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**Mobilization Lessons from Marcus Garvey and the
Universal Negro Improvement Association**

A Dissertation Presented

by

Kenneth A. Pierce

to

The Graduate School

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements

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Abstract of the Dissertation

**Mobilization Lessons from Marcus Garvey and the
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This study of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) explains the mobilization successes and failures of a major social movement organization and its leader, Marcus Garvey. This research focuses on the roles of the UNIA's organizational structure and the Black church in explaining why the UNIA was first highly successful and later collapsed. This study applies Morris' indigenous perspective, which argues that to best understand a social movement, one must account for extant systems of domination, the nature of the conflict between groups, and the culture of the dominated. I demonstrate that these factors operated in concert to facilitate both the growth and decline of the UNIA. The main findings of the study are that centralization of power, a shift toward a more religious organizational frame, and, the deployment of a network prominent black clergymen were most crucial to the growth of the UNIA. The UNIA's decline can be explained by a hyper-centralization of power, which included the dismantling of this network of clergymen, and Garvey's failed attempt at frame bridging. These findings provide important new insight into the mobilization and demobilization process, a central issue in social movement theory.

**For Marcus Mosiah Garvey,
the First Provisional President of Africa and President General of the UNIA.**

For Lonnie, Jewel, and Andrew.

For Ancestors . . .

For Anthony, Kenya, and Kennedy.

For Successors . . .

For Negro Freedom!

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List of Abbreviations

African Communities League	ACL
African Methodist Episcopal.....	AME
Black Star Line.....	BSL
First International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World.....	1920 Convention
Ku Klux Klan.....	KKK
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.....	NAACP
National Baptist Convention.....	NBC
National Urban League.....	NUL
Second Assistant President General and Leader of the American Negroes...	American Leader
Second International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World.....	1921 Convention
Social Movement Organization.....	SMO
Third International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World.....	1922 Convention
Universal Negro Improvement Association.....	UNIA
World War (one).....	WWI

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Chapter I

Introduction

This study of Marcus Mosiah Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) is chiefly concerned with the means by which Garvey's UNIA was able to realize great mobilization success and also why that success ended abruptly. Prior to Garvey's arrival in the United States in March of 1916, African Americans had not developed an organization nor produced a leader that mobilized millions of blacks as the UNIA would.

Before Garvey's arrival, black leadership in the US was in the hands of Booker T. Washington, a conservative who advocated technical training for blacks so that they would be of more use (to whites) in the US. In addition to Washington's leadership, there was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which is the oldest civil rights organization in the US, and the National Urban League (NUL) whose purpose was to address the economic concerns of the colored community.

The UNIA differed from the other organizations as its purpose was to: 1) organize the black community; 2) promote black pride; and, 3) to help blacks eliminate their reliance on whites through the creation of black enterprise. This study seeks to understand why the Garvey movement was at some point extremely successful and later a dismal failure. The two main questions this study will address are: 1) what accounts for the rise and decline of UNIA mobilization in the US; and, 2) what role did Garvey play in those processes?

To answer these questions this study employs two approaches: traditional library research and in-depth archival research. An examination of the Garvey movement through a structural and ideological lens will provide valuable insight.

This study will employ Morris' "indigenous perspective: comprehensive conflict and organizational view" (Morris 1980:v). According to Morris, the indigenous perspective "insists that movements can be better understood by analyzing a) the system of domination that is imposed on a group, b) the nature of the conflict generated between the dominators and the dominated, and c) the indigenous institutions, organizations, culture, masses, and leaders of the dominated" (Morris 1980:v). The indigenous perspective will be augmented with insights from resource mobilization theory, political process theory, and cultural analysis, especially framing theory.

Mobilization is a primary task for every social movement organization. Black social movement organizations have experienced challenges in mobilizing large numbers of blacks. No black leader of any black social movement organization in the United States has been able to mobilize more actors than Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Social scientists interested in social movement mobilization and demobilization can benefit by expanding their understanding of Marcus Garvey and the UNIA. Crucial to understanding such mobilization is the task of determining which conditions are conducive to mobilization success as well as those that impede mobilization success; those are the foci of this study.

I examine a combination of biographies and other historical accounts of Garvey's early life in conjunction with news articles related to Garvey and personal letters to and from Garvey which detail his activities from 1887 to 1927.

Garvey arrived in Harlem in 1916 and by 1920 his critics and supporters regarded him as one of the most important leaders of the black race. Despite being in the US for just over a decade—and spending some of that time incarcerated—Garvey's impact was felt worldwide. In

contrast to Garvey's meteoric rise to prominence, in 1926 he was removed from office as president of the UNIA. In 1927 Garvey was deported to Jamaica and the UNIA was a shell of its former self.

CHAPTER TWO: The Creation of a Leader: Marcus Garvey, 1887-1916

Overview

The aims of chapter two are to: 1) demonstrate that Garvey strategically placed himself in a position to become a successful leader of a social movement organization, based on his life decisions beginning at an early age; 2) catalogue the skills that Garvey attained by the time he arrived in the United States in 1916 to pitch the UNIA to blacks in America; and 3) determine which strategies Garvey employed to recruit individuals to the UNIA during the its early days.

This chapter covers the time of Garvey's birth through the time of his arrival in America. Chapter Two demonstrates that the UNIA's success was a product of Garvey's work toward becoming a great leader from the time he was a young boy through early adulthood. Because of Garvey's understanding of organizations and the black psyche, he was able to engineer what was arguably the largest black social movement organization in American history. The aim of this chapter is to illustrate Garvey's superior work ethic and socio-psychological brilliance and the impact that both had on his success and the success of the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Framework and Rationale

The literature on the Garvey movement indicates that the commitment that Garveyites demonstrated to Garvey, coupled with the range and scope of Garvey's movement, places him on

a higher plane than other black leaders (Barrett 1946). This is attributed to Garvey's willingness to speak to the black masses as opposed to being narrowly focused on the elite (Myrdal 1962; Davis 1972; Franklin 1975; and Haywood 1978). Another explanation for the growth of the UNIA is that Garvey came to the US at exactly the right time with exactly the right message for blacks (Henri 1975). Developing a better understanding of Garvey's background is very important, because Garvey is considered by some to be the best organizer (and agitator) black America has ever produced (Bennett 1968). Even if not articulated in these terms, Garvey's success is often linked to his charisma.

Charismatic leadership is defined as “a *relationship* between an individual (leader) and one or more followers based on leader behaviors combined with favorable attributions on the part of the followers” (Waldman et al. 2001:134, emphasis in original). Charisma, Weber argues, “will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities” (Weber 1978:241). Weber says that a leader is at risk of losing his or her charismatic relationships if it appears that God does not support the leader or if a leader's constituents do not receive prosperity from their government (the state). This supports the idea that there is a link between charisma and religion, as Morris (1984) points out.

Klein and House say “[c]harisma is the product of three elements: (1) a spark—a leader who has charismatic qualities, (2) flammable material—followers who are open or susceptible to charisma, and (3) oxygen—an environment conducive to charisma” (1995:183). Leaders themselves therefore are not charismatic, even if they have charismatic qualities. Instead leaders with charismatic qualities have charismatic relationships with their followers when the conditions, the “spark,” the “flammable material,” and the “oxygen” are properly aligned,

resulting in a “fire.” According to Klein and House (1995), this means that any leader with charismatic qualities could potentially have a charismatic relationship with his followers provided the three elements are in the necessary alignment.

According to House et al. (1991:366), “[b]ecause charisma is a relationship and not a personality characteristic of leaders, charisma exists only if followers say it does or followers behave in specific ways.” Unfortunately House et al. do not provide any examples of charismatic behavior. Klein and House also point out that charismatic behaviors include “articulation of a visionary mission that is discrepant from the status quo, references to the collective and collective identity (rather than to follower self-interest), and assumption of personal risks and sacrifices” (1995:184). Klein and House say that while the aforementioned conditions are necessary for a charismatic relationship, they are not sufficient. Instead of making a leader charismatic, these attributes simply provide a *portion* of the potential for a charismatic relationship.

Because leaders with charismatic relationships with their followers attempt to connect efforts and goals to the values of the followers, “charismatic leadership is more likely to emerge and be effective when the organizational task is closely related to dominant social values to which potential followers are exposed than when it is unrelated to such values or contradicts them” (Shamir et al. 1993: 588). In other words, a charismatic relationship is more likely to exist in a situation where a leader with charismatic qualities utilizes frames that appeal to their target audience.

Extrinsic sanctions are not conducive for charismatic relationships. There is a higher likelihood of charismatic relationships in cases where “performance goals cannot be easily

specified and measured, and when leaders cannot link extrinsic rewards to individual performance” (Shamir et al. 1993:589). Therefore charismatic relationships are more likely to exist when the frame being used is one that is more vague in terms of its measurables and there is an emphasis on the collective.

Charismatic authority scholarship points to the difficulty in maintaining charismatic relationships. Buechler (2011:35) says “[m]ovements legitimated by charismatic authority are . . . much more likely to experience a major crisis when their leader dies or is incapacitated,” and that the outgoing charismatic leader may sometimes choose their replacement. The difficulty, Buechler cautions, is that the charismatic authority itself is rarely transferred to the new leader. When charismatic authority fails to transfer, the organization will move toward traditional or rational-legal authority.

It is very easy therefore to define Garvey as a charismatic leader based on how closely the literature seems to fit Garvey’s life and circumstances. Understanding how charismatic appeal impacted the UNIA is important. To uncover this information, this study will need to accurately describe not only movement leadership, but also the rank-and-file of the movement and the general social conditions.

Problem and Purpose

Scholarship on Garvey’s development as a leader is lacking. Not enough emphasis is placed on the fact that Garvey attempted to organize protests and movements in Jamaica as well as South and Central America prior to the UNIA becoming a successful organization in the US. Not only did Garvey have to come to the US in order for the UNIA to flourish, but in fact, the UNIA did not grow into the huge success that it is now known to have been until the 1920s. One

of the common explanations of the UNIA's success— Garvey was able to bring to the masses messages that resonated with them in such a way that they wanted to join the movement—is not fully accurate.

This chapter's purpose is to begin to demonstrate that it was Garvey's preparation for leadership, not so much his connection to potential actors, and certainly not Garvey's charisma alone, that ultimately made the UNIA a major social movement organization. In this chapter I illustrate that Garvey failed at many his undertakings in the time leading up to Garvey's entry into the US and while there. Chapter two also identifies some of the elements that are involved in Garvey's ultimate success.

Questions

This chapter deals with the following questions: 1) what role did Garvey's family play in his preparation for leadership; 2) how did Garvey's academic, vocational, social, and political training impact his leadership ability; 3) what impact did Garvey's decision to leave his home town of St. Ann's Bay have on his leadership ability; 4) what impact did Garvey's travels and oratorical training have on the development of his leadership; and, 5) how did Garvey's relationships with community leaders influence the UNIA's expansion in America.

Significance and Contribution

The aim of this chapter is to lay the foundation that supports the change to the commonly accepted narrative that Garvey led black Americans who supported him because of his charisma. This dissertation identifies the importance of charisma with the main cause of the UNIA's growth being attributed to the charisma of the clergymen who Garvey recruited to mobilize the UNIA, as will be argued. It is important that scholars recognize that Garvey spent years working

to become a leader and that, even with this work, he was not successful right away. Those who study social movements can benefit from knowing which of Garvey's actions were associated with periods of low UNIA mobilization. Although UNIA mobilization was low relative to its peak in the 1920s, the UNIA did have some sustained growth through leaders in the community other than Garvey during this period. Identifying the elements linked to Garvey's successes and failures in his early stages better enables one to determine the causes of his later success and failures.

CHAPTER THREE: The Universal Negro Improvement Association 1916

Overview

This chapter examines the UNIA's growth strategy and takes one more step toward debunking the theory that Marcus Garvey's charisma was the primary cause of the UNIA's growth. This chapter is focused on Garvey's UNIA strategy, which he implemented in the US starting in 1916. I demonstrate that Garvey's success and the UNIA's growth were both tied to Garvey's ability to tap into preexisting networks of like-minded black men and women through processes called frame alignment and frame bridging. I further demonstrate that Garvey manipulated frames in order to forge relationships that he thought would be advantageous for UNIA growth.

Framework and Rationale

Erving Goffman originally introduced the sociological term "frame" in 1974. At that time, Goffman's frame only referred to an individual's organization of experience, focusing on how people made sense of the world (Snow et al. 1986; Reese and Newcombe 2003; and Croteau and Hicks 2003). Social movement scholars soon adapted this term and framing discourse began

to include collective experiences. Frames are used to help people understand and explain life's everyday events; they are the methods by which people situate what it is that they know.

Framing helps one to understand how social change efforts begin and develop (Croteau and Hicks 2003).¹

A collective action frame, simply put, is the intended path or identity of a social movement organization or, at least, the intended path that an organization wishes to convey publicly. Collective action framing is intended to serve as an organizational tool to catalogue past experiences and should also lend direction to the future actions of an organization or an individual (Snow et al. 1986). Generally, when organizations or actors with the same end goal find themselves at odds with one another, it is due to differences in their framing.² These disputes can take place within an organization or between organizations. When the existence of a dispute is intra-organizational, it is usually because the frame of the actors does not match the frame of the organization. In these cases, there is the potential for framing disputes to cripple or even collapse an organization. There is evidence of this within the UNIA.

A frame that is too narrow reduces the likelihood of attracting a wide variety of actors because fewer people will feel connected to that frame (Carroll and Ratner 1996). Meanwhile a

1 Croteau and Hicks (2003) write, "[f]raming involves the selection and organization of information to tell a coherent story and to suggest likely action. The term frame refers to an interpretive schemata that simplifies and condenses the world out there by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of action

2 The specific differences that Croteau and Hicks (2003) point to, are those of "objectives, strategies, and tactics."

frame that is too broad will make a social movement organization seem disorganized, and will confuse potential actors as to what the organization's true agenda is.

The political conditions of a particular frame affect the political opportunities available to those who oppose the frame. The control over political opportunities on both sides of a particular social movement organization has a great effect on the power relationship between organizations (Stanbridge 2002).

When there is a dispute between organizations that profess to have the same goal, it is because their organizational frames do not match. With regard to disputes, framing does not work the same on an individual level as it does on an organizational level.

Social movement mobilization is more effective when frames are aligned. Alignment means that organizations, as well as their individual actors, have the same goals and beliefs and are therefore working in the same direction (Snow et al. 1986). Snow et al. have determined that frame alignment is necessary if individuals are to become actors in a social movement.

The bridging of frames can take place on the individual or organizational level, or even between two social movement organizations with similar interests (Snow et al. 1986).³ Bridging takes place when organizations disseminate information that is further disseminated through media, mail, and other networks.

³ Snow et al. (1986) report that "By frame bridging [they are referring] to the linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem."

Both beliefs and values play a role in the amplification of frames (Snow et al. 1986; and Reese and Newcombe 2003).⁴ Value amplification includes the attempt to identify at least one value held by an individual or group of individuals who fit the description of an ideal participant in a particular social movement organization. The target of a social movement organization's amplification effort is an individual who, while seemingly a good fit, has not yet joined the movement. The goal of amplification is to make central the precept that will cause the individuals to become actors. Belief amplification operates essentially the same as value amplification but by drawing on commonly held beliefs instead of commonly held values.⁵ This too is a tool that Garvey used to recruit for the UNIA.

Frame extension is when social movement organizations expand the boundaries of their frames to include themes that a larger number of potential social movement participants can agree to support (Snow et al. 1986). This begins with some exploratory research to identify how the social movement organization in question can extend themselves in such a way that their new frame resonates with their intended constituency.

4 Snow et al. (1986) operationalize frame amplification as "the clarification and invigoration of an interpretive frame that bears on a particular issue, problem or set of events. Because the meaning of events and their connection to one's immediate life situation are often shrouded by indifference, deception or fabrication by others, and ambiguity or uncertainty, support for and participation in movement activities is frequently contingent on the clarification and reinvigoration of an interpretive frame."

5 Snow et al. (1986) identified what the social movement literature suggests are the five main beliefs, important to social movement participation: previously discussed beliefs; beliefs of causality; stereotypical beliefs; beliefs about the probability of change; and beliefs about the necessity for one to stand up for themselves.

In many ways, an organization that undergoes a frame transformation becomes a ‘new’ organization. The transformation may be made in an attempt to update or modernize an organization, to avoid being associated with some theme that is, prior to the transformation, not seen in a positive light; not conducive to the organization continuing its mobilization efforts; or because the organization was misframed at some point, meaning that the organization is no longer looked at in its intended frame. Despite this report, some scholars, such as Reese and Newcombe (2003) contend that not all social movement organizations rationally construct their frames in order to maximize their support. If this is true generally, it was not true with the UNIA.

Too often scholars conceptualize frames as things instead of as dynamic processes (Croteau and Hicks 2003). With the understanding that neither movements nor supporting actors exist in a vacuum, it is difficult to assess the value of framing in a social movement; but understanding an organization’s frame is beneficial in understanding why people chose to mobilize for that organization.

Problem and Purpose

This chapter is meant to address a gap in the literature on the UNIA. While many Garvey scholars point to Booker T. Washington’s influence on Garvey (Cronon 1960; Martin 1976; Grant 2008), none of them have highlighted the fact that Garvey not only mimicked Washington’s program, but also used his name to draw in support from black Americans. Also there is no discourse on Garvey’s utilization of both Robert Moton, Washington’s replacement, and W. E. B. Du Bois also an educator, to lend Garvey the legitimacy and support he desired in order to become successful. These are the primary issues that this chapter addresses.

Questions

This chapter addresses the following questions: 1) what strategies if any did Garvey implement personally for the growth of the UNIA; 2) did Garvey employ the aid of other leaders as a means to help with UNIA mobilization.

Significance and Contribution

After having determined that Garvey developed a set of skills over time that allowed him to become a successful leader in the previous chapter, and then determining that Garvey strategy was to align himself with other organizations and leaders, this chapter makes this dissertation one step closer to demonstrating that UNIA mobilization was not predicated on Garvey's charisma but instead the clergymen's charisma. In fact, it is clear that Garvey utilized various tactics for the benefit of UNIA growth and operated as a chameleon based on the potential of being successful with a particular frame and leader.

What this chapter illustrates is that Garvey used strategic framing and recruitment, not just his charisma, in order to recruit UNIA members. Garvey identified the proper frames to use as recruitment tools—not just to the general public but to the leaders that he looked to find support from. Garvey through 1916 displayed charismatic qualities but continued to identify charismatic individuals and themes that he thought would help grow the UNIA.

CHAPTER FOUR: The Universal Negro Improvement Association 1917

Overview

By January 1917, Garvey had tried to use the name and credibility of Booker T. Washington and his Tuskegee Institute (including Washington's secretary, Emmett J. Scott, who was a target of Garvey's. Garvey thought it would have kept him close to Washington's name

and legacy after Washington's death), Robert R. Moton (Washington's successor at Tuskegee), and W. E. B. Du Bois (despite Garvey having been fundamentally opposed to Du Bois' politics) in order to gain support for the UNIA. Nearly one year into its US campaign, the UNIA's American presence was still very small. In fact, at this time the UNIA did not even have one official US branch. Garvey made greater strides toward UNIA growth, moves that were greatly needed. In order to reach the black masses, Garvey began to marry the UNIA to Black Nationalism and the black church.

Framework and Rationale

One of Garvey's greatest strengths was his ability to connect with and appeal to the black psyche (VanDeusen 1944). Having demonstrated in chapter two that Garvey was influenced by religion and Black Nationalism, and having also demonstrated in chapter three that Garvey was willing to modify the UNIA's message in order to attract sympathizers, chapter four deals with how Garvey transitioned from attaching himself and the UNIA to educators in favor of clergymen in order to gain UNIA support.

Garvey did not use just any clergymen, but instead used primarily ones who he felt would be most likely to bring in blacks who would participate in a social movement organization. To do this Garvey leaned heavily on the National Baptist Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the latter of which has a deep history with Black Nationalism.

Scholars accurately point out that Black Nationalism and the promotion of racial pride was key to the success of the Garvey movement (Essien-Udom 1962; Cruise 1968; Wesley 1968; Draper 1969; Foner 1970; Foster 1970; Coombs 1972; Brimberg 1974; Cox 1976). The Garvey

movement was essentially a revolt against the white standard and a push toward Black Nationalism (Cronon 1969). Nationalism was important to the UNIA because Black Nationalism connected Garvey to the individuals who would help to grow the UNIA and it resonated with black people.

Not only was Garvey unsurpassed as a black organizer, he also excelled as an inspirational leader as well (Barrett 1946). Garvey was inspirational because he attached movement participants to nationalist and religious frames. The way that Garvey inspired black people is that he spoke on the behalf of blacks worldwide, glorifying the race (Lubell 1964; Jenkins 1967). Garvey's success lies in his ability to symbolize black yearnings (Cronon 1969; Hall 1978). In other words Garvey accurately identified the proper frames that best resonated with the black masses. The commonly accepted symbols of black pride derive from the Garvey movement, and Garvey's brand of racial pride attracted many blacks around the world (Gosnell 1935; Redding 1950; Morsbach 1967; Glenn 1969; Huggins 1971; Davis 1972; Grant 1972; Pinkney 1975; Harris 1976). Garvey introduced the US to notions of black beauty and power (Jacques Garvey 1968).

A significant number of religious figures, both men and women, supported the Garvey movement and in some cases, the black church and the Garvey movement held a similar view of race relations and blacks' relationship to Africa (Frazier 1949; Burkett 1978a). The black church provided black clergymen a veil of cover from white society and through music and speech also provided blacks with inspiration (Morris 1984). The organization of the black church is conducive to organized action since the church already consists of groups, committees, and people with a strong work ethic (Morris 1984). Owned by blacks, the black church—a primary institution in the black community—contains many of the tools necessary for collective action

(Morris 1984; Patillo-McCoy 1998). Because of these characteristics, the black church has long participated in community politics and community-based outreach (Harris 2001).

Garvey took the religious character of the Garvey movement seriously and as a result situated black history into a theological framework, whereas God was working on the behalf of black people (Burkett 1978b). Garveyism was not however steeped in any one religious premise (Lincoln 1961). Garvey did not see God as being separate from the struggle for liberation (Young 1977). Garvey was Catholic and never spoke publicly against Christianity (Lubell 1964) enabling him to garner the support of masses (Boulware 1969).

