say It Plain*, 10.
39. Grant, *Negro with a Hat*, 164.
40. Jha, *Reverence, Resistance and Politics of Seeing the Indian National Flag*, ch. 2.
41. Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, 43–44.
42. Ewing, *The Age of Garvey*, ch. 7.
43. Martin, *Race First*, ch. 3.
44. Article 39 of the "Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World" proclaimed, "That the colors, Red, Black and Green, be the colors of the Negro race." *UNIA Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World*, New York, 13 August 1920, reprinted in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Papers*, vol. 2, 571–80.
45. D. Davidson to Special Agent Finch, 12 November 1918, reprinted in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Papers*, vol. 1, 290–91.

46. Doris Henry, "Intelligence Report of Meeting at Madison Square Garden," 30 October 1919, reprinted in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Papers*, vol. 2, 133.
47. Marcus Garvey, address to the Pythian Temple, Washington, D.C., 20 November 1921, reprinted in *Negro World* 22, no. 6 (19 March 1927), 1.
48. Rolinson, *Grassroots Garveyism*, 58, 89, and 190.
49. The White Star Line had taken its name from the figurehead carved on one of its first ships, the *Red Jacket*, built in New England around 1854. *Red Jacket's* figurehead was "an Indian chief (after whom the famous clipper was named), whose bosom is adorned by a white star." ("The Story of the White Star House Flag," *White Star Magazine*, September 1923, 15–16).
50. Fox, *Transatlantic*, ch. 10.
51. Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions*, 38.
52. M. J. Davis, "Bureau of Investigation Report," 1 November 1919, reprinted in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Papers*, vol. 2, 142.
53. Rolinson, *Grassroots Garveyism*, 52.
54. Cashmore, *Rastaman*, 160.
55. Crampton, "Marcus Garvey and the Rasta Colours," 170.
56. "Interview with Marcus Garvey by Charles Mowbray White," 18 August 1920, reprinted in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Papers*, vol. 2, 603.
57. Carter, "The Economic Philosophy of Marcus Garvey," 3.
58. Bornstein, "The Colors of Zion," 381; Nelson, *Irish Nationalists and the Making of the Irish Race*, 197.
59. Martin, "The Emancipation of a Race," 74.
60. Crampton, "Marcus Garvey and the Rasta Colours," 175.
61. Lentz, "Travelling Emblems of Power"; Fuller, *Building the Ghanaian Nation-State*, 38.
62. *Jamaica Hansard: Proceedings of the House of Representatives of Jamaica*, Session, 1962–1963, No. 1 (Kingston: Printed for the Gleaner Co., Ltd. by United Printers Ltd., 1962), 111–13. Refer to Wednesday, 20 June 1962, Ministry Paper No. 28.
63. *Encyclopedia of African American History 1896 to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), s.v. "Republic of New Afrika"; "Congress of African Peoples Manifesto," 25 May 2014, simbamaat.blogspot.com; "What is the All-African People's Revolutionary Party?," undated, www.aaprp-intl.org; *Encyclopedia of African American History 1896 to the Present*, s.v. "Black Liberation Army."
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72. For example, Martha Biondi, "The Radicalism of Black Lives Matter," *In These Times*, 15 August 2016.
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75. Turner, *Islam in the African-American Experience*, 93.
76. Curtis, "Debating the Origins of the Moorish Science Temple," 75.
77. *Ibid.*, 72.
78. Turner, *Islam in the African-American Experience*, 92.
79. Wilms, "Shadow and Substance," 49, 65.
80. Akhnaton Pert M. Hru Tutankamun Bey, "The Paradox of National Flags," undated, web.archive.org/web/20150321201740/http://moorishamericangov.org.
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84. *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, ed. Richard C. Martin (New York: Macmillan Reference, 2004), s.v. "Caliphate."
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87. "Stokely Carmichael on Black Power," 28 July 1966, reprinted in Bracey, Meier, and Rudwick, eds, *The Afro-Americans*, 744.
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89. Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, "What We Want Now! What We Believe," May 1967, reprinted in Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*, 70–73.
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91. Johnson, "Explaining the Demise."
92. Martucci, "The Red and the Black," 70.
93. Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes*, 152.
94. John Hullett, quoted in Murch, "When the Panther Travels," 62.
95. Murch, "When the Panther Travels," 63; Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*, 43.
96. Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*, 39.
97. *Ibid.*, 43–44.
98. Ross, "Emory Douglas, Art and Revolution."
99. Abdul-Jabbar and Walton, *Brothers in Arms*, 47; Wilson, *The 761st "Black Panther" Tank Battalion*, 38–39.
100. Phu, "Shooting the Movement," 170.
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