Garvey's teachings influenced future Black Nationalist leaders including Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X of the Nation of Islam (Jacques Garvey 1968; Twombly 1971; Davis 1975.). Both Garvey and Malcolm X believed that blacks could not be equal to whites without first being independent from whites (Ploski 1971). Garveyites became a part of the recruitment base of the Black Muslims of the 1930s (Brisbane 1970). It was the Garvey-influenced philosophies of Malcolm X and Patrice Lumumba that put blacks socially back on track; the Garvey movement was one of the greatest revolutionary movements in black history yet is under acclaimed (Maglangbayan 1972).

Problem and Purpose

In chapter two I argued that Garvey labored over a significant period of time in order to become a leader. In chapter three I illustrated that one of Garvey's strategies was to link himself and the UNIA to people and organizations that would likely lend support to him. I have shown that Garvey would connect himself to leaders, whether that leader was in agreement with Garvey's program or not, based on Garvey's thoughts of how successful those alliances could be.

In chapter four I also illustrated Garvey's framing and recruitment strategy; it has become even clearer that Garvey did not recruit people on the ground as much as the discourse suggests he did. Having not demonstrated any strong charismatic relationships as of 1917, and having only moderate success by 1918, I demonstrate in this chapter that Garvey made a decision to align himself—and the UNIA—with clergymen for the purpose of growing the organization. I address the misconception that Garvey, through his direct contact with potential mobilizers, was responsible for the mass mobilization of the UNIA.

Questions

In this chapter I discover whether or not Garvey strategically staffed the UNIA with leaders of preexisting organizations. If so, were these leaders black clergymen? Was doing so beneficial to the growth of the UNIA? Was there a connection between the history and structure of the AME Church and that of the UNIA that would have been beneficial to the growth of the UNIA?

Significance and Contribution

Many scholars place the start of the US Garvey movement somewhere between 1916 and 1917 (Cronon 1960; Grant 2008; Hill 1983:I; Martin 1976; Tolbert 1980; Vincent 1971). This period is indeed important to Garveyism as this is when Marcus Garvey officially brought the UNIA to the US. However the UNIA or what is commonly called the Garvey movement, is actually an extension of Black Nationalism which is associated with Richard Allen (1760-1831), Martin Delany (1812-1885), and Henry Turner (1843-1915), three men with strong ties to the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church (Angell 1992; Levine 2003; Martin 1976; Robinson 2001; Rolinson 2007). Garvey used relationships with black churches of all types in order to gain support for the UNIA, but because of the fit between what Garvey was advocating for and the

messages of the AME Church, the relationship between Garvey's UNIA and the AME Church was the most critical.

Black clergymen, especially prominent ones, were able to do for Garvey what Garvey never could have done on his own—speak to large groups of blacks about social issues and social justice. This is because despite the racist nature of America during this period of study, whites more often than not allowed blacks the space to practice religion. Garvey, as a layperson, did not have the same freedoms. Garvey and the AME Church both had Black Nationalist roots and programs. I begin to demonstrate that without the black church the UNIA would not have developed into a strong organization.

CHAPTER FIVE: The Universal Negro Improvement Association 1918-1921

Overview

This chapter demonstrates the correlation between the UNIA's successes and the UNIA's relationships with black clergymen, specifically those of the AME, AME Zion, and the National Baptist Churches. More specifically I demonstrate: 1) that the UNIA moved to a more religion-oriented organization, and its top leadership was reflective of that; 2) that the UNIA's Chaplain General elected at the 1920 Convention created a network that made it easier for the UNIA's clergymen in leadership roles to recruit; and, 3) that the UNIA's clergy-leaders, namely, the UNIA's Leader of American Negroes elected at the 1920 Convention, were consistently traveling and building the UNIA in 1920 and 1921 and were the causes of UNIA growth and development during its peak.

Framework and Rationale

To understand resource mobilization is to understand the inner workings of a social movement. The resource mobilization perspective places a strong value on both the constraint of social movements as well as the support of society (McCarthy and Zald 1977).⁶ The resource mobilization perspective focuses on the decisions made by social movement organizations with regard to what methods they employ to accomplish their goals. Its theorists are chiefly concerned with the interactions of social movement organizations as opposed to the thoughts and intentions of the individual actors; pragmatic and bureaucratic organization are the foci of the resource mobilization perspective. Social movements such as the UNIA, along with several other social movement groups, initiated a new cycle of protest, and therefore the resource mobilization perspective is useful to one who may be looking to explain the success of the UNIA.

The resource mobilization perspective treats social movements as an extension of politics.⁷ When examined through the resource mobilization lens, social movements can be

6 McCarthy and Zald (1977) stated that it was "the ambiguous evidence of some of the research on deprivation, relative deprivation, and generalized belief [that] has led [them] to search for a perspective and a set of assumptions that lessen the prevailing emphasis upon grievances. [They] want to move from a strong assumption about the centrality of deprivation and grievances to a weak one, which makes them a component, indeed, sometimes a secondary component in the generation of social movements."

7 Jenkins (1983) points out that "(a) movement actions are rational, adaptive responses to the costs and rewards of different lines of action; (b) the basic goals of movements are defined by conflicts of interest built into institutionalized power relations; (c) the grievances generated by such conflicts are sufficiently ubiquitous that the formation and mobilization of movements depend on changes in resources, group organization, and opportunities for collective action; (d) centralized, formally structured movement organizations are more typical of modern social movements and more effective at mobilizing resources and mounting sustained challenges than decentralized, informal movement structures; and (e) the success of movements is largely determined by strategic factors and the political process in which they become enmeshed."

analyzed in terms of conflicts of interest. Resource mobilization theorists believe that social movement actors and political opportunities operate separately from one another (Santoro and McGuire 1997). The resource mobilization perspective suggests that movements are seen as methodical and can therefore be analyzed, similarly to other institutionalized action, in terms of its organizational dynamics (Buechler 1993).

The utilization of resources by specific social movement organizations has a profound affect on the nature of the organization itself (Cress and Snow 1996).⁸ The resource mobilization theorist sees the social movement organization as the tool that allows a certain movement to mobilize the resources it has at its disposal (Santoro and McGuire 1997). It is then the job of the social movement organization not only to achieve its objectives by mobilizing the resources that are available to it, but also to create new resources in the form of recruiting new participants. This is where Garvey excelled.

One criticism of the resource mobilization perspective is that it considers the role of structure but has not given enough consideration to the role of grievances, specifically, with regard to collective action. Also, the way that the resource mobilization perspective is understood in relationship to social movements is vague. It is necessary to be more clear about the types of resources that are mobilized by social movement organizations. I aim to demonstrate that Garvey's development led him to successfully mobilize charisma as a recruitment tool.

⁸ According to Cress and Snow (1996), "Concerning the relationship between the number of resources mobilized and [social movement organization] viability, we found that nine of the resources, when joined with other resource combinations, yielded three pathways to viability. Thus, it may not be the absolute number of resources that determines the viability of [a social movement organization] but the type of resources and the way they combine and interact."

Additionally there is not a clear, empirical understanding of the relationship between resources and outcomes in the resource mobilization perspective (Cress and Snow 1996).⁹ The resource mobilization perspective “can lead to a narrow formal organization view of social movements” but a “clear focus on the interconnection of movement environment and institutional environment would highlight the role that grievances and inside help play” (Morris 1979:9). Resource mobilization’s interest in organizational structure and participant support makes it a good lens through which to examine a social movement, and helps to explain many aspects of the UNIA, but I additionally rely on Morris’ Indigenous Perspective for its treatment of the black church.

Problem and Purpose

To this point I have argued that Garvey worked hard over a long period of time in order to become an extremely successful leader. I pointed out that one of Garvey’s strategies was to link himself and the UNIA to people and organizations, even if Garvey did not share the beliefs of that leader or group. I also pointed out that Garvey had changed frames on occasion to suit the UNIA’s needs but had only achieved moderate success—Garvey was failing at having a stronghold in the US. I spent a good deal of time detailing how and why Garvey recruited prominent clergymen who helped to grow the UNIA. In 1920, with Garvey’s recruitment machine in place, UNIA growth is greater than ever for nearly two years. I am demonstrating in this chapter that Garvey’s strength was recruiting recruiters.

⁹ Cress and Snow (1996) report, the “underspecified conceptualization of resources is largely the result of the schemes that are too narrow or too general.” [They] proceeded inductively to identify the range of resources accumulated by the 15 homeless [social movement organizations] and then categorize them around common functional dimensions.

Questions

There are two main questions that this chapter seeks an answer for. The first question is of whether the UNIA became more religious in its operation around the time of its peak mobilization? The second is did the UNIA benefit from Garvey's recruitment and promotion of clergymen into leadership positions?

Significance and Contribution

By demonstrating that the UNIA benefitted from: 1) becoming more religious in its operations; and, 2) the recruitment and promotion of well-connected or otherwise successful clergymen, I am able to offer a major revision to the way that scholars see the UNIA and Marcus Garvey's role in it. My aim is to shine a light on the UNIA's recruitment machine. It was this machine that turned the UNIA into a great success. Garvey's responsibility for the growth of the UNIA was in his knowledge of framing and resource mobilization.

The UNIA achieved a great deal of success by 1921, including starting its own newspaper, opening many companies that employed blacks, and even opening a shipping business with the intention of becoming an international trade company. By the 1921 Convention, the UNIA claimed 860 branches with the majority of those branches organized between the 1920 and 1921 Conventions. The reason for this unprecedented growth of the UNIA between the 1920 Convention and the 1921 Convention was due to the fact that Garvey constructed a well-networked ecclesiastic recruitment machine, not because people were compelled to follow Marcus Garvey. I show that UNIA growth was achieved by: 1) changing the language of the UNIA to appear more religious in nature; 2) Garvey's modification of Black Nationalism in a manner that best appealed to clergymen; 3) identifying and recruiting prominent clergymen from

a multitude of denominations and placing them in leadership positions in the UNIA; and, 4) organizing the clergy of the local branches, standardizing their duties, and standardizing the operations of local UNIA meetings, giving them an ecclesiastic makeover. The result of these actions was that the UNIA was able to finally, because of the use of the clergy and their churches, have a voice in the South where the majority of blacks were living during that period, and bring people into the organization in mass. This entire narrative is new to the discussion of the UNIA's success.

CHAPTER SIX: The Universal Negro Improvement Association 1922-1927

Overview

In this chapter I argue that Garvey unintentionally dismantled the UNIA in five steps: 1) Garvey decided that instead of trusting those proven leaders whom he had selected to mobilize for the UNIA to do their jobs, that he would instead minimize their impact on the UNIA; 2) Garvey began to replace clergymen with laymen and in the process replaced proven leaders with inexperienced people who were selected simply because he trusted them take his orders; 3) Garvey formed an alliance with the Ku Klux Klan in order to solve the issue of not having free passage into the South; this angered black Americans and caused Garvey to lose support; 4) Garvey's affiliation with the Ku Klux Klan in addition to his weakened support among other factors, helped to empower his opposition; and, 5) Once Garvey gave his opposition and critics the tools necessary to help get him incarcerated, the UNIA had no strong or experienced leader left to keep the UNIA unified in Garvey's absence.

Framework and Rationale

Prior to this study scholars had an inaccurate understanding of Garvey's relationship to the UNIA. As such, they often report that the UNIA's demise was due to Garvey's character; they are only partially correct. The failure of the Garvey movement, according to Barrett (1946), is due to the fact that the people Garvey surrounded himself with were not able to chart a course for blacks, therefore Garvey did most things on his own and otherwise delegated a few tasks to incapable parties; and, 2) there was jealousy and lack of unity on the part of movement leadership. There is some truth to this theory. Wells (1970) agrees that competency in Garvey's staff was an issue for Garvey and she believes that the Black Star Line, for instance, would have been successful if the right people had been chosen to lead the effort. I too point to a problem with UNIA leadership as one of the reasons for the UNIA's failure.

The Black Star Line led to Garvey's imprisonment. If we treat Garvey as a charismatic leader then we would say that Garvey needed to be in the presence of his followers in order to be successful; therefore, Garvey's imprisonment is at least partially responsible for the demise of the Garvey movement according to Davis (1972). This too is partially correct. Garvey's absence was problematic to the UNIA but the trouble Garvey's absence caused had little to do with *Garvey's* charisma. Additionally, the failure of the Garvey movement can also be attributed to the mismanagement of movement funds and the impracticality of transporting millions of blacks to Africa. (Dennis 1970; Mulzac 1963). This research has found that financial mismanagement and the failure of the Black Star Line alone were not sufficient in derailing neither Garvey nor the UNIA. While Garvey's promised land was in Africa, his base was in the US and this too was deleterious to Garvey and the UNIA according to Draper (1969). My research finds that none of these concerns were significant enough to cause the UNIA's demise.

Some scholars look to the “Garvey Must Go” campaign as the reason why the UNIA failed. The “Garvey Must Go” campaign was organized by the Socialist Party and was led by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen (Foner 1977). As a part of this campaign, the *Messenger* led the charge against Garveyism; there were other media outlets that followed suit but the *Messenger* was unrelenting (Kornweibel 1975). The Urban Leagues’ *Opportunity* depicted Garvey in a negative light as well (Weiss 1940).

In addition to the Socialists, Communists were against the Garvey movement, although they were not opposed in the beginning (Record 1971). J. Kwegyir Aggrey spoke out against the Garvey movement and requested that Africans not support Garvey (Roome N.d.). Garvey’s Nationalist ideology earned him some enemies as well, and one such enemy was Robert Abbott (Spear 1967). The US federal government was not kind to Garvey. Garvey was charged with mail fraud in 1923, tax evasion in 1924, and was ultimately deported in 1927 (Twombly 1971). My research also found that even the United States’ anti-Garvey campaign was not sufficient to derail neither Garvey nor the UNIA.

Cox (1976) argues that the decline of the Garvey movement is because: 1) Garvey was not realistic and the black nations that he advocated for did not support his agenda; 2) Garvey did not have a grasp of the desires of blacks in the US in terms of nation- building; and 3) Garvey’s “black is beautiful” mantra did not always hold up; the beauty of blackness is contingent upon blacks’ acceptance. The problem with Cox’s argument is that it seems unlikely that blacks were supportive of Garvey’s agenda only until he was imprisoned and then suddenly became discontent. That said, this study found that there is some truth to Cox’s theory on Garvey and nation-building as is explained in chapter six.

The UNIA's failure has also been linked to the increase in opportunity for blacks after the Great Depression (Haywood 1948). Cronon argues that Garvey's failure is caused by his inability to deliver a real alternative to black oppression. It has even been argued that the Garvey movement failed because it failed to gain white support (Myrdal 1962) or because of Garvey's lack of tact and his inability to make friends (Padmore 1972). Again, the most complete depiction of the rise and fall of Garvey and the UNIA is this dissertation.

Methodology

Assessing all of the data gathered from the forthcoming chapters we know that Garvey's training built the UNIA into a mass movement. We also know that Garvey's relationships were critical in the development of the UNIA. Garvey moved in and out of frames to suit his and the UNIA's needs and also relied on black clergymen for UNIA growth. After all of this, Garvey's UNIA found a great deal of mobilization success in 1920 but by 1922 had begun its rapid descent. Chapter six utilizes the information gathered from the four previous chapters in an attempt to ascertain the reason for the decline of the UNIA.

Significance and Contribution

Because of what we learned about Marcus Garvey and the UNIA's growth in the opening chapters of this dissertation, it is necessary for Garvey scholars to reevaluate their explanations of the UNIA's growth. Just as the research endeavored to discover the reasons for the UNIA's growth in order to know more about its decline, having a plausible theory of UNIA's decline helps us to better understand which of the UNIA's elements were most important in its growth. The aim of this chapter, as is the aim of this dissertation, is to provide a new and more accurate explanation for the UNIA's peak and plummet.

ORGANIZATION OF DISSERTATION

In chapter two, in order to figure out why the UNIA flourished in the US, we begin by examining Garvey's upbringing and leadership training. Chapter three provides the detail of several black Americans who Garvey attempted to befriend for the benefit of the UNIA. Chapter four describes the UNIA's relationship to Black Nationalism and the black church. Chapter five provides evidence for the growth of the UNIA with the aid of black clergymen who comprise the UNIA's recruitment machine. Chapter six offers a new and exciting theory on the decline of the UNIA. And finally, chapter seven provides a synthesis of this dissertation's findings as it pertains to nationalism, religion, organizational structure, charisma, UNIA opposition, and framing.

Chapter II

The Creation of a Leader: Marcus Garvey from 1887-1916

INTRODUCTION

The objectives of this chapter are: 1) to demonstrate that Marcus Mosiah Garvey placed himself in a position to become a leader based on his life decisions beginning at an early age; 2) to catalogue the skills that Garvey attained before his arrival in the United States in 1916 that enabled him to successfully organize the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in the United States; and, 3) to define the origin of the strategies that Garvey employed in order to recruit individuals for the Universal Negro Improvement Association. I will accomplish these goals by examining a combination of biographies and other historical accounts of Garvey's early life, in conjunction with news articles related to Garvey and personal letters to and from Garvey which detail his activities from 1887 to 1916.

This chapter will be divided into four distinct time periods: 1) 1887-1901; 2) 1901-1907; 3) 1907-1912; and, 4) 1912-1916. In order to show that Garvey's decision-making led to his success, firstly I will explain how Marcus Garvey's family and background, specifically his parents' culture and beliefs, helped to prepare him to become a race leader. Secondly, I will describe how Garvey's formal and informal academic training worked in concert with his vocational, social, and political training to benefit his efforts to become a race leader. Thirdly, I will describe how Garvey benefitted from leaving his hometown and relocating to a major metropolitan area while he was still a teenager. Fourthly I will explain how Garvey's travels and speaking engagements during the period between 1912 and 1914 prepared Garvey to launch the UNIA in Jamaica. Fifthly and finally, I will outline the manner in which Garvey's relationships

with respected community leaders meshed with Garvey's aims for the UNIA in the period between 1914 and 1916, and helped to prepare Garvey and the UNIA for their arrival to America.

I will demonstrate that the UNIA's success was a product of the work that Garvey put in to become a great leader from the time he was a young boy. Garvey engineered what was arguably the largest black social movement organization in American history. The aim of this piece is to illustrate Garvey's superior work ethic and sociological brilliance, and the impact that each had on his success and the success of the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

PERIOD ONE: 1887-1901

Family Background

Any serious scholar of the Garvey movement recognizes that Marcus Mosiah Garvey built a mass movement steeped in Black Nationalism and veiled in Christianity. Often understated is that Garvey was exposed to Black Nationalism well before the 1910s. It is worth pointing out that Garvey had a connection to the continent of Africa and to religion from a very early age.

Marcus Mosiah Garvey was born to Marcus and Sarah Garvey as the youngest of eleven children in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica in 1887 (Cronon 1960; Grant 2008; Lawler and Davenport 2005; Martin 1976; Rolinson 2007; Stein 1986). Both the descendants of slaves, the elder Marcus and Sarah were said to be of pure African blood; as rumor had it, Marcus Sr.'s family were descendants of the Maroons – escaped African slaves (Hill 1983; Lawler and Davenport 2005; Martin 1976). Sarah wanted to give her son the middle name Moses, as she hoped that he would grow-up to become a leader of his people; but the elder Marcus, not being a religious

person, thought that Mosiah would be a better name for their son (Cronon 1960; Lawler and Davenport 2005). Such lofty expectations for young Marcus Garvey were not unusual given that “[t]he Maroons have always had a greater prestige than ordinary Jamaican Negroes as a result of their successful struggle against slavery” (Cronon 1960). Due to some unique circumstances, Garvey’s upbringing had a balance of racial pride, religion, and great expectations from both of his parents. Garvey’s development as a leader demonstrates the coming together of all of these elements, and Garvey implemented all three of these attributes in the formation of the UNIA.

Formal Education

Garvey internalized the expectations that his parents had for him and as a result, he had very high expectations for himself. For instance, education was very important to Garvey; he had a great desire to learn—be it on his own or in school—and greatly valued the opportunity to be taught. Garvey was “[e]ducated in public grammar schools and by private tutors,” additionally, he “read on his own from the volumes in his father’s library” (Lawler and Davenport 2005:9). Garvey also attended two colleges and was taught by four eminent preachers, two of which were the Reverends W.H Sloely and P.A. Conahan (Cronon 1960; Hill 1983:1). Garvey reportedly “attended the schools of [St. Ann’s Bay, having] graduated from the Church of England High School” (Cronon 1960:7). After high school, Garvey attended Birkbeck College in London, England (Cronon 1960; Martin 1976). Not only was Garvey interested in academic education, he was certain to learn a vocation as well. Because of Garvey’s high expectations, when traditional means of achieving a goal were unavailable to him, he continued to push forward.

PERIOD TWO: 1901-1907

Learning to Print

Aside from his academic training, Garvey was educated in a valuable trade and began to engage in discussions on current events. When Garvey was fourteen years old he became a printer's apprentice (Cronon 1960; Garvey 1978; Grant 2008; Hill 1983:I; Stein 1986). Garvey worked under the instruction of his godfather, Mr. Alfred 'Cap' Burrowes (Cronon 1960; Jacques Garvey 1978; Grant 2008; Stein 1986). Burrowes operated a small print shop, and "[a]t a small country print shop one learns everything in connection with the trade; besides, Mr. Burrowes had many books, and the "wise heads" of the Town would drop in, especially on market days, to swap news and discuss happenings," so Garvey was getting a well-rounded education (Jacques Garvey 1978:4). By the time Garvey was fifteen years of age, he had left school to work full-time in his godfather's shop (Cronon 1960; Jacques Garvey 1978; Lawler and Davenport 2005; Martin 1976). According to Cronon (1960:11), Garvey's:

employer had a substantial library that was open to the youthful apprentice. Here, too, Garvey began to absorb some of the journalistic techniques that were later to play such an important part in the development of his movement. After two years at the trade, young [Garvey] had picked up enough skill to warrant his branching out on his own. And since prospects for the future in a small village printery did not appear particularly bright, at the age of seventeen the ambitious young man left St. Ann's Bay for Kingston in order to work at his new trade.

As Cronon points out, Garvey developed many skills both from school and from the world around him. As I mentioned previously, Garvey's attitude was such that he would not allow himself to abandon his pursuit of an education simply because he could not afford to continue in his formal education. During his Garvey's time with Burrowes, he developed a taste for politics, something that he would participate in for the rest of his life. There were many benefits that came from Garvey's time with Burrowes. In print work, Garvey attained a skill that he would use for the remainder of his life, but he would not remain under Burrowes' close watch for long.

Expanded Horizons

Notwithstanding Garvey's successes learning print work and politics with Mr. Burrowes, leaving St. Ann's Bay was critical for Garvey's development as a leader. Garvey needed the experience of being in a major city and dealing with the different culture that accompanies that lifestyle in order to become a versatile leader capable of communicating with various groups of men and women on various levels. Now in Kingston, Jamaica, Garvey found himself being entertained by street debates and the hustle and bustle of business in his new urban environment (Cronon 1960:12). Garvey did not enjoy Kingston as much as he had St. Ann's Bay. Amy Jacques Garvey (1978:5), Marcus Garvey's second wife commented that city life:

brought a quickening of other activities, contacts with people who had traveled on ships to all parts of the world, civic consciousness and exposure to vocal expression. Barbershop forums and park bench discussion groups after work contributed to his mental expansion. At first he was a silent listener, hesitant to enter discussions; for his first attempt he was rudely rebuked and told, "Country boy, shut your mouth." This retort galled him; he determined after this to learn how to be a good speaker. He knew he had views which were different from those of his comrades, but they would chaff at his youth and disregard his points of argument; so he must learn to press them with logic and persuasion.

Garvey liked city life and all that came along with it. It was here where Garvey found his voice. But that voice was not yet valued.

Garvey Becomes an Orator

Due in part to harsh criticism from those who heard him speak, Garvey began to focus on becoming a better orator (Stein 1986). Unfortunately for Garvey, "[a]t this period there were in Jamaica no elocution classes and no concert or stage groups, so every Sunday he visited different churches to get pointers in platform deportment and oratory from the preachers" (Jacques Garvey 1978:5). For additional practice, Garvey "read aloud passages from school readers and poems, and tried out gestures he thought apt, while pacing the floor" (Jacques Garvey 1978:5). Garvey's oratorical skill quickly improved—so much so that Garvey established an annual Elocution

Contest in Kingston (Cronon 1960). Garvey had reached the point where he was training young men and women in elocution and was also arranging speaking contests for them (Garvey 1978). Being in Kingston gave Garvey insight into what to say as well as how to say it which helped him to become a strong leader.

Garvey did not happen to come to America and develop into a leader. It was Garvey's experiences with learning to print and learning to communicate effectively that helped him to develop his careers as a social movement leader and the editor of numerous journals etc. From this point forward, Garvey would live out his days as both a leader of an organization, sometimes with very few or no additional members, and a print worker, sometimes with few subscribers.

First-Time Protest Leader

Garvey developed a career both as a print worker and as an agitator with the P.A. Benjamin Company in Jamaica. In the US, Garvey was active in speaking out against the mistreatment of Blacks. Before coming to the America, Garvey practiced the skill of advocacy often, beginning in Jamaica. In 1907, when Garvey was twenty years of age, he was both a master printer and a foreman at P.A. Benjamin (Cronon 1960; Jacques Garvey 1978; Lawler and Davenport 2005). Aside from being a foreman, "Garvey was vice-president of the compositor's branch of the union" (Grant 2008:18). During a strike over unfair wages and poor working conditions, Garvey joined the workers in the strike, and took a leadership role in the strike process (Cronon 1960; Jacques Garvey 1978; Grant 2008). The workers lost the strike and Garvey lost a job, but he became more politically involved (Jacques Garvey 1978).

PERIOD THREE: 1907-1912

Public Black Nationalist

Garvey's advocacy often came at a cost. For example Garvey lost his job at the P.A. Benjamin Company. Despite losing his job, Garvey's *primary* career in print work and agitation were just taking off. In the period following the strike Garvey's role in the black community of Jamaica grew immensely. It is during this period that Garvey combined his political interests with his desire to print and agitate. The earliest evidence of Garvey's ties to a nationalist political organization was with The National Club of Jamaica (TNCJ) which he helped found on March 3, 1909 (Hill 1983:I). By the time that Garvey helped found The National Club of Jamaica, it was clear that Garvey had the drive to help others of his race. Within TNCJ Garvey was a leader, having been elected as an assistant secretary (Martin 1976). The National Club of Jamaica had its own bi-weekly publication called *Our Own* (Cronon 1960; Jacques Garvey 1978; Grant 2008 Lawler and Davenport 2005; Martin 1976). This is another example of Garvey developing experience with both print and agitation.

Because Garvey realized how important it was for an organization to spread its message far and wide, Garvey began working on his own news organ, a periodical called *Garvey's Watchman* (Cronon 1960). From that point forward, Garvey attempted to publish and widely distribute many news organs. Here it became clear that Garvey made a decision to become a leader—a champion of some worthwhile cause—and had determined that he could incorporate his skill as a printer to help further his cause. While it is clear that Garvey's print work was being used for the betterment of the black community during this phase, it was not being used as successfully as it would be later when Garvey became a much more successful leader (in terms of mobilization) in the 1920s.

While in Jamaica Garvey made a connection that changed the course of black social movements. Dr. J. Robert Love, a successful clergyman who published a paper called *The Advocate*, mentored Garvey (Martin 1976). Love, like Garvey, was West Indian. However Love was educated in England, and had spent years in Jamaica championing black uplift (Jacques Garvey 1978). Love was “the first black man to inspire leadership in [Garvey]” (Jacques Garvey 1978:6). Long before he began mentoring Garvey, Love had been close friends with Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, a leader in the AME Church, who was considered “one of the most important Pan-Africanists of the nineteenth century and the one whose rhetoric perhaps comes closest to Garvey’s” (Martin 1976:111). One product of Love’s mentorship was Garvey’s realization “that any effective program would demand his full-time attention and more money than he had any immediate prospects of obtaining in Jamaica” (Cronon 1960:14). Later chapters will detail the importance that Black Nationalism in general, and Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and the black church in particular, played in the successful spread of Garveyism. Aside from Garvey’s demonstrated ability to perform print work and his willingness to speak truth to power, he was interested in becoming an even better leader. According to Grant (2008:22):

this phase of Garvey’s life was characterized by a stringent regime of self-improvement; he enrolled for elocution lessons, with the aim of recasting his thick country accent into the kind of neutral Standard English spoken in music-appreciation and debating societies. On the face of it Garvey’s choice of occasional tutor was an odd one. [Love] was celebrated as a natural orator of great ability, capable of an effortless swaying of the emotions of those lucky enough to hear him. But even if he’d been so inclined, Love’s ability to offer elocution lessons would have been impaired by a recent stroke. It didn’t stop the young pretender, with heroic potential, seeking out the man many in Jamaica thought of as an oracle. [Love] did not confine himself to the rendition of clean seductive sounds and aural perfection. As well as being a doctor and preacher, Love was a proud ‘decidedly black’ radical journalist and aggressive campaigner for social reform.

Grant points out just how hard Garvey worked in order to become a great leader. Garvey practiced speaking and debating publically, as these skills are very useful to someone looking to become a leader of a social movement.

Garvey Leaves Jamaica

Garvey's failures and unmet financial needs caused him to leave Jamaica and lead a more transient lifestyle. *Garvey's Watchman* was not very successful; publication of this organ was suspended by its third issue (Grant 2008). As a result of the newspaper's failure, and because Garvey needed to sustain himself financially, Garvey left Jamaica for Costa Rica to secure employment as a timekeeper at a banana plantation (Jacques Garvey 1978). Further evidence of Garvey's need for additional income is that while working at the banana plantation, Garvey simultaneously worked as a laborer at a Port Limon pier (Martin 1976).

While working both of these jobs, Garvey "edited a paper, *La Nacion*, harassed the British counsel concerning his failure to protect the many British West Indian laborers working there, was arrested for urging workers to fight for better conditions, and was eventually expelled from the country (or left to escape authorities)" (Martin 1976:4). Garvey was very busy developing himself as a leader. However, *La Nacion*, as had *Garvey's Watchman* before it, quickly failed (Cronon 1960). Garvey was far from being a finished product. As Garvey had done previously, he moved, this time from Costa Rica to Colon, where he started yet another newspaper, *La Prensa* (Jacques Garvey 1978).

After finding poor living and working conditions for blacks, and especially West Indians, everywhere he went, Garvey decided to take an even grander tour, traveling now to Ecuador, Venezuela, Columbia, and parts of Central America (Cronon 1960; Jacques Garvey 1978; Grant 2008; Lawler and Davenport 2005; Martin 1976; Stein 1986). Garvey's findings were consistent throughout his travels—black men and women were being mistreated and many of the disadvantaged people that Garvey saw while traveling were fellow Jamaicans. Not being able to maintain permanent employment nor to gather a reasonable audience for any of his news organs

led to Garvey's nomadic lifestyle. However, his travels were beneficial, allowing him to learn more about the black condition in places outside of Jamaica.

However, due to personal illness, Garvey ended his travels and decided to return to Jamaica (Cronon 1960; Jacques Garvey 1978; Grant 2008; Lawler and Davenport 2005). It is possible that the reason for Garvey's return to Jamaica was due, at least in part, to his desire to help fellow Jamaicans who requested his assistance with matters of racial inequality (Cronon 1960; Jacques Garvey 1978). Garvey knew that he wanted to be a great leader, but he had not yet decided what goals to pursue.

Garvey Returns to Jamaica

Garvey's decision to return to Jamaica, regardless of his motivation, was important to his long-term mobilizing efforts. According to Jacques Garvey (1978:8), in Jamaica:

[t]he people urged Garvey to form an association for the betterment of black West [I]ndians at home and abroad. Again money handicapped him, and the government frowned on his efforts. He called the organization the Universal Negro Improvement Association. The word "Negro" created opposition and prevented help from "better-off colored people," who felt that Negro was synonymous with low, good-for-nothing. To the few whites it suggested an organized black majority, which they felt would be dangerous to their economic overlordship. These oppositions were subtle and undermining, so he decided to go to England, and try to enlist the sympathy of black seamen and students from Africa.

Jacques Garvey points out that Garvey found people who wanted to be led; and then he went to England to learn how to best lead them. Jacques Garvey also reveals that the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) got its conceptual start in Jamaica in 1912; but it would not take any real form for several years (Jacques Garvey 1978). But if not for Garvey's return to Jamaica, the UNIA may not have ever been formed. Nevertheless, Garvey would not remain in Jamaica for very long, and his experiences while at his next destination made him a more successful leader than he could have been in the absence of these travels.

PERIOD FOUR: 1912-1916

Study Abroad

In 1912, within a year or so of moving back to Jamaica, Garvey left again, this time to London, England (Cronon 1960). Garvey studied in England as had his mentor, Love. Aside from Love's influence, Garvey was motivated to travel to London, at least in part, because London was where "British colonial policy was decided [and] he might find people who could help West Indians" (Lawler and Davenport 2005).

Still financially unstable and lacking the money to relocate on his own, Garvey's journey to London was funded by his only surviving sibling, Indiana, a private teacher already living in London. (Lawler and Davenport 2005; Martin 1976). Garvey found work on the docks of London in order to support himself (Lawler and Davenport 2005).

While in England, Garvey "indulged his love of public speaking at Hyde Park's Speakers' Corner, was a regular visitor to the House of Commons, and worked for the *African Times and Orient Review*, 'the foremost Pan-African journal of the day,'" published by an Egyptian author named Duse Mohammed Ali (Cronon 1960; Martin 1976:5; Jacques Garvey 1978). Here again, showing respect for both the spoken and written word, Garvey was convinced that this was the key to getting followers. Garvey began working for the *African Times and Orient Review* after meeting its publisher.¹⁰ In October of 1913, Garvey published "The British West Indies in the Mirror of Civilization: History Making by Colonial Negroes" in the *African Times and Orient*

¹⁰ The common practice of this publication was to "[express] abuses in British colonies, [promote] African businesses, and [report] the major achievements of the black and colored world" (Stein 1986:29).

Review (1913: Mid-October 158-160). In this article, Garvey provided a description of his discoveries and included the following statement:

As one who knows the people well, I make no apology for prophesying that there will soon be a turning point in the history of the West Indies, and that the people who inhabit that portion of the Western Hemisphere will be the instruments of uniting a scattered Race, who before the close of many centuries will found an Empire on which the sun shall shine as ceaseless as it shines on the Empire of the North today.

This may be regarded as a dream, but I would point my critical friends to history and its lessons. Would Caesar have believed that the country he was invading in 55 B.C. would be the seat of the greatest Empire of the world? Laugh then as you may at what I have been bold enough to prophesy, but as surely as there is evolution in the natural growth of man and nations, so surely will there be a change in the history of these subjected Regions.

Garvey made it clear that he was looking to lead a social movement and that whatever he was involved in would be tremendous.

Garvey Studies Philosophy and African History

Between 1912 and 1914, Garvey studied both law and philosophy at Birkbeck College, part of the University of London that was founded for workers (Cronon 1960; Martin 1976; Lawler and Davenport 2005). Not only did he study “ancient Greek philosophers Socrates and Plato [but also] black scholars of his own time,” as I will detail later on in this chapter (Lawler and Davenport 2005:16). Much of Garvey’s time in London was spent inside public libraries as he read about African history and culture (Cronon 1960; Lawler and Davenport 2005).

Understanding the Black Condition

Garvey realized that his academic and vocational training would not be very useful if he did not know when and how to apply it. So, while in London, Garvey met with other like-minded blacks (Lawler and Davenport 2005). Meeting socially-conscience blacks was made easier because London hosted many international conventions, including several promoting the pan-African movement (Lawler and Davenport 2005). During his time in London, Garvey developed an interest in the black condition in the United States (Cronon 1960). After reading Booker T. Washington's autobiography, *Up from Slavery*, Garvey (1923:126) said:

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

Not only was Garvey preparing to lead a movement, but also he was ready to make major changes to the social order.

European Tour

While based in London, Garvey traveled extensively. The following is an excerpt of a letter that Robert Hill (1983:I:35) published, which was written by Garvey in Glasgow, Scotland, in January of 1914, to T.A. McCormack, helpful in tracking Garvey's movement:

Just a few lines to inform you that I am still in the land-of-the-living. As you will see from heading I am in "Bonny Scotland" among the Highland folk. I expect to be leaving here at the week end for London. I have just run over to Edinburgh to take a glance of the ancient domains of "Mary Queen of Scots" *for the scene was changed* [sic]. I have visited Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Shiefield and New-castle-on Tyne before coming here and after my European tour. I have seen wonders, I have learnt wonders and I hope to teach wonders. It is biting cold in these parts, but since I am a tourist I have provided all the necessaries for such a season. At some places I have visited I have been the only black man seen for a good time and as you know me well, I have had access to places that only the aristocracy would think of going. Some of the people I meet as tourists are wondering how a black man can travel about so much, some take me for an African millionaire[.] I have met some of the same people at Monte Carlo, Paris, Boulogne, London, Madrid and elsewhere.

This letter illustrates that Garvey traveled all over Europe. Other places that Garvey visited that are not mentioned in this letter include Ireland, Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Germany (Martin 1976).

Back to Jamaica

Garvey, still financially disadvantaged, applied for social services through the British Colonial Office for financial assistance to return to Jamaica. According to Hill (1983:I:39):

Mr. Marcus Garvey has applied to the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society stating that, having been robbed of a large sum of money, he finds himself destitute in London and unable to return to his home in Jamaica. He desires help to enable him to raise his passage money and pay off a few debts incurred here. From examination of Mr. Garvey's papers I believe his story to be a genuine one, but the Society has no funds for purposes of relief. Understanding, however, that he is willing in part to work his passage back, if sufficient funds can be raised to meet the amount needed, the Committee will subscribe one guinea to help him. If desired, I shall be glad to receive contributions for Mr. Garvey at this office.

This quote shows that whether Garvey was robbed or simply mismanaged his budget while abroad, Garvey knew the right things to say to get what he needed, even in 1914. Ultimately, Garvey received the assistance that he needed to get back to Jamaica as a third-class passenger aboard the S. S. Trent (Hill 1983:I). Although the UNIA had not yet taken off, Garvey was on the public's radar. Garvey's return to Jamaica was reported in the *Gleaner*, a Jamaican newspaper. The article read "Mr. Marcus Garvey, who left Jamaica . . . for the purpose of taking the B.A. Degree at the University of London, returned to the island on Thursday [July 8, 1914], on the S.S. Trent" (*African Times and Orient Review* 1913: Mid-October: 158-160.) It remains unclear whether Garvey actually earned a degree in London.

Soon after his return to Jamaica, Garvey began campaigning for the UNIA. In a letter that Garvey wrote to the *Gleaner*, he said "[t]hose who know me long enough, know that I am one of those negroes who are not ashamed of [African blood], but who think that there is as much nobility and courage about the negro as any other race" (*Gleaner* 1914: 20 July). Garvey

continued by writing that he “had the opportunity of studying the ‘true history’ of the negro, and I can tell all those who are ignorant of it that the negro has an ancestry of which he should be proud” (*Gleaner* 1914: 20 July). And in August 1914, Garvey offered a manifesto to the public when he wrote, printed, and disseminated the following in the form of a pamphlet on the behalf of the UNIA (Hill 1983:I:65-66):

The destiny of the Negro is a thought-compelling problem that is occupying the minds of the world. Great men and women of all nations have given their views on the Negro question, and there is an abundance of pessimism and optimism in the recorded opinions of these wise thinkers.

Some people think that the Negro will never be better than he is, because he is too selfish, self-content, childish and spiteful to himself[.] Others think that by educating him to the dignity of race pride, and pointing out to him that, by education and industry, he can raise himself to the level of the superior races, the problem of his insignificance shall be solved, and the era of better can be ushered in.

Whatsoever might be said about the Negro, there is one truth that we, as a people, have to admit, and that is “We do not love one another.” And until we grow to appreciate the fact that “blood is thicker than water,” we shall ever be the outcast and refuse of human society — a people worthy of no good, but a degraded lot fit only as “hewers of wood and drawers of water.”

Now, I am speaking to you as fellow Negroes, and as one who loves you in all [sincerity] and who is prepared to go to the front to fight your educational, industrial, and social battles. I want you from henceforth to meet your brother and your sister with the smile of friendship, and stretch out the hand of fellowship to every member of the race, thereby sinking that foolish pride, hatred and grudge which you have held against each other for so long a period. Please look around you and take a leaf out of the book of Examples set before you by our friends and benefactors—our brothers of Salvation. Some of you are stupid enough to think that you are unfairly felt with by the other people of this community. Now, let me tell you right here, that you are entirely wrong. You have consistently been unfair to yourselves, because you hate and despise yourselves.

No one in the wide world is handicapping the Negro, the sleeping Negro has handicapped and is still handicapping himself and not until he realizes the danger of this self-inflicted burden shall he find the way to the post that marks the path to success[.] I have asserted that you are your own handicappers in the race of life—you supply and strengthen the source of “drawback[.]” If you think this assertion misleading, I am asking you to inquire of yourselves individually[:] “Have I ever begrudged, [despised], slander[ed], treat[ed] unkindly or spoken ill of my brother, simply because he is of my own race?” And I know well the answer shall be in the affirmative.

Dear brother and sister let us throw off that slavishness of the past, join hands and hearts together and march forward to the new era of progress[.] “God helps those who help themselves[.]” hence if we want the help for success we must first help ourselves. You know well our position as a people, it is quite unfavorable. Others who are not of our fold have helped us in the past, and they are still helping us: do, let us try too, even now, and help ourselves.

The Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association and African Communities Imperial League has a world scope, and it aims at unifying the people of the African race all over the world. It recognizes the brotherhood of man, and it is our desire to clasp hand with all men of every nation, race and tribe, in the perfected state of a developed manhood. Our motto is—One God! [O]ne [A]jim! [O]ne [D]estiny! Some of our objects are: To establish a universal confraternity among the race; to promote the

spirit of race pride and love; to reclaim the fallen of the Race; to administer to, and help the needy; to assist in civilizing the backward tribes of Africa; to establish Commissioners in the principal countries of the world for the protection and representation of all Negroes, irrespective of nationality; to strengthen the imperialism of Liberia, Basutoland, etc; to establish a conscientious Christian workshop among the tribes of Africa, the fatherland; to establish and support universities[,] colleges, and secondary schools for the further education and culture of our boys and girls, etc. etc.

We want every man[,] woman and child who claims the designation of “Negro” to join the universal confraternity. There is no fee. Send in your name and address and we shall send you a card of membership. If you are far away you can just send a penny stamp for postage[.]

We distribute thousands of educational literature every week, so those who can afford to give a donation to help in the propagation and other work, in enabling us to reach the millions yet outside the fold, can please enclose and send the same to us, which donation shall be acknowledged in the columns of “The Negro World,” the fortnightly official organ of the League. All within the blood Afric, men[,] [women] and children are requested to address or call on Mr. Marcus Garvey, Jnr. President and Traveling Commissioner[,] The Universal Improvement and Conservation Association and African Communities Imperial League or to the General or Associate Secretaries, 121 Orange Street, and 34 Charles Street, Kingston Jamaica, B.W.I.

A copy of the pamphlet “The Negro Race and its problems” by Marcus Garvey, Jnr. will be posted on application, price 2d; but if you can’t afford the 2d, send or call and you will be supplied with a copy free of cost. To read it, is to get a deep insight into the history of the Negro. Good wishes for success—Au revoir.

Read and Subscribe to “The Negro World” 2d, per copy, 4/- per year. If you are too poor to purchase a copy or subscribe for the year, write or call on us and let us arrange to send you a free copy. We do not want your money, we want you to help yourself, and be one of the loyal brotherhood in the circle of world-wide Ethiopia.

This pamphlet teaches us several things. (1) Garvey clearly saw himself as being part of an enormous undertaking; black equality was Garvey’s burden. (2) Garvey was a student of black leadership and leadership strategy. (3) As early as 1914, Garvey employed Black Nationalism as a recruitment tactic. (4) In his critique of the race problem, Garvey placed much of the responsibility for the black condition on blacks. (5) Garvey used religion as a recruitment tool. Garvey wrote, “God helps those who help themselves,” and then indicated the desire “to establish a conscientious Christian workshop.” (6) Garvey used written materials to attract actors to the UNIA. The union of self-help, religion, and Black Nationalism exhibited in this pamphlet was a staple of Garvey’s rhetoric for years to come.

The UNIA was officially launched on July 20, 1914, at which point an official meeting was held and officers were elected (Cronon 1960; Hill 1983:1). During this period, the UNIA was mostly confined to Jamaica and most of its supporters were Jamaican. From this point, the UNIA began to pick up steam and held regular meetings on Tuesday evenings. Garvey spent time studying his audience in very creative ways. One event that Garvey organized to achieve this goal was a debate on the efficacy of religion versus politics (*Gleaner* 1914: 14 September):

The debate for the evening will be: "Has politics greater influence on the world than religion?" Mr. Marcus Garvey, supported by Mr. S. Trott, will speak for the affirmative; whilst Mr. Adrian Daily, supported by Mr. T. A. McCormack, will speak for the negative. Visitors will be allowed to take part in the debate. A debate takes place once weekly. The object of the Association is to improve the elocutionary and literary tastes of the youth of our community. One evening is set apart for lectures, and the other evenings of the week for classes and social and charitable work. The subjects to be taught at the evening classes include Latin and Roman History, English, French, Spanish, English History, Geography, Logic, Mathematics, Lectures in Chemistry, Botany and Agriculture; as also subjects for general accomplishments.

The notice in the *Gleaner* exposes the fact that Garvey was trying to identify the proper balance of religion and politics as a social movement leader, while also developing his oratory and possibly scouting for other well-spoken individuals. While there are no known records of the outcome of this debate, one can only imagine that religion won out because from that point on, Garvey consistently employed clergymen to come and address the UNIA, and these clergymen consistently attracted large gatherings. Though Garvey had already introduced religion to the UNIA, having access to clergymen was even more beneficial as I will explain in Chapter Five.

Clergy in the UNIA

On September 22, 1914, Rev. Alfonso Dumar addressed the UNIA. While the topic of the discussion remains unknown, Rev. Dumar's address "was greatly appreciated by the large and enthusiastic audience" (*Gleaner* 1914: 25 September). Rev. Dumar founded and incorporated the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Jamaica (Hill 1983:1). Not long after Rev. Dumar's

address, Rev. Theo Glasspole “gave an instructive address which was well received” at an October UNIA meeting (*Gleaner* 1914: 8 October).

On October 20, 1914 the UNIA was addressed by Rev. William Graham, and yet again, “there was another large turn out of members and visitors” (*Gleaner* 1914: 23 October).¹¹

The UNIA’s December 1, 1914 meeting featured an address by Rev. Thomas Gordon Somers in front of an “appreciative audience” (*Daily Chronicle* 1914: 4 December). Rev. Somers was “the pastor of the First Baptist Church in Spanish Town and the Stewart Town Baptist Church” (Hill 1983:I: 94).

The “chief speaker” for the February 2, 1915 UNIA meeting was Rev. R. A. L. Knight, MA, B.Th., at which “there was a large turn out of members and visitors” (*Gleaner* 1915: 4 February). One week later, “[t]here was a large turn out of members and friends” for the address of Rev. Etherland Brown (*Gleaner* 1915: 11 February). According to Hill (1983:I:111), Rev. Brown:

[w]as a Unitarian minister who became a high official in the Jamaica League, a group organized in August 1914 to promote cooperative stores and local industries in Jamaica. He was also actively involved in organizing the Progressive Negro Association and the Liberal Association, both of which were founded in 1916-17. Brown was one of the founders of the Jamaica Progressive League in 1936 in New York.

¹¹ Toward the end of October, Garvey participated in a debate entitled “The pen or the sword, which is mightier” in which he argued on the side of the pen (*Daily Chronicle* 1914: 31 October). I posit that this too was Garvey gauging his audience to see how people would respond to his strategy of leading his race through educating UNIA members academically and socially.

As Morris (1984) points out, in the black church, religious figures were often political figures as well. Rev. Brown was no exception to this usual circumstance.

An April 29, 1915 article in the *Gleaner* reported that the UNIA hosted a lecture for which “[t]he building was crowded [and] a large number of visitors [were] in attendance [while] the Rev. W. Graham occupied the chair” (*Gleaner* 1915: 29 April).

When the UNIA hosted a lecture on the importance of education, on May 18, 1915 the main speaker was “accompanied by Rev. Fr. Patrick Mulry” while “[a] fairly large attendance braved the weather” (*Gleaner* 1914: 19 May).

June 1, 1914, during a general UNIA meeting, “[t]he Rev. Wilfrid Clarke, B.A., B.D. was the lecturer of the evening and spoke on “What shall we do with the child?”” and “there was a large turn out of members and visitors” (*Gleaner* 1915: 4 June).

When the UNIA held its first meeting outside of Kingston in St. Ann’s Bay, Garvey’s home town, “[t]he meeting was held in the Baptist schoolroom and the Chairman was the Rev. J. T. Dillon” (*Jamaica Times* 1915:13 November). Rev. Dillon was the “minister of the Jamaica Baptist Mission in St. Ann’s Bay” (Hill 1983:I:163).

Garvey spent a great deal of time learning how to become a leader. Garvey filled his recruitment messages with Black Nationalism, religion, self-help, and tough love. He traveled extensively and learned to become a good public speaker. While away, Garvey practiced being a leader by involving himself with social movements. Garvey befriended influential people throughout the four periods of study and learned a lot from them. Additionally Garvey studied politics and the black condition on his own. Despite all of that, Garvey did not rely solely on his own talents to mobilize the UNIA.

Clergymen Acted as Recruiters

Garvey used clergymen to bring members to the UNIA. While this tactic worked, these new members did not necessarily remain engaged long term. The *Gleaner* (1915: 31 December) reported this letter from W. G. Hinchcliffe:

Some time since, I was moved by the Rev. W. Graham to the city to interest myself in the Universal Negro Improvement Association, of which Mr. Marcus Garvey is President. I must admit that after I had listened to the rev. Gentleman's speech of interest towards the race, and the success that he would like to see attend the association, I decided that I would give the matter the consideration it is deserved. During that time I received a letter from Mr. Garvey, asking me to become a member of an "advisory board" in connection with the association, and at the first meeting I attended I gave him my word of honor that I would serve him in the interest of the society to the best of my abilities. But having discovered since the 28th of October last, that I am still a novice relative to my conception concerning class of mankind, and their methods, notwithstanding some very sad and memorable experiences of the past, I decided to leave the Universal Negro Improvement Association alone.

And it was not my intention to ask of you to give publicity to my withdrawal for reasons I need not mention but as so many persons are still en[q]uiring of me concerning the association (the treasurer, Mr. Murdock, included), I think it wise to let the public know through this medium that I am no longer interested in the movement, as from the 28th October last. I am, etc.,

This letter demonstrates that Garvey was willing to offer someone a prestigious position in the UNIA as a perk for joining if he felt that it was necessary. Also contained in this letter is an example of a clergyman recruiting on the UNIA's behalf. In this case, Garvey was not able to retain this recruit, but that fact does not detract from what Graham did for Garvey and the UNIA. Here we see another instance of Rev. Graham using his clout to have people back Garvey and the UNIA. The *Gleaner* (1916: 18 January) reported:

Mr. Marcus Garvey, President of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, addressed a meeting here to-night in the First Baptist Church explaining the aims and objects of his Association. In the absence of the Rev. Webster who was kept away by business the Rev. J. W. Graham, M.A., presided. The Rev. Gentleman introduced Mr. Garvey to the house. Mr. Graham said he had known Mr. "Garvey for over six years, first meeting him as a rival in the newspaper world of Costa Rica. It was a pleasure for him to preside.

Mr. Garvey gave explanation of the intention of his association. The flag of England, he went on to say, afforded them liberty, and they should esteem it an honor to die for it. His association existed for assisting the many agencies at work in drawing the people closer together and bringing about a more common appreciation of each other. They did not want any division in Jamaica. They were all mortals the children of one Heavenly Father.

Mr. Garvey's speech was listened to with great interest, and he was heartily cheered.

Given what we now know about Garvey, I suspect that Garvey swayed Graham from being his rival by offering him a position as an organizer and/or by agreeing to pay him for regular speaking engagements.

Know Your Weaknesses

Garvey called upon W. E. B. Du Bois to provide him with credibility and legitimacy in advance of Garvey's first public lecture in the United States. Garvey wrote (Hill 1983:I: 187):

Dear Dr. DuBois/

I called in order to have asked you if you could be so good as to take the "chair" at my first public lecture to be delivered at the St. Mark's Hall, 57 W 138th St. City on Tuesday evening 9th May at 8 o'clock. My subject will be "Jamaica" — a general talk . . . on the phases of Negro life.

I also beg to hand you tickets for the same and to submit to you a circular in general circulation among prospective patrons.

I shall be pleased to hear from you immediately. Trusting you will be able to help by taking the chair. . . .

Unfortunately for Garvey, Du Bois was unable to accept the invitation. Du Bois' personal secretary wrote the following (Hill 1983:I:190):

My dear Mr. Garvey:

Doctor DuBois begs me to thank you for your note of April twenty-fifth and express his regret at not be able to be on hand on account of his being out of town. Very sincerely yours,

This was unfortunate for Garvey because he was not ready for the big stage in the United States, and having a respected speaker presiding would have been benefitted him greatly. According to the account of an observer, the UNIA's leader took the stage (Hill 1983:I:190-192):

[s]haking like an aspen leaf and with a tremor in his voice[,]he started to deliver his oration. He hadn't gone very far when the audience began to vent its disgust by whistling and hooting. You can easily imagine the sorry figure and the pitiable spectacle the poor discomfited orator presented. He looked around in affright and pulling a manuscript from his pocket began to read. The more he read the great was the din created by the audience.

It was [an] ordeal that flesh and blood could not long endure. From all sides of the small hall came shouts of: "Sit down;" "shut up"; [" Away with him," interspersed with catcalls and ear-splitting whistles. . . .

During all of this the orator made desperate efforts to speak and then even his /steel/ nerve snapped. He was near the edge of the stage which is about 3 feet from the floor and suddenly he began to sway [backwards] and forwards. Before any . . . one in the audience could help him he fell from off the stage and lay prostrate on the floor.

Immediately the audience's levity subsided and willing hands lifted . . . [Garvey] from the floor and applied First-Aid relief. This brought the lecture or rather short concert, for the whole thing was an entertainment, /to a close./

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Despite all of the work that Garvey put in in order to become a great leader with regard to his travels and his oratorical development etc., his US debut was a failure. Garvey would not be labeled a failure forever, nor would he be labeled a race-leader, at least not for quite some time. Garvey's lack of immediate success was not due to Garvey's effort; most of Garvey's life choices were in attempt to prepare him to become the leader that he became in 1920. There were several positives that came from Garvey's early life.

Nationalism

The first attribute that Garvey gained was Black Nationalism. Garvey was born to parents who had a strong background in racial pride. Garvey built the Universal Negro Improvement Association in the spirit of racial pride. Garvey helped to found The National Club of Jamaica, a Black Nationalist organization. Garvey also served as a leader within this group. Dr. J. Robert Love, an esteemed clergyman and a close friend of arguably the most eminent Black Nationalist, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, mentored Garvey. While in London, Garvey worked for a pan-African news organ, and studied African history. Additionally, London was a hotbed of inter-nation conventions. Building this resume of nationalism was critical for the way that Garvey structured the UNIA's program. Having studied and engaged with a multitude of ministers, especially those in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Garvey structured the UNIA in such a way to make these religious messages and the messages of the UNIA synonymous. Black

Nationalism veiled in religion was an organizational frame that Garvey employed during periods of high and low mobilization. This will be fully fleshed-out in chapters five and six.

Education

The second attribute that benefitted the UNIA was Garvey's education. Garvey was academically, vocationally, and informally/socially educated. This took place in schools, print shops, on street corners, and in barbershop forums. Garvey stayed abreast of public matters and engaged in discussions that made him a viable leader. The more Garvey traveled, the more he seemed to learn about how to get people to follow him. By the time he came back from Europe, he knew enough to get the UNIA off the ground and experienced nearly a decade of success from that point. Garvey continuously studied present and potential UNIA members to make sure he was staying one step ahead of them. One tactic that Garvey used was to host debates on topics related to politics and organizational strategy to see not only what the pros and cons of a particular approach were, but to know how to best appeal to his public. Because of this, Garvey became a master at developing and selling frames to current and potential UNIA members. This too will be discussed in chapters five and six.

Print Work

Garvey's third beneficial attribute was his knowledge of print media. Garvey picked up print work at a very young age and became a leader (foreman) at his chosen vocation. For a stretch of time, Garvey created news organ after news organ without any real success. Finally Garvey affiliated himself with the *African Times and Orient Review*. His time there gave him a better idea of what goes into running a newspaper. When any organization is interested in being a major force, it needs to have an official organ that allows the organization to connect to the people. The organization not only needs to be certain to properly frame itself to the public for the

sake of appearances, but the organization needs to be able to reach people for recruitment purposes as well. Garvey, having learned about the printing industry, he was able to provide this much needed service to any organization he worked with, worked for, or led. One of the most powerful tools that the UNIA had at its disposal was the *Negro World*, the official organ of the Association, which Garvey edited in its infancy. The UNIA was able to best spread its messages to the masses due to its organ, the *Negro World*, beginning in 1918.

Religion

The element that Garvey used in conjunction with the others mentioned in order to mobilize millions of blacks was religion. Garvey's mother was a very religious woman, and as an adult, Garvey therefore studied leadership and nationalism under many black clergymen. While Garvey was growing up, some of Garvey's educators were clergymen. When Garvey realized that he wanted to become an orator, he attended churches each Sunday to learn how to deliver an effective message. In a chapter four, I demonstrate the similarities between Garvey and Bishop Turner, a prominent figure in the AME Church.

Clergymen had a vital role in the UNIA. Early on, Garvey did not have the skill necessary to compel people to follow him. This became evident the first time that Garvey had to take a stage without some well-known Reverend or other famous orator and he failed miserably.¹² Garvey spent a lot of time working on his oratory Sunday after Sunday, honing his craft in various churches.

¹² Garvey was wise enough to reach out to W. E. B. Du Bois to shepherd him through his first major United States speaking engagement, but Du Bois was unavailable.

That said, Garvey did not rely solely on his oratory to mobilize the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Instead he employed a host of clergymen to come and speak frequently during regular communications. Month after month there were reports in Jamaican newspapers reporting that some Reverend or another was speaking at a UNIA gathering. The newspapers indicated that these clergymen were drawing in large crowds.

Garvey favored clergymen for several reasons: 1) they were skilled speakers from whom he could learn; 2) they were already leaders of organized groups of men, women, and children, which meant; 3) they had a following of congregants that would fill UNIA events at which they spoke, thereby making the UNIA appear to be interesting and successful; and, 4) clergymen provided Garvey with a pool of recruits, either because they backed Garvey directly and their congregations followed them as their spiritual leader, or because when clergymen attended UNIA events, Garvey was able to win them over with (religious and nationalist) appeals that mirror messages that they are used to hearing.

In this chapter we learn two very important things about Garvey's recruitment tactics: 1) clergymen were a part of the UNIA's recruitment effort; and, 2) Garvey was willing to offer incentives to certain people to join the UNIA. In the chapters that follow, I will illustrate how Garvey systematically used clergymen as recruiters to maximize UNIA mobilization.

Oratory

Garvey spent years working on his knowledge of how to deliver an effective address, as well as learning about what plagues certain communities, in order for him to marry the two and become an effective leader. Although Garvey both literally and figuratively fell flat when he first spoke on a major platform in the United States, Garvey's move to Kingston helped to prepare

him for Harlem. It is unlikely that Garvey, in his fully unpolished state, could have gone from St. Ann's Bay to Harlem and be considered even an adequate orator without years of failure in Harlem. In the peak of UNIA mobilization, Garvey benefitted from having a recruitment machine that knew what to say, when to say it, and who to say it to. I will say more about this in chapters four, five, and six. Most importantly, however, is that Garvey's recruitment machine had a network of people to communicate with already established.

Misssteps

Throughout this period of study, we also learn that Garvey does not appear to know how to best manage money. We saw Garvey have to leave school for a period of time and take full-time work. We saw Garvey bounce around from one place to the next because he was financially unstable. We discovered that Garvey had to have his sister pay his way from Jamaica to London, then, Garvey had social services pay his way from London back to Jamaica after he claims to have been robbed. Financial mismanagement was a problem for Garvey in periods of both high and low mobilization. I demonstrate in chapter six that financial mismanagement was a part of the undoing of the UNIA in the 1920.

Next Steps

In the following chapter I begin to argue against Garvey's charisma as the primary cause of the UNIA's success. I point out that Garvey used frames to marry the UNIA to people and ideas that were already receiving a lot of black support. I demonstrate that Garvey courted leader after leader until he got what he wanted, even if he had to contradict himself to do so.

Chapter III: The Universal Negro Improvement Association 1916

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this, and the next several chapters, is to identify and analyze the elements, which contributed to the growth of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), as well as to debunk the idea that Marcus Garvey utilized his own charisma as the primary tool for the UNIA's growth. This chapter focuses on Garvey's organizational strategy for the United States (US) in 1916. In the pages that follow I will demonstrate that Garvey's success and the UNIA's growth were both tied to Garvey's ability to tap into preexisting networks of like-minded black men and women. More specifically, the aim of this chapter is to demonstrate that Garvey utilized frames in order to forge relationships that he thought would be advantageous for his organization. I will accomplish these goals by examining a combination of news articles and other historical accounts of the UNIA's activities, in conjunction with personal letters to and from UNIA members which detail UNIA activities in 1916.

BOOKER TALIAFERRO WASHINGTON

For the better part of the two years that the UNIA operated primarily in Jamaica (1914-1916), Garvey wanted to travel to the United States in order to raise funds for his organization. In the 1910s the majority of black people in the United States resided in the South (US Census 1920:I:18). Logically, to gain the most support for the UNIA, Garvey would have had to organize in the South. Garvey had spent many years touring Jamaica, South- and Central America, and Europe in an attempt to understand both organizing and the black condition.

Because of this experience, Garvey knew that he would likely be less successful—if not totally unsuccessful—if he simply came to the United States and looked for blacks to support the UNIA without the necessary training on how to best appeal to blacks and the necessary endorsements from respected members of the community.

Recall, Garvey's success in the print industry was not due to his own work. He was often on the move and had not stayed anywhere long enough to develop a strong base. Instead, Garvey's success as a print worker came from the people who were willing to endorse him. Garvey used this strategy when preparing to come to the US. As an unknown foreigner in the US, Garvey needed the endorsement of someone who southern blacks respected.

Booker T. Washington (1856-1915) was a former slave who became an educator as well as the leader of the Tuskegee Institute, which Washington founded (Washington 1901). As a nationally acclaimed educator, Washington was given the opportunity to address the 1895 Atlanta Exposition, and became the representative of the black race for the white world. Washington's take on race relations earned him an invitation (and visit) to the White House. Washington was instrumental in the negotiation of racial issues amongst blacks and whites, as both sides generally respected him. His message was one of patience (Cronon 1955); Washington felt that blacks in the US could better themselves by learning how to be more useful to whites, and as such, he implemented programs to help blacks achieve this end. Because of his stance, whites respected Washington. And because whites respected Washington and advanced him as the leader of the black race, he had the ear of black America and Garvey looked to capitalize on that.

Evidence of Garvey's desire to gain Washington's assistance is contained in the letter below. On April 12, 1915 Garvey wrote to Booker T. Washington (Hill 1983:I:116):

Some time last year I wrote to you informing you of my proposed visit to America to lecture in the interest of my Association and you were good enough to write to me inviting me to see your great institution.

I am expecting to leave for America between May and June and I shall be calling on you. I intend to do most of my public speaking in the South among the people of our race. I enclose you a manifesto of our Association which will give you an idea of the objects we have in view. I am now asking you to do your best to assist me during my stay in America; as I shall be coming there as a stranger to those people.

I need not reacquaint you of the horrible conditions prevailing among our people in the West Indies as you are so well informed of happenings all over Negrodom.

Trusting to be favored with an early reply With best wishes I remain Your Obedient Servant

To which Washington replied (Hill 1983:I:118):

I have yours of April 12 advising of your proposed tour of this country and your plan to visit Tuskegee Institute while in the South.

I am very glad indeed that you have decided to come here and it will give us all very great pleasure to make your stay as pleasant and as profitable as we can. Certainly I shall do what I can to help you whole in this country.

I thank you for sending me the statement outlining the aim and purpose of the Negro Improvement Association. Yours very truly.

Here one can see how Garvey planned to use the large base that Washington had established in order to build the UNIA. We can also see that Washington agreed to help Garvey. It was easy for Washington to want to help Garvey given that Garvey copied Washington's program for the most part and was looking to replicate it in the West Indies. Garvey had no support base in the US to speak of, and Washington was the face of black America. Unfortunately for Garvey and the UNIA, before Garvey could get to the South to visit with Washington and gain his endorsement, Washington died.

It is worth pointing out that Washington's death did not bring about the end of Garvey's seeking of Washington's endorsement, as Garvey knew just how important this would be for getting support for the UNIA. Garvey wrote the following letter to Emmett J. Scott, the secretary of Tuskegee Institute during Washington's charge (Hill 1983:I:173):

Apart from our local memorial meeting and organized mourning, it is the first I am writing to Tuskegee since the death of good Dr. Washington. A short time before his death I wrote to him telling him of my plans for touring this country before my visit to America. Through criticisms in my work and other causes I was kept back from visiting America months ago. Since I wrote Dr. Washington I have been lecturing up and down the country and I have taken the opportunity of bringing his life and work prominently before the sleeping Jamaica Negro public, so much so that his name and work are well known in the island.

Months before his death I wrote him about my proposed visit to America and he promised that he would have done all possible to help me whilst there. I am to be over in April for lecturing in the interest of my Association and to get a little help on our Industrial Farm and Institute scheme at this end. I am hoping to call on you and I am now asking you personally to try and help me when there.

The work of Negro Improvement at this end is tough and it needs giant pluck and determination to succeed against the strong influence of Negro haters—a puzzle I can better explain by conversation.

I am hoping to be assisted by the “Jamaica Club” in the North, so I am asking you to do your best for me in that portion of the South.

We held a very nice memorial meeting at our Collegiate Hall here for Dr. Washington. He is pretty well heard of in Jamaica of late since the formation of this Association.

If you were to turn his files for April of last year you will see where he promised to help me whilst there.

I am hoping to hear from you early [sic] With best wishes [sic] Yours faithfully [sic]

This letter shows Garvey’s desire to remain affiliated with Washington’s program. What Garvey called “bringing [Washington’s] life and work prominently before the sleeping Jamaica Negro public,” was actually about Garvey attaching himself and the UNIA to Washington’s good name and successful program in order to become a successful leader himself. In the previous chapter, I pointed out that Garvey was inspired by Washington’s work after reading Washington’s autobiography, so it is fitting that Garvey would want to emulate Washington’s program. But Garvey was not simply looking to replicate Washington’s program. Instead, Garvey was looking for an endorsed replication that would provide him with a following right away. In this letter to Scott, Garvey was clear to express that: 1) Washington was just about to give him the endorsement that he needed. Washington wrote Garvey saying “I am very glad indeed that you have decided to come here . . . I shall do what I can to help you while in this country;” 2) his goals for the UNIA include a major component of Washington’s plan at Tuskegee; and 3) whereas Garvey felt that he had adequate support in the northern states, he

clearly needed help gaining sympathizers in the South. Luckily for Garvey, Scott responded favorably (Hill 1983:I:185-86):

I have received your kind letter of February 4th in which you speak of the work you are carrying on in Jamaica of the Negro people, and your plan to visit the United States this spring.

If you should come South while in this country, we shall be very glad to welcome you to Tuskegee and visit the Institute. If you come here we can then go over your plans and if I find it possible to assist you in any way, I of course shall be very glad to do so.

I thank you for your kind references to Dr. Washington and the influence of his late work upon the people in Jamaica. Yours very truly,

In this letter, Scott told Garvey that he would be willing to assist in any way. But given that Scott had no national standing, no institute of his own, no control over southern blacks, what could Scott really do for Garvey? Scott's main function for Garvey was to provide another link between Garvey and Washington. As long as Garvey had a relationship with someone at Tuskegee who was in some position of authority, he would be able to appear as being tied to Washington's mission and could potentially win the support of Washington's supporters.

To be sure, Garvey's interest in Scott was mainly due to the idea that Scott may have been helpful in making Garvey appear to be a part of Washington's camp. Garvey was so interested in gaining Washington's endorsement, even posthumously, that he drafted his own letter of recommendation to be used for his travels and fundraising that included implied support from Washington (Hill 1983:I: 174):

To Whom It May Concern.

This is to certify that the holder of this is Marcus Garvey Jr. [sic] of Kingston Jamaica, the Founder and President of the Universal Negro Improvement Association of Jamaica who is traveling in America, the West Indies, South and Central America and Canada in the interest of the Association and that he is recommended by us for assistance in anyway possible to enable the Association to start and carry on our proposed "Industrial Farm & Institute" to help the Negro people of this country on the lines of the late Doctor Booker T. Washington's [sic] Institute/ [sic] of America. Signed on behalf of the Association.

In addition to publicly pushing his *relationship* with Washington, Garvey continued to align himself with black clergymen. In fact, the only two signed personal references in this letter were

those of Rev. D. A. Waugh, B. D. and Alfonso Dumar, B.D., the latter being affiliated with the AME Church. As I will demonstrate in later chapters, it is the relationships with churches and pastors, and not ties to Washington and Tuskegee, that was critical in the growth of the UNIA. Here Garvey indirectly used the name of the recently deceased leader of black America, and directly used the names of two black clergymen, in order to gain legitimacy in the US for the purpose of growing the UNIA. Soon, Garvey discovered an even better option.

ROBERT RUSSA MOTON

Why attempt to befriend the secretary of a deceased leader when you can simply befriend the new leader? Despite successfully making a strong case to Washington's secretary to create the appearance of Washington's support, Garvey began to court Robert Russa Moton, the administrator who took over for Washington as the Principal of Tuskegee after Washington's death. Later Garvey learned that Moton planned to visit Jamaica and Garvey heavily pursued that opportunity. Garvey reported to the *Gleaner* that he was happy to have Moton come to Jamaica and that "he intends arranging a welcome meeting on the 29th inst. in honor of Major and Mrs. Moton and that a very prominent citizen will take the chair" (*Gleaner* 1916: 26 February). Garvey clearly made Moton aware that "Dr. Washington during his life time promised to assist [him]." This was done in order to gain Moton's support because Garvey knew that Washington's and Tuskegee's names carried a great deal of weight in the black South (Hill 1983:I: 178). Garvey would not have rolled out the figurative red carpet for Moton if not for the fact that he was the new person in charge of Tuskegee. The following excerpts are from a letter dated February 29, 1916 that Garvey wrote to Moton prior to the visit (Hill 1983:I:179-82):

The blackman [sic] here is a slave of destiny, and it is only by bold and conscientious leadership that he can emancipate, and I do trust your visit will be one of the means of helping him. I am now talking with you as a man with a mission from the High God. Your education will enable you to understand me clearly. I do not mean literary education alone, for that we have here among a godly number of Blacks as teachers

and ministers. I mean the higher education of man's appreciation for his fellowman; of man's love for his race. Our people here are purely selfish and no man or people can weed if selfishness is the cardinal principle.

Black men here are never truly honoured [sic]. Don't you believe like coloured [sic] Dr. Du Bois that the "race problem is at an end here" except you want to admit the utter insignificance of the black man.

It was never started and has not yet begun. It is a paradox. I personally would like to solve the situation on the broadest humanitarian lines. I would like to solve it on the platform of Dr. Booker T. Washington, and I am working on those lines hence you will find that up to now my one true friend as far as you can rely on his friendship, is the whiteman [sic].

I do not mean to bring any estrangement between black and white. I want to have Jamaica a country "Black and White" all living in peace and harmony but with equal rights and opportunities.

I would not advise you to give yourself too much away to the desire wishes of the people who are around you for they are mostly hypocrites. They mean to deceive you on the conditions here because we can never blame under the existing state of affairs—it would not be fair to the blackman.—To/blend/ [sic] we must all in equal proportion "show our hands."

Your intellect, I believe, is too deep to be led away by "sham sentiment."

This letter is important for two reasons: 1) it demonstrates that Garvey is willing to deal favorably with whomever he thinks can deliver warm bodies to his lectures. When Garvey could not get Washington himself, he pursued Washington's secretary and then Washington's successor for the same purpose, still marrying his cause to that of Washington's. Garvey wrote that he "would like to solve [the race problem] on the platform of Dr. Booker T. Washington" and that similar work was already in progress; and, 2) Garvey pointed out how different blacks in the US were from blacks in Jamaica saying that black men in Jamaica are "slave[s] of destiny, and it is only by bold and conscientious leadership that [they] emancipate." Knowing that Garvey studied his audiences very well and tried out tactics prior to implementing them on grand stages, it seems that Garvey would have been much more comfortable: a) knowing that he had someone to tell him what he needed to know about specific populations of blacks, preferably in the South, b) having the opportunity to watch a respected leader speak to southern audiences; and, c) having the room filled because of someone else's reputation and having the room warmed by that respected party's introduction etc.

Based on available data I cannot say whether Garvey's request for a meeting was granted. What I can say is that if the meeting did happen, things did not go well because Garvey moved on to a different tactic pretty quickly. Even if Garvey had gotten Moton's support, the problem would have been that Moton did not command the same level of respect that Washington did. Although Moton led Tuskegee, he was never considered a great leader like Washington. In fact, there were arguably two prominent black leaders in America near the end of Washington's life—Washington himself, and W. E. B. Du Bois. It can be argued that Washington's death cleared the way for Du Bois' leadership. There was a major problem however. Through reading Garvey's letter to Moton, we see that Garvey is speaking out against Du Bois; not just in Du Bois' politics but in his personhood (as a mulatto) when he says to Moton, “[d]on't you believe like coloured [sic] Dr. Du Bois that the “race problem is at an end here” except you want to admit the utter insignificance of the black man.” Surely W. E. B. Du Bois and Garvey were fundamentally different in their ideologies.

WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS

In the early 1900s many members of the black middle class began to establish their own organizations for not only general social reasons, but for the purposes of political advancement (Cronon 1955). Leadership of these newly-formed organizations was oftentimes the same as the leadership of the black church. The black church had long been a place where blacks were educated on important social and political issues; therefore, in many ways, the pastor was seen as a teacher and politician as well as a spiritual leader (Morris 1984). Black social movement organizations often relied on the black church for support. One such organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded in New York in 1909 with the idea that it would help blacks to enjoy their rights, both political and civil. W. E.

B. Du Bois (1868-1963) was a founder and a key member of the NAACP during this period.¹³ Du Bois was known early on for his role in the Niagara movement.

The Niagara movement was a protest organization that was assembled as a means of counteracting what Du Bois thought were negative effects caused by Booker T. Washington's politics. Washington took a public stance against the political stance taken by the NAACP and called instead for black-white cooperation (Kelley 1996). The Washington/Du Bois/Garvey dynamic is important for three reasons: 1) Washington and Du Bois had an adversarial relationship based in a fundamental difference in their beliefs about the solution to blacks' problems; 2) Garvey had invested a great deal of time and energy into aligning himself with Washington, which suggests that he and Du Bois would not have a positive working relationship with respect to the UNIA and the NAACP; and, 3) Garvey, in an effort to gain Morton's support, had already spoken out against mixed-race individuals in general, and Du Bois in particular.

Nonetheless, Garvey, an opportunist, was unconcerned with Du Bois' race and politics as long as Du Bois had the power to help Garvey to expand the UNIA's support base. So the next month after receiving word from Washington's former secretary that he would be willing to help Garvey in the US, Garvey instead opts to appeal to Du Bois, as indicated in the following letter from Garvey to Du Bois (Hill 1983:I: 187):

¹³ As the oldest civil rights organization with a very impressive membership, the NAACP was not just for blacks, but was instead intended for all non-white people, hence the use of the word colored people in the organization's name. One of the organization's objectives was legal reform and as such the NAACP lent their support to legal issues that they saw as being important to the black community, filing lawsuits as a means to correct some of the wrongs.

I called in order to have asked you if you could be so good as to take the “chair” at my first public lecture to be delivered at the St. Mark’s Hall, 57 W 138th St. City on Tuesday evening 9th May at 8 o’clock. My subject will be “Jamaica” — a general talk /on/ [sic] the phases of Negro life.

I also beg to hand you tickets for the same and to submit to you a circular in general circulation among prospective patrons.

I shall be pleased to hear from you immediately. Trusting you will be able to help by taking the chair. .

This letter shows Garvey reaching out for help. Garvey was well aware of the Du Bois’ disinterest with Washington’s program that Garvey sought to emulate. Garvey knew that with the message that he had been disseminating from 1914 until 1916 as he worked tirelessly to marry himself to Washington, that he would not likely gain Du Bois’ favor. Garvey, a student of leadership and organization had some savvy with understanding how evoke favorable responses. This is evidenced in the personal letter to Du Bois, where Garvey omitted all of the Washingtonian rhetoric. We notice in the personal letter that there was no mention of fundraising for a black institute or the ways in which Jamaican’s can be of service to America much like Washington spoke of how black Americans could be in service to America. This information was however listed in the more generic letter that went out to others. The following themes were contained in a generic letter that Garvey forwarded to all potential patrons (Hill 1983:I:189-90):

Dear Friend and Brother:

Herewith I beg to had you tickets for a “Lecture and Concert” to be given in the St. Mark’s Hall, 57 West 138th St., New York, on Tuesday night, the 9th of May, at 8 o’clock, in the interest of the Universal Negro Improvement Association of Jamaica, to help in establishing our “Industrial Farm and Institute” in that country, for helping the Negroes of that section to a higher state of educational and industrial usefulness among the people and for service to the world.

The plan of the “Farm and Institute” is to include the highest educational and industrial training, which will mean bringing the people up to cultured lines, whence they will be rendered able to understand and appreciate all the things that are necessary for the advance of the professions, trade, commerce, literature, art and world-wide industries.

We want to produce among the people a better class in the bulk—more thoughtful, more appreciative, more industrious and more international in their views as affecting established ideals—a class that can command the universal esteem and stand the contact of all classes of mankind. A certain class of graduates from this Institute will be used as missionaries to Africa with the hope of helping to bring the missions of that “wonderful” Continent into the van of civilization, which will mean so much to commerce and other industries.

I have come over to America to lecture on “Jamaica,” and to raise the necessary help to enable us to put through our Institute, and this lecture concert is for the purpose mentioned.

I send you the tickets asking your patronage and help, and if you find it impossible to use them, I beg that you send a donation to help in the work, which donation shall be treasured and remembered in the history of our effort. A donation of any amount will be highly appreciated.

It is not necessary to enumerate Jamaica’s service to the United States, as in many ways the Negro people of that country have done their share in helping American capital, American enterprise and American industries, not to mention, our Negro people have helped substantially in pushing through the Panama Canal—to be the world’s greatest trade route—and our people are ever willing to work under the progressive leadership of American genius.

I feel that you will not turn down the brotherly and philanthropic request for your patronage and help, but that you will send in your help as per tickets or per donation.

Should you attend you will be treated to an interesting lecture on Jamaica, as also to a good performance of Negro artists who will delight you, and I feel sure that you will benefit by the lecture. With very best wishes, Your most obedient servant[.]

As this letter points out, Garvey worked all angles at all times. Garvey designed the UNIA to have an institute similar to Washington’s and then aimed to connect himself to Washington so that he could be a leader without having to lay his own foundation. Garvey points out in this letter that he was chiefly interested in coming to America to gain support for the UNIA’s Washington-influenced program in Jamaica. Garvey even wrote a reminder to black Americans that black West Indians had helped to build communities and enterprise in America and that it was therefore time that black Americans helped West Indians. Garvey said what he thought he had to say to whom he thought could help him at the time. He patterned a particular letter for Washington that changed slightly for Scott after Washington’s death, and that changed again when Garvey thought Moton would have enough political power to stand in for Washington. By the time Garvey made it to Du Bois, his personal letter was well-framed but with his generic letter, Garvey had no chance. Why would Du Bois publicly support a carbon-copy of a program that he had publicly denounced, especially when the new leader is relatively unknown? Again, Garvey sought favor from whomever he thought could place him in the best position to be successful.

FIRST VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES

As I pointed out in chapter two, Garvey was always concerned enough about appearing to be ready to address a crowd that he would practice before he was on a grand stage. As such, Garvey wanted to practice his oratory in the Northern United States where he was likely to feel the most comfortable due to the large number of West Indians there that he felt that he could count on to support him. Garvey knew that the real challenge would be in the South, where the bulk of the people he wanted to reach lived, and where he had no sponsor. In the beginning, when Garvey thought he would have Washington's support, Garvey was going to begin his tour in the South because he knew that he would be able to rely on Washington's name and work to carry him. When that plan collapsed due to Washington's death, despite having Moton's—Washington's less politically-beneficial successor—support, Garvey decided to begin his time in the US in the Northeast where he felt like he could lecture, learn, gain support, and eventually make his way to the South with a great deal of momentum behind him. Chapter five provides more insight into where Garvey and the UNIA operated prior to 1920.

On March 24, 1916, Marcus Garvey arrived in New York City (Hill 1983:I), and spent about seven months touring the United States (Cronon 1960; Grant 2008; Hill 1983:I; Lawler and Davenport 2005; Martin 1976; Rolinson 2007; Stein 1986). When Garvey first arrived in the United States, his stated purpose was to “raise funds for the establishment of an industrial and educational institution of Negroes in Jamaica” (*Crisis* 1916:9). All Garvey needed was to have an outstanding first lecture in the US, and be endorsed by the new face of black American leadership, Du Bois. Unfortunately for Garvey, Du Bois declined Garvey's invitation. As expected, and as documented in the previous chapter, without the actual embodied support of Washington, with the weakness of Moton, and with the disinterest of Du Bois, Garvey's first US

lecture did not turn out well—Garvey’s inaugural address to the black American was an absolute failure.¹⁴

In addition to Garvey’s early failure, the constituency that Garvey thought he would have the greatest support from in the US from day one, many of his fellow Jamaicans did not support him. The following letter was published in a Jamaican newspaper (*Jamaica Times* 1916:7 October):

We the undersigned Jamaicans, residents of the United States for several years beg permission to call to your attention and the public of Jamaica a matter affecting the welfare of Jamaicans at home and abroad.

Under the caption of Journalist and President of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Jamaica, W.I., one Marcus Garvey, Jr., is giving an extended series of lectures in this Country, pertaining to the social and economic conditions of Jamaica.

We, having attended his lectures, found them to be pernicious, misleading, and derogatory to the prestige of the Government and the people.

Among the many assertions are the following:—

1. Governmental misrule, causing economic depression, poverty and misery with their detrimental consequences.

2. The falsity and hypocrisy of the existing social condition between the white and black races—to wit:

Absorption by inner-marriage of the intellectually superior and advanced blacks with whites, with the view of estranging and nullifying their usefulness to their race.

Result — Acquiescence, arrogance, and unapproachableness, on the part of these blacks who inter-marry. The white wife tires. There is an ultimate separation. Wife returns to her native land. Husband in Jamaica contributes to her support abroad.

3. The Governmental and Commercial interests connive to keep the scale of wage so low that the laboring classes are unable to meet the necessary demands to sustain their needs and wants. The girls of Jamaica are resorting to vice and immorality through lack of industrial opportunities and poor economic conditions. Praedial larceny is rampant and the jails are filled[.] Education is restricted and limited to the children of the poorer classes causing intellectual deficiency to the masses.

4. He drew a deplorable picture of the prejudice of the Englishmen in Jamaica against the blacks, portraying hypocrisy and deceit of his attitude towards the blacks, and stated his preference for the prejudice of the American to that of the Englishman.

Mr. Editor, the above are only a few of the damaging statements being disseminated by the aforesaid Marcus Garvey, Jr., among the American Public.

¹⁴ See pages 48-49 in chapter one of this dissertation.

Further details would be a repetition of the demoralising utterances of the speaker.

The bad effects of these lectures on the minds of the American public are deplorable and are causing great indignation among Jamaicans here, who feel greatly humiliated.

Thanking you for space and hoping through this medium Jamaicans will be enlightened on the seriousness of this matter, We are,

Father Raphael, O.C.G., Preist-Apostolic, the Greek Orthodox Catholic Church, Dr. Uriah Smith, Ernest P. Duncan, Ernest K. Jones, H. S. Boulton, Phillip Hemmings, Joseph Vassal, Henry H. Harper, S. C. Box, Aldred Campbell, Hubert Barclay, John Moore, Victor Monroe, Henry Booth and many others.

This letter clearly indicates that these men felt that Garvey misrepresented them as Jamaicans.

Garvey lacked mass support from Jamaicans in the West Indies, Jamaicans in America, strong black American leadership, and also Southern Blacks. In 1917 it seemed that the UNIA's future was in jeopardy.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Seeking sponsorship was not just Garvey's strategy for gaining support in the United States. Marcus Garvey spent the years from 1914 to 1916 speaking locally to Jamaicans in order to build the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Every week the UNIA met for the purpose of raising awareness of black issues and raising membership. This entire time, Garvey utilized the support of preexisting networks of black men and women, often in the form of the black church. A useful illustration of this strategy is Garvey's January, 1916 address the First Baptist Church. The *Gleaner* reported that "Mr. Garvey's speech was listened to with great interest, and he was heartily cheered" (*Gleaner* 1916: 18 January). In the early part of the year Garvey also addressed The Lucea Baptist Church (Hill 1983:1). Garvey leaned more heavily on the black church in his time in the United States as I will demonstrate in the chapters that follow, nevertheless, he was always looking to capitalize on the favor of a more established leader in Jamaica and abroad.

While it was true that the black condition in the US had improved since slavery, Garvey learned that there was still a lot to be desired in terms of economic and educational advancements for blacks by-and-large. In the early 1900s, a very segregated Harlem became the home of the black middle class. Aside from the negative realities of the black ghetto there were many black workers and several black publications. Educated blacks and emigrants showing up in Harlem were not yet apathetic and made for a great audience for Garvey. This was a great time for someone black looking to garner the support of the black masses to take leadership and become a success. Blacks in Harlem were becoming more socially aware and active, had access to black media for the dissemination of positive black discourse, and because of their middle class position, had access to money needed to participate in a movement.

What has been illustrated to this point is that Garvey used strategic framing and recruitment, not so much his charisma, in order to recruit UNIA members. Garvey identified the proper frames to use as a recruitment tool—not just to the general public, but to these existing leaders that he looked to for support. Garvey, to this point in his development (1916), had displayed no evidence of building a mass movement based on his charismatic relationships. Instead he worked to identify individuals who would help with UNIA mobilization. For Garvey, the proper people to help him and the UNIA were those who were already doing organizing work, who had name recognition, who could command an audience, and who had a following of their own. This being the case, Garvey's plans did not always work, either because he was unable to convince a person to work with him, or because the person whom Garvey was successful in recruiting was not as effective as he had hoped.

In the chapters that follow, I will illustrate Garvey's continued use of framing as a means of mobilizing; I will show that Garvey mobilized the mobilizers. It will stand out that the more

Garvey was able to tap into the black church, the more the UNIA grew. Also, in each of the following chapters that cover the rise and fall of the UNIA, I will demonstrate that UNIA mobilization was not a product of gains in Garvey's charisma. Instead, Garvey got better at recruiting the characters who recruited UNIA members, many of which were charismatic, resulting in higher mobilization. I aim to demonstrate that with the same general message, directed towards the same population of people (black Americans), Garvey had both high and low mobilization.

Chapter IV:

The Universal Negro Improvement Association 1917

INTRODUCTION

By January 1917, Garvey was in the US for just under one year in the attempt to raise funds and awareness for the UNIA. To that point, Garvey had tried to use the name and credibility of Booker T. Washington and his Tuskegee Institute (Washington's secretary, Emmett J. Scott, who was a target of Garvey's as Garvey thought it would keep him close to Washington's name and legacy after Washington's death), Robert R. Moton (Washington's successor at Tuskegee), and W. E. B. Du Bois (despite Garvey having been fundamentally opposed to Du Bois' politics), in order to gain support for the UNIA.¹⁵ Nearly one year into this US campaign, the UNIA's US presence was still very small. In fact, at this time, the UNIA did not even have one official US branch (Cronon 1960). The Garvey began using clergymen and community leaders to help mobilize the UNIA. The relationship between the AME Church, Black Nationalism, and Garvey was very important to UNIA growth.

¹⁵ For the details of this process see chapter three.

The objectives of this chapter are 1) to demonstrate that Garvey strategically staffed the UNIA with leaders of preexisting organizations, most importantly black clergymen, and that doing so was the key to the growth of the UNIA; and, 2) to explain why the history and structure of the AME Church was instrumental in the eventual growth of the UNIA. This account employs news articles, other accounts of the UNIA's activities, and personal letters to and from UNIA members which detail UNIA activities in 1917.

WEST INDIES IN THE MIRROR OF TRUTH

From the time of Garvey's arrival in the US in March of 1916, until the beginning of 1917, Garvey's time in the US was used to tour the states to learn more of the black condition in America, and to lecture to black Americans on the condition of blacks in Jamaica, all while trying to collect money for the UNIA's Booker T. Washington inspired industrial and educational institute. In order to record what was contained in Garvey's lecture, I provide an article written by Garvey on the topic (*Champion Magazine*: 1917 January: 167-68):

I have been in America eight months. My mission to this country is to lecture and raise funds to help my organization—the Universal Negro Improvement Association of Jamaica—to establish an industrial and educational institute, to assist in educating the Negro youth of that island. I am also engaged in the study of Negro life in this country.

I must say, at the outset, that the American Negro ought to compliment himself, as well as the early prejudice of the South, for the racial progress made in fifty years, and for the discriminating attitude that had led the race up to the high high mark of consciousness preserving it from extinction.

I feel that the Negro who has come in touch with western civilization is characteristically the same, and but for the environment, there would have been no marked difference between those of the scattered race in the western hemisphere. The honest prejudice of the South was sufficiently evident to give the Negro of America the real start — the start with a race consciousness, which I am convinced is responsible for the state of development already reached by the race.

A Fred Douglass or a Booker Washington never would have been heard of in American national life if it were not for the consciousness of the race in having its own leaders. In contrast, the West Indies has produced no Fred Douglass, or Booker Washington, after seventy-eight years of emancipation, simply because the Negro people of the section started out without a race consciousness.

I have traveled a good deal through many countries, and from my observations and study, I unhesitatingly and unreservedly [sic] say that the American Negro is the peer of all Negroes, the most progressive and the foremost unit in the expansive chain of scattered Ethiopia. Industrially, financially,

educationally and socially, the Negroes of both hemispheres have to defer to the American brother, the fellow who has revolutionized history in race development inasmuch as to be able within fifty years to produce men and women out of the immediate bond of slavery, the lachets of whose shoes many a “favored son and daughter” has been unable to lose.

As I travel through the various cities I have been observing with pleasure the active part played by Negro men and women in the commercial and industrial life of the nation. In the cities I have already visited, which include New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Washington, and Chicago, I have seen commercial enterprises owned and managed by Negro people. I have seen Negro banks in Washington and Chicago, stores, cafes, restaurants, theaters and real estate agencies that fill my heart with joy to realize, in positive truth, and not by sentiment, that at one center of Negrodom [sic], at least, the people of the race have sufficient pride to do things for themselves.

The acme of American Negro enterprise is not yet reached. You have still a far way to go. You want more stores, more banks, and bigger enterprises. I hope that your powerful Negro press and the conscientious element among your leaders will continue to inspire you to achieve; I have detected, during my short stay, that even among you there are leaders who are false, who are mere self-seekers, but on the other hand, I am pleased to find good men and, too, those whose fight for the uplift of the race is one of life and death. I have met some personalities who are not prominently in the lime-light for whom I have a strong regard as towards their sincerity in the cause of race uplift, and I think more of their people as real disciples working for the good of our race than many of the men whose names have become nationally and internationally known. In New York, I met John E. Bruce, a man for whom I have the strongest regard inasmuch as I have seen in him a true Negro, a man who does not talk simply because he is in a position for which he must say or so something, but who feels honored to be a member. I can also place in this category Dr. R. R. Wright, Jr., Dr. Parks, vice-president of the Baptist Union, and Dr. Triley of the M.E. Church of Philadelphia, the Rev. J. C. Anderson of Quinn Chapel and Mrs. Ida Wells-Barnett of Chicago. With men and women of this type, who are conscientious workers, and not mere life service dignitaries, I can quite understand that the time is at hand when the stranger, such as I am, will discover the American Negro firmly and strongly set on the pinnacle of fame.

The West Indian Negro who has had seventy-eight years of emancipation has nothing to compare with your progress. Educationally, he has, in the exception, made a step forward, but generally he is stagnant. I have discovered a lot of “vain bluff” as propagated by the irresponsible type of West Indian Negro who has become resident of this country—bluff to the effect that conditions are better in the West Indies than they are in America. Not let me assure you, honestly and truthfully, that they are nothing of the kind. The West Indies in reality could have been the ideal home of the Negro, but the sleeping West Indian has ignored his chance ever since his emancipation, and today he is at the tail end of all that is worth while in the West Indies. The educated men are immigrating to the United States, Canada and Europe; the laboring element are to be found by the thousands in Central and South America. These people are leaving their homes simply because they haven’t pride and courage enough to stay at home and combat the forces that make them exiles. If we had the spirit of self-consciousness and reliance, such as you have in America, we would have been ahead of you, and today the standard of Negro development in the West would have been higher. We haven’t the pluck in the West Indies to agitate for or demand a square deal and the blame can be attributed to no other source than indolence and lack of pride among themselves.

Let not the American negro be misled; he occupies the best position among all Negroes up to the present time, and my advice to him is to keep up his constitutional fight for equity and justice.

The Negroes of the West Indies have been sleeping for seventy-eight years and are still under the spell of Rip Van Winkle. These people want a terrific sensation to awaken them to their racial consciousness. We are throwing away good business opportunities in the beautiful islands of the West. We have no banks of our own, no big stores and no commercial undertakings, we depend on others as dealers, while we remain consumers. The file is there open and ready for anyone who has the training and ability to become a pioneer. If enterprising Negro Americans would get hold of some of the wealthy Negroes of the West Indies and teach them how to trade and to do things in the interest of their people, a great good would be accomplished for the advancement of the race.

The Negro masses in the West Indies want enterprises that will help them to dress as well as the Negroes in the North of the United States; to help them live in good homes and to provide them with furniture on the installment plan; to insure them in sickness and death and to prevent a pauper's grave.

To this point, Garvey has been extremely consistent in both his rhetoric and in his behavior in several areas. That said, several changes take place in the way that the UNIA handles its day-to-day business beginning in 1917. The following pages will detail the main themes of this article.

First, Garvey by saying that his “mission to this country is to lecture and raise funds to help my organization—the Universal Negro Improvement Association of Jamaica—to establish an industrial and educational institute, to assist in educating the Negro youth of that island,” was still making references to Washington and the UNIA’s on Tuskegee-esque goals as he had been since 1914 in Jamaica. This means that Garvey understood that Washington’s name and creation still carried weight with black Americans in the year or so following Washington’s death, and that Garvey was still willing to use Washington’s name for his own purposes. Later in this chapter I point out that Garvey actively sought the assistance of a white man, who like Washington, was in charge of an institution of higher learning.

Second, Garvey was complimentary of the black American when he said, “I must say, at the outset, that the American Negro ought to compliment himself, as well as the early prejudice of the South, for the racial progress made in fifty years, and for the discriminating attitude that had led the race up to the high[,] high mark of consciousness preserving it from extinction.” Garvey was well aware that he could not reach his goal for Jamaica as a foreigner in America without first gaining the support of the black American public. This was especially important because Garvey did not have the backing of a leader of the caliber of Washington or Du Bois. Below I point out that Garvey grew more content with leaders who have proven to be effective

on smaller scales such as community organizers, and pastors of large churches as opposed to focusing on leaders of national organizations.

Third, as illustrated in the quote from the previous paragraph, Garvey described the American South as different from the North, just as he had prior to his arrival to the US. Garvey also said, “I feel that the Negro who has come in touch with western civilization is characteristically the same, and but for the environment, there would have been no marked difference between those of the scattered race in the western hemisphere.” Garvey identified the benefit of the black American by reporting the following, “[t]he honest prejudice of the South was sufficiently evident to give the Negro of America the real start — the start with a race consciousness, which I am convinced is responsible for the state of development already reached by the race.” This shows that despite Garvey’s touring and other preparation, that Garvey was still unready to concede that black Americans were all the same wherever they were. Garvey was, at that time, still generally unprepared for the Deep South and he did not visit or lecture there frequently if at all. As a result of this, UNIA growth was still limited and this was a problem that it took Garvey years to fully fix, although he began to address the issue starting in this period.

Fourth, Garvey spoke on the need for black enterprise and black equality worldwide. Garvey wrote that the, “acme of American Negro enterprise is not yet reached” and that black Americans “have still a far way to go.” In fact, by the end of this period, Garvey stopped lecturing on the condition of blacks in the West Indies and began to lecture on blacks enterprise. This became an integral part of Garvey’s platform in the next handful of years, as I will detail in the following chapters.

Fifth, in this article Garvey only speaks of his travels in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Washington, and Chicago. Garvey was limited because he had not yet fully formulated the plan that would help him to breach the South (although the solution was right around the corner) and the UNIA suffered because of this, as I detail in chapter five. Through his actions, it becomes clear that Garvey ultimately realized that many leaders and recruiters operating on a smaller scale was better than repeatedly going for big-named black leaders—besides, Garvey had pretty much run out of big-named leaders to request assistance of. Garvey acknowledges Dr. R. R. Wright, Jr., Dr. (William G.) Parks, Dr. Triley of the M.E. Church of Philadelphia, the Rev. J. C. Anderson of Quinn Chapel and Mrs. Ida Wells-Barnett of Chicago. Wright earned a PhD from the University of Pennsylvania and eventually became a bishop in the AME Church (Burkett 1978b). These individuals comprised his new recruitment staff during this period. Both Wright Jr. and Wright Sr. were involved with the UNIA. Wright Sr. also served as the president of the State College in Savannah, Georgia (Burkett 1978b). Wright Jr. was both the business manager of the AME Church Book Concern (a black-owned publishing company) and the editor of the *Christian Recorder* (Hill 1983:I). Dr. Parks was both the vice-president of the National Baptist Convention and the pastor of Philadelphia's largest black church, Union Baptist Church (Hill 1983:I). Rev. Anderson was part of the AME Church. Dr. Triley was another Philadelphia minister. And Mrs. Wells-Barnett was a journalist and organizer in Chicago, who was also married to an excellent lawyer.

While all of these points were of importance to the UNIA, I argue that what was of most importance were the names of the men and women that Garvey mentioned (listed above) as he traveled and lectured. This is because, as I have pointed out in previous chapters, Garvey used the names of public characters very purposefully and only gave praise to people who he felt

could help him. This chapter points out that Garvey began to recruit ministers and other local leaders in order to mobilize the UNIA. Garvey also offered positions of authority, real or titular, to those whom Garvey felt could benefit the UNIA if properly motivated, as I pointed out in chapter two.

In the previous chapter, by detailing Garvey's interaction with Washington, Scott, and Tuskegee, Moton and Du Bois, I demonstrated that Garvey was primarily interested in people and organizations that he felt could in some way help to advance the UNIA. This is important because it implies that Garvey thought that these people could do something for him—bring him members or grant him access to the one thing that had eluded him, entry into the South. In this instance, Garvey called by name four clergymen with ties to large populations of black Americans.¹⁶

Just a couple of months after the publication on the state of the West Indies where Garvey called by name four prominent black clergymen, he found himself finally in Atlanta at the Big Bethel AME Church, giving his West Indies lecture (Hill 1983:I). This was a major turning point for Garvey and the UNIA—not because the UNIA's membership grew by leaps and bounds in the South immediately after this lecture, because it did not, but because Garvey had finally figured out the key to getting into the South. Recall, Garvey initially wanted to come to America and begin lecturing in the South but he lacked the network and training to make that happen. In

¹⁶ Garvey also mentioned by name one woman organizer, Wells-Barnett; it is worth pointing out that the UNIA had a women's auxiliary at this time.

the pages that follow I will explain the growth and significance of the AME Church, and I will begin to explain how the AME Church was crucial to the development of the UNIA.¹⁷

RICHARD ALLEN

In the previous chapters I described Booker T. Washington's relationship to Marcus Garvey and the program of the UNIA. Here, I will demonstrate that Richard Allen was the first black leader to have a serious impact on the mobilization success of the UNIA. Allen was not a member of the UNIA, and in fact, the UNIA was not even formed until more than eighty years after Allen's (1760-1831) death. In the late eighteenth century, Allen was an enslaved preacher at St. George's United Methodist Church in Philadelphia, PA, a predominantly white institution.(ame-church.com; Bowden 1993). At St. George's Church, blacks were not allowed to worship alongside whites and were instead sent to an upstairs section of the church to participate in their own religious activities. Although some blacks took issue with this treatment in their place of worship, many continued to participate in weekly segregated church services. This all changed when members of Allen's congregation, blacks who were rebelliously worshipping in the main (white) area of the church because they felt that there was no place in religion for

¹⁷ While Garvey was putting together his staff of clergy and women's organizers, he had not abandoned the idea of securing Moton's support. Garvey wrote Moton on June 1, 1917 to inform Moton that Garvey would be "in America [at St. Mark's Hall in New York] lecturing and seeking help to enable [the UNIA] to establish a "Trades and Industrial Institute" to help the neglected of our suffering race of people" (Hill 1983:I:203). Referring to Moton as "one of the foremost leaders of the Negro," Garvey proceeded to ask him for a financial donation to the UNIA's adopted Tuskegee cause (Hill 1983:I:203). Seemingly never concerned about the potential for social awkwardness based on his social status compared to the statuses of those whom Garvey attempted to befriend, Garvey also extended an invitation to lecture to (former) US President Theodore Roosevelt (Hill 1983:I).

segregation, were forcibly removed from the church while on their bended, praying knees (Allen 1983; ame-church.com; George 1973).

In response to the strife caused at St. George's Church, Allen, still enslaved at this time, along with Absalom Jones, another black preacher licensed by St. George's Church, capitalized on the previously formed the Free African Society (FAS) (pbs.org1). With the support of the FAS, Allen held religious services in a converted blacksmith's shop. The key result of the FAS was the creation of Bethel Church, the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, in Philadelphia in 1794; Allen was its first pastor (ame-church.com). Allen became a bishop of the AME Church when "[i]n 1816, black Methodists from four states convened for what became known as the first General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church" (Angell 1992: 26).¹⁸

The AME Church was born out of blacks' struggle for equality. Over the next one hundred years of US history, there is evidence of the links between the AME Church and strong black leadership. Aside from founding Bethel Church in particular and the AME Church in general, another great contribution to black social movements that Allen is associated with is his leadership of The American Society of Free Persons of Color.

¹⁸ According to Angell, Turner was not aware that there was at least one other branch of Methodism in which blacks were allowed to become bishops. The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church allowed for black Bishops as well.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF FREE PERSONS OF COLOUR

In September of 1830, roughly six months prior to Allen's death, Bethel AME Church hosted the nascent American Society of Free Persons of Color (ASFPC) in what was the first documented convention of black peoples (Ernest 2011). During the ASFPC's first session, Allen was named the Society's President (coloredconventions.org). In attendance were delegates from Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia (coloredconventions.org).¹⁹ The ASFPC decided to form a national umbrella of which Allen was also elected President.

Contained within the minutes of the inaugural meeting of the ASFPC is the following address to the Free People of Colour of these United States

(<http://coloredconventions.org/files/original/a1a162e13def18faa2b72718cbc3d3a6.pdf>):

Impressed with a firm and settled conviction, and more especially being taught by that inestimable and invaluable instrument, namely, the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born free and equal, and consequently are endowed with unalienable rights, among which are the enjoyments of life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness.

Viewing these as incontrovertible facts, we have been led to the following conclusions; that our forlorn and deplorable situation earnestly and loudly demand of us to devise and pursue all legal means for the speedy elevation of ourselves and brethren to the scale and standing of men. And in pursuit of this great object, various ways and means have been resorted to; among other, the African Colonization Society is the most prominent. Not doubting the sincerity of many friends who are engaged in that cause; yet . . . does not meet with our approbation. However great the debt which these United States may owe to injured Africa, and however unjustly her sons have been made to bleed, and her daughters to drink of the cup of affliction, still we who have been born and nurtured on this soil, we, whose habits, manners, and customs are the same in common with other Americans, can never connect to take our lives in our hands, and be the bearers of the redress offered by that Society to that much afflicted country.

Tell it not to barbarians, lest they refuse to be civilized, and eject our christian missionaries from among them, that in the nineteenth century of the christian era, laws have been enacted in some of the states of this great republic, to compel an unprotected and harmless portion of our brethren, to leave their homes and see an asylum in foreign climes: and in taking a view of the unhappy situation of many of these, whom the oppressive laws alluded to, continually crowd into the Atlantic cities, dependent for their support upon

¹⁹ These states were typically home to former slaves.

their daily labour, and who often suffer for want of employment, we have had to lament that no means have yet been devised for their relief.

These considerations have led us to the conclusion, that the formation of a settlement in the British province of Upper Canada, would be a great advantage to the people of color. In accordance with these views, we pledge ourselves to aid each other by all honourable means, to plant and support one in that country, and therefore we earnestly and most feelingly appeal to our colored brethren, and to all philanthropists here and elsewhere, to assist in this benevolent and important work.

To encourage our brethren earnestly to co-operate with us, we offer the following, viz. 1st. Under that government no invidious distinction of color is recognised, but there we shall be entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of other citizens. 2nd. That the language, climate, soil, and productions are similar to those in this country. 3rd. That land of the best quality can be purchased at the moderate price of one dollar and fifty cents per acre by the one hundred acres. 4th. The market for different kinds of produce raised in that colony, is such as to render a suitable reward to the industrious farmer, equal in our opinion to that of the United States. And lastly, as the erection of buildings must necessarily claim the attention of the emigrants, we would invite the mechanics from our large cities to embark in the enterprise; the advancement of architecture depending much on their exertions, as they must consequently take with them the arts and improvements of our well regulated communities.

It will be much to the advantage of those who have large families, and desire to see them happy and respected, to locate themselves in a land where the laws and prejudices of society will have no effect in retarding their advancement to the summit of civil and religious improvement. There the diligent student will have ample opportunity to reap the reward due to industry and perseverance; whilst those of moderate attainments, if properly nurtured, may be enabled to take their stand as men in the several offices and situations necessary to promote union, peace, order and tranquility. It is to these we must look for the strength and spirit of our future prosperity.

Before we close, we would just remark, that it has been a subject of deep regret to this convention, that we as a people, have not availingly appreciated every opportunity placed within our power by the benevolent efforts of the friends of humanity, in elevating our condition to the rank of freemen. That our mental and physical qualities have not been more actively engaged in pursuits more lasting, is attributable in a great measure to a want of unity among ourselves; whilst our only stimulus to action has been to become domestics, which at best is but a precarious and degraded situation.

It is to obviate these evils, that we have recommended our views to our fellow-citizens in the forgoing instrument, with a desire of raising the moral and political standing of ourselves; and we cannot devise and plan more likely to accomplish this end, than by encouraging agriculture and mechanical arts: for by the first, we shall be enabled to act with a degree of independence, which as yet has fallen to the lot of but few among us; and the faithful pursuit of the latter, in connection with the sciences, which expand and ennoble the mind, will eventually give us the standing and condition we desire.

To effect these great objects, we would earnestly request our brethren throughout the United States, to co-operate with us, by forming societies auxiliary to the Parent Institution, about being established in the city of Philadelphia, under the patronage of the General Convention. And we further recommend to our friends and brethren, who reside in places where, *at present* [sic], this may be impracticable, so far to aid us, by contributing to the funds of the Parent Institution; and if disposed, to appoint one delegate to represent them in the next Convention, to be held in Philadelphia the first Monday in June next, it being fully understood, that organized societies be at liberty to send any number of delegates not exceeding *five* [sic].

What is clear from this address is that the ASFPC was dissatisfied with the lack of freedoms that blacks had experienced to that point, and that the organization clearly felt that blacks were entitled to certain freedoms: “Impressed with a firm and settled conviction, and

more especially being taught by that inestimable and invaluable instrument, namely, the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born free and equal, and consequently are endowed with unalienable rights, among which are the enjoyments of life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness.” Additionally, the ASFPC did not approve of the sentiment of other organizations intended to help black Americans, namely the African Colonization Society (ACS), a group founded in the early 1800s for the purpose of sending blacks to Liberia for the mutual benefit of the races (Levine 2003). Contained in the address was the following: “Not doubting the sincerity of many friends who are engaged in that cause; yet . . . does not meet with our approbation.” Allen’s group thought it would be best for blacks to settle in Northern Canada as opposed to Liberia because “the formation of a settlement in the British province of Upper Canada, would be a great advantage to the people of color.”

Two major contributions came out of this first meeting of the ASFPC. Not only was this a public recognition of black’s inability to gain equal treatment in the US so much so that the best decision seemed to be to vacate the country, but this meeting of the ASFPC was the beginning of a period known as the Negro Convention Movement (Wesley and Allen 1935).

Despite Allen’s death in March of 1831, the Conference met in June of 1831 and continued to meet until the US Civil War (pbs.org2). Allen’s life was dedicated to helping people of color to enjoy better conditions than what was the case in the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

MARTIN DELANY

Martin Delany (1812-1885) is the second black leader in the AME tradition to have a major impact on the Garvey movement as he is widely considered the father of Black

Nationalism (Cruse 1967; Levine 2003; Robinson 2001). Delany was also a “social activist and reformer” as well as an “abolitionist, physician, reporter and editor, explorer, jurist, realtor, politician, publisher, educator, army officer, ethnographer, novelist, and political and legal theorist” (Levine 2003:1). Delany moved to Pittsburg, PA. in 1831, the same year of Allen’s death in Philadelphia, and in the 1830s and 1840s, he developed and attended various black conventions (Levine 2003).

In terms of his rise to leadership, it is likely that Delany benefited from the following structures and conditions: 1) Delany operated in a state where blacks were holding conventions with delegates from multiple states with some movement activity already in progress; 2) living in a time and location where Black Nationalism was prominent and was spreading via the AME Church, with nearly 40 years of history (1794-1831); and, 3) it is reasonable to conclude that Delany’s timing, coming to Pennsylvania during the year of Allen’s death, helped him to rise to prominence due to the void that Allen left in the black community in general, and in the state of Pennsylvania in particular.

Social movement participation and living in Pennsylvania were not the only things that Allen and Delany had in common; very soon after his arrival in Pittsburgh, “Delany began studying . . . at Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church” not to be confused with the church by the same name in Philadelphia. It was however the same denomination of church as pioneered by Allen himself (Levine 2003:25). While Delany was not an AME clergyman, it is important to note some other clear connections between Delany and the AME Church: 1) one of Delany’s best friends was an AME Bishop named Daniel Alexander Payne (Levine 2003); 2) Delany was known to lecture in black Methodist churches (*North Star* 1848: 28 April); 3) Delany was close enough to at least one other AME clergyman, Reverend Fayette Davis, to have delivered the

eulogy at his funeral (Levine 2003); 4) following Delany's own death, James T. Holly, an AME priest, referred to Delany as "one of the great men of this age" and went on say that Delany's life was "filled with noble purposes, high resolves, and ceaseless activities for the welfare of the race with which he identified" (Levine 2003:3); 5) Additionally, the *Mystery*, a paper that Delany founded, edited, and mostly wrote, was ultimately sold to the AME Church and moved to Philadelphia where it became the AME Church's primary news organ, the *Christian Recorder* (Levine 2003).

The evidence I present here makes it quite clear that Delany and the AME Church were in ideologically similar. There is no record of anything that Delany may have written either for publication prior to Allen's death in 1831. As a result, I cannot conclude that Allen had a *direct* influence on Delany. What I have determined, however, is that there were some common bonds and between Delany and the AME church which again was Allen's creation. Perhaps more important than those social ties between Delany and the AME Church were the opportunities for creating small social movement organizations, a door that I argue was opened by Allen's ASFPC. Next I will provide examples of Delany's leadership activities in and around Pennsylvania.

At the Bethel AME Church in Pittsburgh, Delany and other leaders formed the African Education Society (Levine 2003). Whereas the ASFPC took issue with inequality and sought to attain for blacks the protections provided with the US Declaration of Independence, the African Education Society claimed in its constitution that "ignorance is the sole cause of present degradation and bondage of people of color in these United States; that the intellectual capacity of the black man is equal to that of the white, and that he is equally susceptible of improvement" (Levine 2003:25). It is no coincidence that this line in the African Education Society's

constitution sounds very similar to Garvey's US lectures on the West Indies. One of Delany's partners in the founding of the African Education Society was an AME minister named Lewis Woodson, also regarded as an important figure in Black Nationalism (Perry and Fellman 1979). Delany was one of the cofounders of the Young Men's Literary and Moral Reform Society of the City of Pittsburgh and Vicinity (*Colored American* 1837: 2 September). Not surprisingly, this organization sounds similar to Garvey's literary and oratory programs reported in chapter two. Other notable activities that Delany has taken part in include protesting black disenfranchisement in Pennsylvania, and organizing a black state convention (*Colored American* 1838: 12 April; *Colored American* 1941: 3 July). As a student of Black Nationalism who was mentored by a close friend (Dr. Love) of a prominent Black Nationalist (Bishop Turner), Garvey was well aware of this history.

As evidenced above, Delany was very active in Pittsburgh in the period that followed Allen's death. There is also evidence of the influence of the ASFPC on Delany's African Education Society, of which at least one other prominent AME clergyman was a part. Delany employs one of Allen's better-known organizational tactics by calling for a black state convention as well.

Whether it was Allen himself or the Black Nationalism that poured through the AME Church that influenced Delany, what is clear is the manner in which Delany seemed to advocate for causes that were in line with the trajectory of Allen's actions. Delany likely purposefully remained close to the AME Church in both ideology and through his relationships with church leadership, while not committing to the AME Church because he wanted to be neither pigeonholed by his public nor bound to a specific set of ideologies. The following excerpt from the prospectus of Delany's newspaper, *Mystery* (1846:16 December: 4), speaks to this point:

The paper shall be free, independent and untrammelled, and while it shall aim at the Moral Elevation of the Africo-American and African race, civilly, politically and religiously, yet, it shall support no distinctive principles of race—no sectional distinctions, otherwise than such as may be necessary, for the establishment of true and correct principles pertaining to the universal benefit of man, since whatever is essentially necessary for the promotion and elevation of one class of society to a respectable and honorable standing, is necessary for the promotion and elevation of all classes; therefore our interests are and should be, one and inseparable.

I have concluded, based on Delany's documentation of the vision he had for his newspaper, that this is also the way that Delany also chose to live. This vision was an extension of the way he chose to handle his public life. Garvey also opted not to commit to a particular denomination of the black church, as I will detail in chapter five. Black Nationalism is a wide-frame cause. Nationalists can ill afford to exclude sympathizers on the basis of narrow particulars. That said, Delany's main connection to Garvey was in his influence on Bishop Turner who was only one degree removed from Garvey through Dr. Love.²⁰

BISHOP HENRY McNEAL TURNER

The third and most important black leader to impact Marcus Garvey, whose time on earth predates Garvey's, is Bishop Henry McNeal Turner (1812-1915). Turner is said to have fit "a pattern that has characterized American theologians at least since . . . Richard Allen" (Angell 1992:13). Turner joined the AME Church as clergy in August of 1858 and spent many years working his way up in the AME Church while organizing and growing congregations in the South (Angell 1992). Turner worked diligently to help grow the AME Church, specifically in the South, just as Garvey would have to in order to expand the UNIA as discussed in chapter five. In 1858 when Turner joined the AME Church, "it had about 20,000 members, and, less than four

²⁰ For an explanation of the relationship between Garvey and Turner via Dr. Love, please see chapter two.

decades later in 1896, it numbered 452,725” (Angell 1992:3). Likewise, before the UNIA had any serious Southern presence, less than 15% of its divisions were in the South. In fact, when Turner joined the AME Church, the states of South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina, the states which would be known as the Confederate States of America, had very few members living within them; in 1896, “about four-fifths of its members (357,250) lived in those same eleven states” (Angell 1992:3).

A great deal of this dissertation to this point has been spent arguing that Garvey desired to have a presence in the American South, as that was where the majority of blacks in the US lived in the early 1900s. I have demonstrated that Garvey sought several sponsors to this end to no avail. At the beginning of this chapter I illustrated the expanse of Garvey’s growing lecture success being in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Washington, and Chicago. We see that the UNIA had not just similar goals to the AME Church, but also similar problems. Bishop Turner’s missionary movement “transform[ed] the A.M.E. Church from a small regional institution centered in the North and Midwest to a truly national denomination with a much broader range of influence” (Angell 1992:4). One of the central arguments of this dissertation is that Garvey tapped into the existing network of the AME Church and reaped the same benefits for the UNIA that Bishop Turner provided to the AME Church, expansion into the American South.

White Nationalism was institutionalized in the US prior to the Civil War such that blacks and other racialized groups were systematically driven away from whites. As unlikely as it seems, American (White) Nationalism was very beneficial to black protest in general and to the Universal Negro Improvement Association in particular. White America’s desperate attempt to

create a homogeneous society is particularly apparent in their use of the legal system to marginalize Native Americans, designate formally which aspiring settlers would be deemed desirable and able to relocate, and especially as a means to keep blacks separate from the rest of society despite the obvious presence of their manual labor in white spaces. For instance, the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 which, as a means of combating the Underground Railroad, denied captured runaway slaves a trial, provided law enforcement with the authority to force citizens into aiding with any search and capture attempts. In its Dred Scott decision of 1857, in contrast to the American ideal of “all men being created equal,” United States Supreme Court Justice Taney said without equivocation, “it [was] too clear for dispute that the enslaved African race [was] not intended to be included and formed no part of the people who framed this declaration” (Robinson 2001:12). As so unapologetically insisted by Justice Taney in his Dred Scott decision, the black man “had no rights which the white man was bound to respect”. Also important in understanding the ways that the United States government aided in the subjugation of blacks is the Plessy decision of 1896, which legalized Jim Crow. Laws not only impacted people’s racial outlooks, but it guaranteed that blacks could not enjoy the benefits of citizenship. Both during and after slavery, blacks were denied American citizenship by law and in people’s minds.

Racist Ideology

From this point in history, many scholars endeavored to identify and reinforce the differences between blacks and whites. This includes figures such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, who argued that race was essential to blacks, and Dr. Samuel George Morton who determined that skull size was an accurate measure of intellect, and placed blacks at the bottom of the hierarchy. Former US President Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), slaveowner and father to mulatto children, said, “[d]eep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections, by the blacks, of

the injuries they have sustained, new provocations; the real distinctions which nature has made . . . will divide us into parties and produce convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race” (Robinson 2001:10). Some of the places selected for black colonization were Central America and Liberia. Some white leaders thought it best if blacks had their own land in which to be free because blacks and whites could not coexist. Even US President Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865), the “freer” of black slaves, pondered the idea of colonizing blacks, saying, “even when you cease to be slaves, you are yet far removed from being placed on equality with the white race . . . It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated” (Robinson 2001:10). These circumstances coupled with the World War eventually provided many blacks with an impetus to relocate from the deep south to cities throughout the North (Cronon 1955) but near the time of the first World War, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), a white supremacist organization, was getting its second wind (Cronon 1955). It was important for the KKK to make it known that America was their country, and that blacks that lived there had very few rights. The KKK did everything in their power to rid the country of blacks, from burning crosses where blacks resided, to sending mailers to influential whites in an attempt to have blacks deported. The KKK sent representatives to black communities, explaining that they would like blacks to return to the homeland of their ancestors; the KKK banked on the idea that, due to the way that blacks were being treated in America, many blacks would be in support of this idea.

BLACK NATIONALISM GROWTH AND LEADERSHIP

Men like Richard Allen, Martin Delany, and Bishop Henry Turner, who were the most notable champions of Black Nationalism in the pre World War I era, even assisting in the organization of black troops during the war, thought it would be best to relocate black Americans beyond the borders of the United States. White Nationalists regard the US as the whites’ sphere.

The premise of White Nationalism is that there are specific characteristics native to both whites and blacks, and one's social status—and also the manner in which one is to be treated—is based on these characteristics (Robinson 2001). While proud of their efforts during the war, many blacks were disappointed by the fact that they were only allowed to serve in the less important roles and were prevented from becoming Marines as well as military officers.

Many black troops were among the first ones to be sent to fight; in fact, some black troops were not even trained before they arrived at the war zone. Many blacks were very disappointed with the lack a social change that they experienced post-World War I (WWI). Black nationalism “grew out of the context of white American Nationalism—the desire for, and the practices that supported, white racial homogeneity within the United States” (Robinson 2001:9). The United States' continued perpetuation of racism, veiled as American Nationalism, was ironically responsible for the growth of Black Nationalism as a response to unjust treatment.

Black Nationalism is best defined as a social movement that considers all blacks as a part of one nation based on race alone. The common themes of Black Nationalists beliefs were Christianity, African nationality, manhood, and civilization. A popular belief of the black nationalist is that white Christianity helps to perpetuate slave culture due to its emphasis on the lack of importance of material goods and the justification of suffering on earth for a greater afterlife such that, “slave culture might have been the conduit by which Africans became Americanized” (Robinson 2001:16 emphasis as original). On the contrary, US proponents of racial homogeneity felt that blacks were privileged to have had the opportunity to live amongst whites and to be exposed to white Christianity.

The Americanization of blacks during slavery taught blacks not to strive towards the American ideals, but this certainly backfired in that it inspired Black Nationalists. After the implosion of US postbellum reconstruction (1863-1877), Bishop Henry Turner (1834-1915), well known for his opinion of God being black, utilized the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church as a platform to advance his sentiment that blacks should return to Africa. Turner was largely supported by poor farmers, many of whom were working as sharecroppers, only a half of a step away from the conditions of slavery. Turner visited Liberia and Sierra Leone to scout for opportunities of advancement for those willing to migrate. The AME Church was generally against the idea of emigration, however this did not prevent Turner from utilizing the *Christian Recorder*, a newspaper of the AME church, to spread this message. Bishop Turner later said, “the fool Negro who has no more sense than a jackass, yet he wants to be a leader, ridicules the idea of asking for a hundred million dollars to go home, for Africa is our home, and is the one place that offers us manhood and freedom” (Robinson 2001:23).

Black Nationalism may manifest as either Zionist or revolutionary. A Black Zionist agrees with the position that blacks will forever be enslaved in America. As a result, Black Zionists believe that blacks’ emigration to Africa is necessary. Revolutionary Black Nationalists challenge the ideas of slavery and inequality and call for blacks to take action to overturn less-than-desirable social conditions. It is the revolutionary group that pushed black equality forward in the US. These nationalists recognized that, “[w]hiteness was a mark of distinction and superiority, while blackness was a badge of degradation, acknowledged by statute, organic law, and the common consent of the people [and they argued that] [f]or a people to know true freedom . . . they had to govern themselves” (Robinson 2001:17). Therefore, if blacks were ever to have the opportunity to showcase their unique culture, they would have to create and control

their own civilization. Garvey's success was in his reframing of Black Nationalism in such a way that blackness became a source of pride. This was attractive to Black Nationalists of all types.

HARLEM EXPANSION

Garvey's original plan for the US was to come lecture, gain some sympathizers and donations, and then return to Jamaica to execute his plans for the Tuskegee of the West Indies. But in 1917, Garvey decided to establish the New York branch of the UNIA (Cronon 1960). I suspect he decided to stay for three reasons: 1) because he realized that he was on the verge of accomplishing something great with this staff he had put together; 2) because Jamaicans were not necessarily in support of the message that Garvey was putting forth, as I have documented in chapter three; and, 3) because the US was without a strong black leader whose platform was Black Nationalism, thus creating an opportunity for Garvey. Of course when Garvey made the decision to officially bring the UNIA to Harlem, he did what he has always done while leading the UNIA, with one exception—he looked for a prominent leader to befriend and began the courtship process. This time, instead of a black clergyman or community leader, Garvey's affection was directed toward a white man by the name of Dr. Nicolas Murray Butler who was the president of Columbia University. Garvey requested his assistance just as he had Du Bois' before him, and Washington before him—In addition to clergymen, Garvey demonstrated a respect for educators and when it came to mobilizing help. In November of 1917, Garvey wrote the following letter to Dr. Butler (Hill 1983:I:220):

At a general meeting of the Universal Negro Improvement Association of New York, I was *instructed* [emphasis added] to write you asking your help in the following matter.

The Association will be holding a State Elocution Contest among the Negro literary people of New York, in the Palace Theatre, 135th Street and Madison Avenue, on Tuesday Evening, December 18th, 1917, at 8.15 O'clock, at which sixteen young men and women of literary training will compete among themselves for three prizes for the best rendition of various selections (prose and poetry) from standard authors, each reciter to recite only one piece for not longer than seven minutes.

My instruction is to write to you asking you to act as one of the seven judges to judge the contest. I am now writing the principals of six other Universities and Colleges asking them to judge also.

We write asking you to be a judge because we feel that you will help us in that capacity, but we also realize that your duties are many. We are counting on you as a judge on the occasion, but should you find it impossible to help us, we ask that you do not completely disappoint us but that you help us with the service of one of your associates in the University with whom we shall be pleased.

Feeling sure that you will help us with your presence as a judge and patron, and awaiting your early reply, With very best wishes, Yours respectfully[.]

Fortunately for Garvey, Dr. Butler agreed to comply with Garvey's request, giving Garvey a new compatriot in a nearby major institution. Educators were not a long-term answer to the UNIA's mobilization needs.

The UNIA's growth came with some changes in its operation. Take for instance the letter that went to Dr. Butler. In addition to the UNIA's motto "One God, One Aim, One Destiny" being included on the UNIA's letterhead, there is also the following quote from Acts 17:26: "He created of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth." Through this written presentation, the UNIA's facade is catching up with its de facto leadership team of black clergymen. The UNIA, which had met on Tuesday evenings, began to meet on Sundays at 3pm in 1917. Perfect timing for someone who wanted to have a group of men and women already assembled and primed for a message—especially if that message is in lockstep with the messages coming from the church. For a stretch of months, Garvey lectured *every* Sunday at 3pm at the Lafayette Hall in New York (Hill 1983:I:220). The UNIA's structure was changing to a much more religiously oriented organization, mirroring the black church.

The results of having changed the structure of the UNIA's program to look more like that of the black church's were positive. The first report of a mass meeting in New York with over 2,000 people in attendance was at Bethel (AME) Church (*Jamaica Times* 1917: 22 September). The UNIA's Ladies' Auxiliary was doing well also. A meeting of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the

UNIA featuring Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, a founding member of the NAACP, also reportedly drew in 2,000 people in October 1917 (*Home News* 1917: 3 October).

Toward the end of 1917, Garvey changed the topic of his lecture to “The Opportunities of the Young Negro” (*Home News* 1917: 2 December) in order to prepare black Americans for his next group of goals. One of the UNIA’s goals for the coming year was “to open a large grocery store in Harlem and to give employment to a large number of Negro men and women” (*Home News* 1917: 23 December). A December 4, 1917 lecture on the aforementioned topic given by Garvey was supported by “the Rev. Dr. Willis W. Brown, who has long felt that the Negro of Harlem has a fine opportunity to develop into business” (*Home News* 1917: 9 December). Brown was the pastor of the Metropolitan Baptist Church in Harlem (Hill 1983:I).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Many scholars place the start of the US Garvey movement somewhere between 1916 and 1917 (Cronon 1960; Grant 2008; Hill 1983:I; Martin 1976; Tolbert 1980; Vincent 1971). This period is indeed important to Garveyism as this is when Marcus Garvey (1887-1940) officially brought the UNIA to the US. However, the UNIA, or what is called the Garvey movement, is actually an extension of Black Nationalism which is associated with Richard Allen (1760-1831), Martin Delany (1812-1885), and Henry Turner (1843-1915), three men with strong ties to the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church (Angell 1992; Levine 2003; Martin 1976; Robinson 2001; Robinson 2007). Garvey used relationships with black churches of all types in order to gain support for the UNIA, but because of the fit between what Garvey was advocating for and the messages of the AME Church, the relationship between Garvey’s UNIA and the AME Church was the most critical.

Prominent black clergymen were able to do for Garvey what Garvey never could have done on his own, either for lack of access as I will explain in chapter five, or for lack of skill as I explained in chapters two and three. Clergymen spoke to large groups of blacks about social issues and social justice. This is because despite the racist nature of America during this period of study, whites more often than not allowed blacks the space to practice religion. There were no city-centers for Garvey to go with his crate or ladder and speak to the black public on race pride. To access the black South, one needs both the perfect venue, and the perfect cover—in this case, religion. But if one wants to use the church to promote a secular cause, that cause has to be in line with the ideology of the church members. Garvey and the AME Church both had Black Nationalist roots and programs.

In the coming chapters I will demonstrate the strength of the relationship between the UNIA and the AME Church by identifying key figures of the UNIA and illustrating their ties to the AME Church, and also by demonstrating that there is an overlap between the hotbeds of the UNIA and those of the AME Church; this will be clear in the Chapter Five. Later, I will also show that several events that placed the UNIA at odds with the AME Church happened in a time period that is correlated with the decline of the UNIA. I want to be clear that the AME Church was not the only denomination that was helpful to the UNIA. There were many denominations that aided the UNIA, but none as much as the AME Church.

Chapter V:

The Universal Negro Improvement Association 1918-1921

INTRODUCTION

The UNIA achieved a great deal of success by 1921, including starting its own newspaper, opening many companies that employed blacks, and even opening a shipping business with the goal of turning it into an international trade company. By the 1921 Convention, the UNIA claimed 860 branches with the majority of those branches forming between the 1920 and 1921 Conventions. I argue that the reason for this unprecedented growth of the UNIA between the 1920 Convention and the 1921 Convention was due to the fact that Garvey constructed a well-networked ecclesiastic recruitment machine. This was accomplished by: 1) changing the language of the UNIA to appear more religious in nature; 2) identifying and recruiting prominent clergymen from a multitude of denominations and placing them in leadership positions in the UNIA; and, 3) organizing the clergy of the local branches, standardizing their duties, and standardizing the operations of local UNIA meetings, giving them an ecclesiastic makeover. The result of these actions was that the UNIA was able to finally, because of the use of the clergy and their churches, have a voice in the South where the majority of blacks were living during that period, and bring a large number of people into the organization.

At the time of the UNIA's First International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World in August 1920 (1920 Convention), while Garvey was serving as President General, the UNIA had accumulated: its own newspaper, the *Negro World*, which was extremely useful in aiding in the spread of UNIA activities and Garvey's thoughts; at least one restaurant; a chain of grocery co-ops; a publishing company; a dressmaker and tailor; a millinery store; a laundry;

several meeting halls called Liberty Hall; and a steamship company called the Black Star Line. These many UNIA enterprises provided the UNIA with several income streams and served as symbols of the movement. For instance, the Liberty Hall in Harlem gave the UNIA a permanent meeting venue as well as inspired many other divisions to buy their own Liberty Halls, whose symbolism served as motivation to the UNIA's membership. But what is perhaps the most important accomplishment that the UNIA made by August of 1921 was the emergence of its 860 branches.

The objective of this chapter is to demonstrate the relationship between UNIA's successes and the UNIA's connection with black clergymen, specifically those of the AME, AME Zion, and the National Baptist Churches. More specifically, I aim to demonstrate: 1) that the UNIA moved to a more religion-oriented organization, and its top leadership was reflective of that; 2) that the UNIA's Chaplain General elected at the 1920 Convention created a network that made it easier for the UNIA's clergymen in leadership roles to recruit; and, 3) that the UNIA's clergy-leaders, namely, the UNIA's Leader of American Negroes elected at the 1920 Convention, were consistently traveling and building the UNIA in 1920 and 1921. The purpose of this exercise is to demonstrate that the UNIA grew to become arguably the largest black social movement on US soil, not because just of Garvey's direct impact with UNIA members or because he was charismatic, but because Garvey was a very knowledgeable resource mobilizer. Garvey recruited recruiters.

PRECONVENTION: 1918-1919

In 1918, the UNIA launched its New York based newspaper, the *Negro World* (Cronon 1960). I detailed Garvey's history with print and it is clear that he knew exactly how important

having a newspaper was to his—or any—organization. The *Negro World* allowed Garvey to win over black minds through written materials. This paper sold for 5 cents in New York, 7 cents elsewhere in the United States, and 10 cents internationally, which means that it provided a solid income stream for the UNIA. While in print, this publication was said to have an estimated circulation of as many as 200,000, earning over \$1,000 per month (about \$10,000 per month by today’s standards) for the UNIA (Cronon 1960).²¹

This period of growth for the *Negro World* was concurrent with the period in which Garvey became more reliant on religion as a recruitment tool, as I will detail momentarily. Despite Garvey’s reliance on clergymen, Garvey thought the church, like many other organizations, was a propaganda machine. As Robinson points out, “Garvey worked to inoculate the black mind against white propaganda by offering a quasi-religious theory of racial pride and advancement—what Garvey would call, “African fundamentalism””(Robinson 1991:28). The following is an excerpt from a speech that Garvey gave at Liberty Hall (*Negro World* 1921:19 February):

I wish I could convert the world of Negroes overnight to the tremendous possibilities of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. It pains me ever every [sic] moment of the day when I see Negroes losing the grasp that should have on their own. You of Liberty Hall I must ask you to go out as missionaries and preach the doctrine of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Let all the world know that this is the hour; this is the time for our salvation. Prayer alone will not save us; sentiment alone will not save us. We have to work and work and work if we are to be saved. . . .

²¹ This was one of the most noteworthy journalistic business ventures made in the United States by a black person at this time. Portions of this paper were published in different languages as to allow for language differences from other blacks throughout the Diaspora.

However, Garvey's method of combating propaganda was with using his own propaganda.

Robinson continues, "Garvey's UNIA prepared the mind of the race through propaganda and ritual" (Robinson 1991:28). Garvey wrote (Garvey N.d.: Notebook II):

Nearly all organized efforts have a system of propaganda to convert people to its principle, and to get them to support it even though there may be no [merit][behind] it all. The press, the pulpit, [and] the school room are all propaganda agencies for one thing or the other. The pulpit carries on religious propaganda. The school carries on educational propaganda. The press carries on written propaganda. The cinema carries on [demonstrative] propaganda. These methods have been devised by the white man to spread his idea among men. That is why he is able . . . to control the minds of the people of the world.

Garvey's stance on propaganda proved to be a very critical discovery for Garvey and the UNIA; he implemented this strategy full-time beginning around 1918 through the *Negro World*.

In 1919, Marcus Garvey established the Negro Factories Corporation as a means of raising money while giving employment opportunities to blacks. Garvey's plan was to construct, own, and operate factories in major industrial areas in the United States, Africa, Central America, and the West Indies. Under this corporate umbrella, there was a restaurant, a chain of grocery co-ops, a publishing company, a dressmaker and tailor, a millinery store, and a laundry. These business provided employment for a modest number of UNIA members (Cronon 1960).

Dedicated as Liberty Hall on July 27, 1919, the UNIA purchased an auditorium in Harlem (Cronon 1960). This auditorium was originally a part of an uncompleted church structure that was capable of accommodating 6,000 people (Cronon 1960). This became the location of the American headquarters of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (Cronon 1960). Logically, Garvey would not have purchased a space of this size if he did not think that he could fill it regularly. This is a sign of the UNIA's growth during this period.

In yet another opportunity to create black employment and make a profit, Garvey began to plan for a black-owned, black-operated steamship company. From these plans, the Black Star

Line was born. One of the main focuses for this entity of the UNIA is that it would remain free of white money (Cronon 1960).

1920 CONVENTION

While starting all of the aforementioned business ventures, Garvey was also planning a black mass meeting. On August 1, 1920, the UNIA's First International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World opened at Madison Square Garden (Cronon 1960). Delegates reported on the conditions of their respective jurisdictions, some making calls for action (Hill 1983:II). In addition to the large crowd gathered at Madison Square Garden, Liberty Hall "was crowded thirty consecutive nights, with hundreds and sometimes thousands turned away each Sunday [of the convention]" (*Negro World* 1921:19 March, 2). The general public, UNIA members, black clergymen, rival organization leaders, and the media, both black and white, listened closely while Garvey expressed his feelings of distrust for white America and his plans for African redemption. The venue "was packed to the very doors to witness the opening of the [UNIA] convention, the greatest gathering of Negroes that ever assembled in America" (*Negro World* 1921:19 March, 2). During this convention the following UNIA officers were sworn into office (Hill 1983:II: 645).²²:

²² After reading this list it should be very clear that the UNIA's newly-sworn officers were predominantly clergymen; an examination of the list of officers from previous years would reveal that this had not always been the case (Hill:1983:I). One important finding of this research is that one of the most important leadership roles during this period was that of the Chaplain General, which I will demonstrate in the following pages. Also, I will show that Garvey, as he had done in previous years, continued to demonstrate that he would support and promote those who he best felt would help the UNIA. In the pages that follow, I will give some detail of who some of these figures are, and describe what their value was to Garvey and/or the UNIA.

The men sworn in and inducted into office are: His Highness, the Potentate, Gabriel Johnson (salary of office, \$12,000 per year); His Highness the Supreme Deputy, G. O. Marke (salary, \$6,000); His Excellency President General Marcus Garvey (salary, \$10,000); Right Honorable Assistant President General the [Reverend Doctor J. D. Gordon] (salary, \$6,000); the Right Honorable Secretary General, the [Reverend Doctor] J. D. Brooks (salary, \$6,000); His Honor, Assistant Secretary General, J. B. Yearwood (salary, \$4,500); His Grace, the Chaplain General, the [Reverend Doctor George] A. McGuire (salary, \$5,000); the Right Honorable International Organizer, Miss Henrietta Vinton Davis (salary, \$6,000); the Right Honorable Chancellor, the [Reverend Doctor] Stewart [no salary listed]; the Right Honorable Surgeon General, [Doctor] D. D. Lewis (salary, \$6,500); the Right Honorable Speaker in Convention, [Reverend] Fred Tooté (salary, \$3,000); the Right Honorable Commissioner General, the [Reverend Doctor] Ellegor [no salary listed]; the Right Honorable Minister of Legions, [Captain] E. L. Gaines (salary, \$3,000) [emphasis as original].

Here one can easily see that as of the 1920 Convention the UNIA's staff contained a large number of clergymen. This is discussed in detail later in this chapter as well as in Chapter Six.

CHAPLAIN GENERAL: JAMES WALKER HOOD EASON (C.1887-1923)

Entering the 1920 Convention, James Eason was the sitting Chaplain General of the UNIA, having been appointed to that post just the year before, and he was the first clergyman to hold this post (Burkett 1978a; Hill 1983:I). Eason was born in North Carolina and he attended Livingstone, an AME Zion college, followed by Hood Theological Seminary (Burkett 1978a). All of Hood's class of 1915, of which Eason was a part, "shared a special interest in Africa and in African Missions," a clear interest of the UNIA's, and "[t]wo members of the class of 1915—Edgar B. Watson (1874-1951) and Hampton T. Medford (1886-1964)—became bishops in the AME Zion Church" (Burkett 1978a:51). Eason had pastored a church in Charlotte prior to moving to Philadelphia to pastor a church there prior to founding People's Metropolitan AME Zion Church (Burkett 1978a; *California Eagle* 1921: 17 December).

Eason was an active member and leader of the Colored Protective Association (CPA) which was founded in Philadelphia in 1918 (Burkett 1978a; Burkett 1978b). The CPA was created because of disappointment in the NAACP (Burkett 1978a). The CPA's purpose was "carrying on propoganda and securing legal defense for Negro-Americans who were unjustly

arrested, or attacked, in trying to lawfully occupy their homes, and to help adjust themselves” (Burkett 1978b: 117). The CPA had been founded by, among others, two Garvey supporters, Reverend William Henry Moses, and Reverend Richard Robert Wright, Jr.; the latter of which eventually became a Bishop in the AME Church while the former was the pastor of the Zion Baptist Church in Philadelphia and the corresponding secretary of the National Baptist Church (Burkett 1978b). In 1919, Eason too became an active Garvey supporter when CPA founder and National Baptist Convention Foreign Missions Secretary, Dr. L. G. Jordan, installed the officers of the Philadelphia branch of the UNIA—Eason served as the Philadelphia branch’s president (Burkett 1978a; Hill 1983:I; *New York Age* 1919: 30 August).

During the 1920 Convention, Eason was promoted to the UNIA’s “Leader of American Negroes and Second Assistant President General” (Burkett 1978a; Hill 1983:I). Garvey promoted Eason to Chaplain General the year that Eason joined the UNIA, and the very next year Eason became the UNIA’s Leader of American Negroes—Garvey had a great deal of control over this process as Garvey’s cabinet were appointed by Garvey, not elected. For Garvey to consider someone a worthy leader, they simply needed to grow the UNIA. The following letter explains Garvey’s stance on the importance of recruitment (Garvey: N.d.):

Your aim must be to organize every man, woman, and child. If with all this material and possibilities you can not make the U.N.I.A. succeed in that community you yourself are a [colossal] [spelling corrected from original] failure and not the people. The greatest recommendations of your merit and ability will be reflected by the number of people in your community, district, town, or state because their activities . . . testify to your greater activity [and] thus [merits]. When working as a representative in a community, to get results for the Association you should divide that community into zones [and] distribute[.] You may even reduce the distance to streets or blocks of streets and appoint some responsible and enthusiastic member in that zone, district, or street to be a kind of captain or lieutenant to keep the spirit of the people in that district, zone or street, regulated to the principles of the [organization][.] The captains [and] lieutenants must be all active members of a division. Since they live on the street that would likely know all the people on the street and could help greatly in organizing them, as members of the organization

Eason was elevated because Eason was properly networked, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter. Eason had ties to multiple denominations of the black church, including high-ranking

church officials, and he could draw large crowds both in the North and—more importantly—in the South. Eason’s promotion meant that there was an empty Chaplain General seat to be filled at the 1920 Convention.

CHAPLAIN GENERAL: GEORGE ALEXANDER McGUIRE (1866-1934)

George McGuire was born in Antigua; like Garvey he was West Indian (Burkett 1978a).

McGuire spent some time working within the AME Church before being ordained in the Protestant Episcopal Church (Burkett 1978a). Burkett wrote (1978a:157):

McGuire’s extraordinary abilities were quickly recognized. After serving parishes in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Richmond, Virginia, McGuire in 1901 became rector of the oldest black Episcopal Church in America, the Church of the Crucifixion in Philadelphia. Four years later, he was advanced to the highest position at that time open to a black Episcopal priest in the United States—Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Arkansas diocese.

Burkett points out that McGuire was an excellent organizer. As such, “McGuire achieved considerable success in Arkansas, creating ten missionary centers and adding two hundred communicants in shortly over two years” (Burkett 1978a). Before long, McGuire realized that “unless the Church shall provide race bishops for work among their people, she will never reach nor influence more than a few hundred Negroes in each Southern State” (*Church Advocate* 1908: March: 3). McGuire, like Garvey, and like Bishop Turner before them, was interested in growing their organization by recruiting in the South, making McGuire very valuable to Garvey. After leaving the South, McGuire grew the St. Bartholomew’s Church from a membership of 47 to a membership of over 300; from there, McGuire became the Field Secretary for the American Church Institute for Negroes (Burkett 1978a). McGuire ended up in New York City where he intended to establish “a church for the West Indian colored population in New York City” (Burkett 1978a: 161).

While a member of the UNIA, McGuire opted “not to affiliate with any existing body of white Episcopalians, but to organize an independent or African Episcopal Church to include Negroes everywhere, and of which the ‘Good Shepard’ would be the mother church or congregation” (Burkett 1978a:162). The result of this was the African Orthodox Church founded while McGuire was the UNIA’s Chaplain General. As Chaplain General, McGuire required that a newly-formed Universal Negro Ritual and Universal Negro Catechism were to be used at all of the UNIA’s meetings, as he also began to check the credentials of all of the Chaplains of the local branches of the UNIA (Burkett 1978a; *Negro World* 1921: 2 April). This demonstrates the religification of the UNIA. Religion was part and parcel of the UNIA’s operation and served as an organized networking tool. Garvey, displeased when we discovered that McGuire desired to become the Bishop of the African Orthodox Church, forced McGuire to step down as Chaplain General, insisting that the UNIA was not affiliated with any one particular denomination (*Negro World* 1921: 8 October). The result of this leadership was that during that period, more than ever before, the UNIA was run like a religious organization.

RELIGIFICATION

In a letter to the editor of the *Negro World* (1920: 23 October), Mrs. Susie Wilder of Chunchula, Alabama wrote the following:

Although it has been only a short time that we have been receiving your paper, it seems as one of the family. We look forward to its coming with as much joy as we do to one of us, and there is not much done until it is read through and through.

You are doing a good work and I am so glad that you are having much success. Though it has been late, very late for some of us way down here, and especially those of us who are in the “Piney” woods, to hear of it, I think I can say we won’t be late in doing our duty towards the uplift of our race.

If all of us could see through your efforts, what it will do for us and ours, and every man and woman should stand up to their manhood and womanhood, what a great thing it would be.

May God bless and direct you and have mercy on us all.

Mrs. Wilder admits to the *Negro World*, at one point not available in her area, having a profound impact in the Deep South. This expansion into the Deep South was possible due, in part to Chaplain General McGuire making several changes that aided the UNIA's growth. McGuire created a strict policy on who was eligible to serve as Chaplain in their local branches, and he also instituted a new ritual and catechism (*Negro World* 1921:12 February). Also, the recently formed *Negro World* paid dividends for the UNIA. For many reasons, the UNIA's structure mimicked that of the black church (Burkett 1978a: 5):

There was a prescribed ritual which provided a structure for every national or local UNIA gathering. Sunday evening meetings, for instance, opened with the processional hymn "Shine On, Eternal Light," one of the many hymns written for the UNIA by its music director, Rabbi Arnold J. Ford. This was followed with recitation by the UNIA Chaplain of Psalms 68:31: "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God," the most often-repeated Biblical passage heard in Liberty Halls (the name given to all UNIA meeting-places) around the country. Next came the singing of the official hymn

"From Greenland's Icy Mountains," which expressed, among other things, the organization's commitment to the Christianization of Africa. This was followed by recitation of the official motto of the UNIA: "One God, One Aim, One Destiny." After the Lord's Prayer came a series of formal prayers by the Chaplain for the work of the UNIA and for its leaders. A sermon, or at least some brief remarks by the Chaplain, was almost invariably a part of the program, followed by the business meeting. The program closed with a benediction and a recessional hymn—either "Onward Christian Soldiers" or the UNIA's national anthem, the "Universal Negro Anthem."

This "order of service" for UNIA meetings was set forth in the *Universal Negro Ritual*, compiled by the associations leading religious officials, Chaplain-General George Alexander McGuire. The *Ritual* also contained services for funerals, and even for baptismal into the UNIA. In the baptismal service parents promised to teach their children the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the principles of the UNIA as set forth in another document written by McGuire, the *Universal Negro Catechism*.

Burkett shows the universality of the UNIA's religious affiliations and points out that the black social movement organization had a hymn, which was written by a Rabbi who was also the UNIA's music director. We also see that the UNIA's meeting structure included many other songs and prayers which would ordinarily be included in a church service. The Georgia case study section describes why McGuire and this structure were successful.

The following excerpt is from a report of the 1920 Convention (*Negro World* 1920: 11 September):

The President-General, with his flowing robes of scarlet and turban hat with golden tassel hung down from the front, these being the insignia of his office, stepped forward, when immediately he was greeted with the plaudits and cheering of the audience. He bowed to the right and to the left in acknowledgement of the vociferous greeting that was extended to him. That he was the man of the hour, was obvious to everyone. The Rev. Dr. George A. McGuire, dressed in the robes of an Episcopal minister, having led the processional, with an acolyte marching before and holding a cross in his hands, was presented by Garvey as Master of Ceremonies, whereupon he offered the invocation. The service was on the order of the Episcopal Faith. The Rev. Dr. Paul read the Scripture lesson from the Twenty-third Psalm, followed by the chanting of the Gloria in Excelsi[s]; then the Rev. Dr. Stewart read I Cor., 13th chapter. The *congregation* [emphasis added] then rose and sang "Shine on, Eternal Light." This was followed by the reciting of the Apostles' Creed, after which Dr. McGuire delivered a brief, appropriate address, in which he announced the purpose of the services, and announced the names of the officials-elect of the U.N.I.A.

The Rev. Dr. J. H. Eason was the preacher of the occasion, He took for his text Isaiah 60:I, "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon them." Also taken from Isaiah: "The people that sat in darkness have seen a great light." Without any touch of emotionalism, but with scholarly simplicity that was edifying and convincing, Dr. Eason endeavored to show that the Negro for hundreds of years has been in a state of lethargy, a state of darkness, but now that the light has come to shine upon them, and the door of opportunity opened to them, they should arise and awake from their lethargy, their slumbers, and strive not to accomplish merely the things spiritual which God would have them do, but the things material that make for progress, success and happiness in the present world. It was a well thought out sermon, was presented in a logical way and was both timely and effective.

At the close of the sermon the national anthem of the association, "Ethopia, Thou Land of Our Fathers," was sung. . . .

As the article points out, it was the UNIA's practice to not only sing and pray like the black church does, but for their leaders to dress as the leaders from the church. This format was typical of UNIA meetings both on a local and a national level. As I mentioned, the UNIA held its weekly communication on Sundays. Following the 1920 Convention, the UNIA had added a program on Sunday mornings that was solely a religious "church" service (*Pittsburgh Courier* 1924: 31 May). As previously mentioned, Garvey himself spoke of making converts, asking UNIA members to "go out as missionaries" to "preach this doctrine," as "this is the time for our salvation" and "prayer alone will not save us." William Henry Ferris, a North Carolina born Clergyman of the AME Zion Church and a staff member of the AME Book Concern, who eventually became the editor of the *Negro World* wrote the following headline, Gospel Message of UNIA Has Swept Over the World Like a Tidal Wave, Giving Hope and Inspiration to the Negro Everywhere" (*Negro World* 1921: 26 February, 3).

That Garvey embraced religion and utilized religion as a mobilization tool in the UNIA is undeniable. But Garvey was very careful not to show favor to any one religion, likely because he did not want to lose supporters of any faith or denomination. As evidenced above, this was Garvey's stance in the early- and mid- 1920s, and this was Garvey's stance even in the later and less popular days of the UNIA. During the Sixth International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World in 1929 (1929 Convention), Garvey said to his audience (*The Blackman* 1929:31 August, 13):

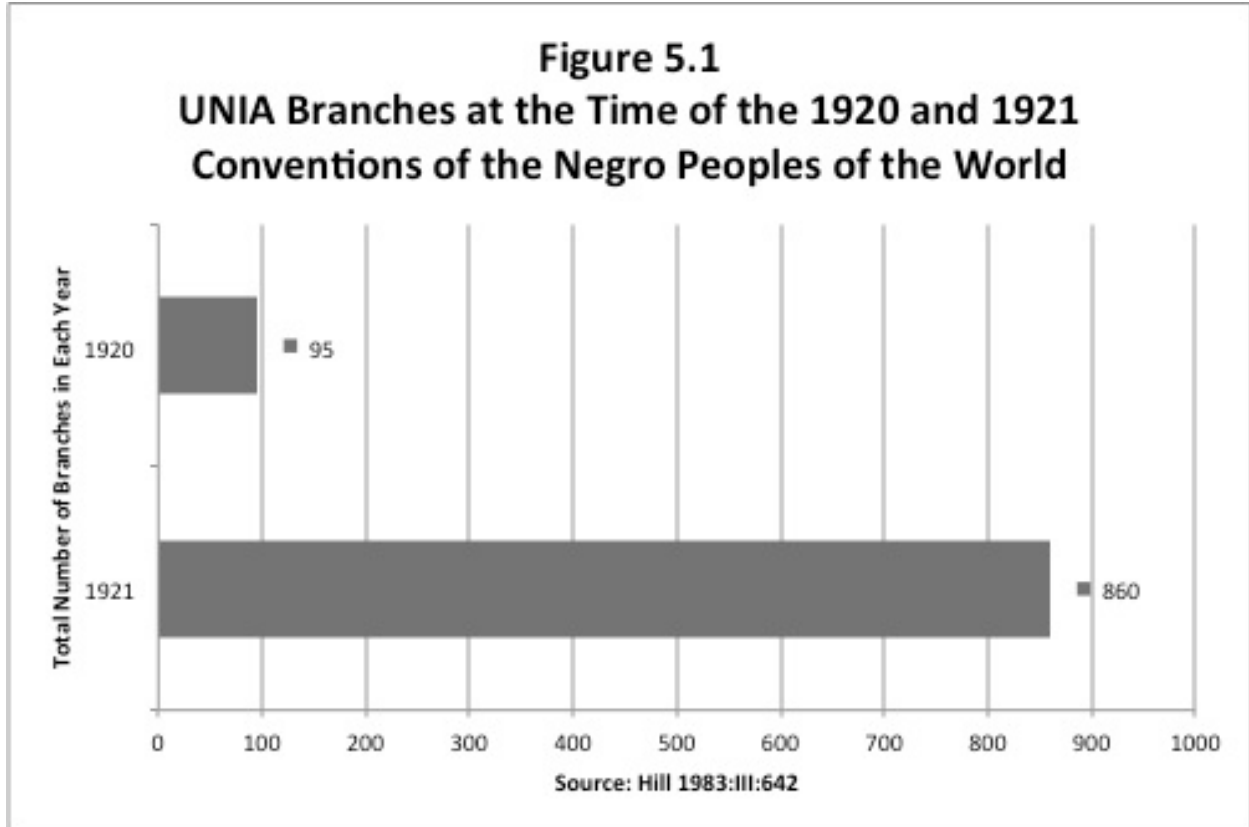
Man is a religious being, that is to say, he must have some kind of belief—call it superstition or what not. Man who has started to think traces his origins beyond man; and as such there has been groping in the dark to find out the source from whence he came, and by our own intuition we have attributed that source to something beyond us; and in so believing, we accept the idea of a religion. Some make our God the God of Fire; some make our God the God of water; some make our God the God of the Elements and other accept the Christian belief. Man's religion is something we cannot eliminate from his system or destroy in him; therefore, it is folly for any man to go about attacking another man's religion, because to him it is fundamental. You may be a Christian; you may be a Mohammedan; that is your religion. We are all entitled to our own religious belief. Some of us are Catholics, some of us are Presbyterians, some of us are Baptists, and we deem it a right to adhere to our particular belief.

It is here that we see just how important that religion was to the growth of the UNIA. By August of 1920 the UNIA had *only* grown to 95 branches. To put this into perspective one must consider that the NAACP, the UNIA's biggest rival social movement organization, "at the close of 1919 registered 310 branches, but the NAACP had been aggressively campaigning for members since its inception" (Grant 2008:164). So the NAACP was averaging growth of 31 branches per year while the UNIA averaged growth of about 15 divisions per year. If UNIA growth had remained at 15 branches per year, it would have taken Garvey nearly 20 years to get the UNIA to the level that the NAACP had achieved by 1919. Additionally, had the UNIA only grown at a rate of only 15 branches per year, the UNIA's organizational structure and societal impact would have been far less worthy of study.

Where the UNIA became of great interest to the study of mobilization was between August 1, 1920, and August 1, 1921, the time between the UNIA's 1920 and 1921 Conventions of the Negro Peoples of the World. In a matter of just 12 months the UNIA reportedly issued division charter numbers 96 through 418. In other words, in one year's time, the UNIA outperformed the NAACP's ten years of organizing and mobilizing (1909-1919). This is not the totality of the UNIA's story of growth from 1920 until 1921. To be sure, the UNIA also issued charters for their first 19 chapters, which were essentially branches in areas where a branch had already been chartered.²³ Additionally, the official report by the UNIA Secretary-General's Department in August of 1920 told of an additional 423 branches which were awaiting charters (Hill 1983:III:642). What this means is that the UNIA quadrupled in size in one year during the period that directly followed the 1920 Convention. What this also means is that the UNIA, in just 12 months, organized nearly two and a half times as many branches as the NAACP had organized in ten years. What I will demonstrate in the pages that follow is that Eason and McGuire, despite McGuire's official removal from office, were a major part of this growth.

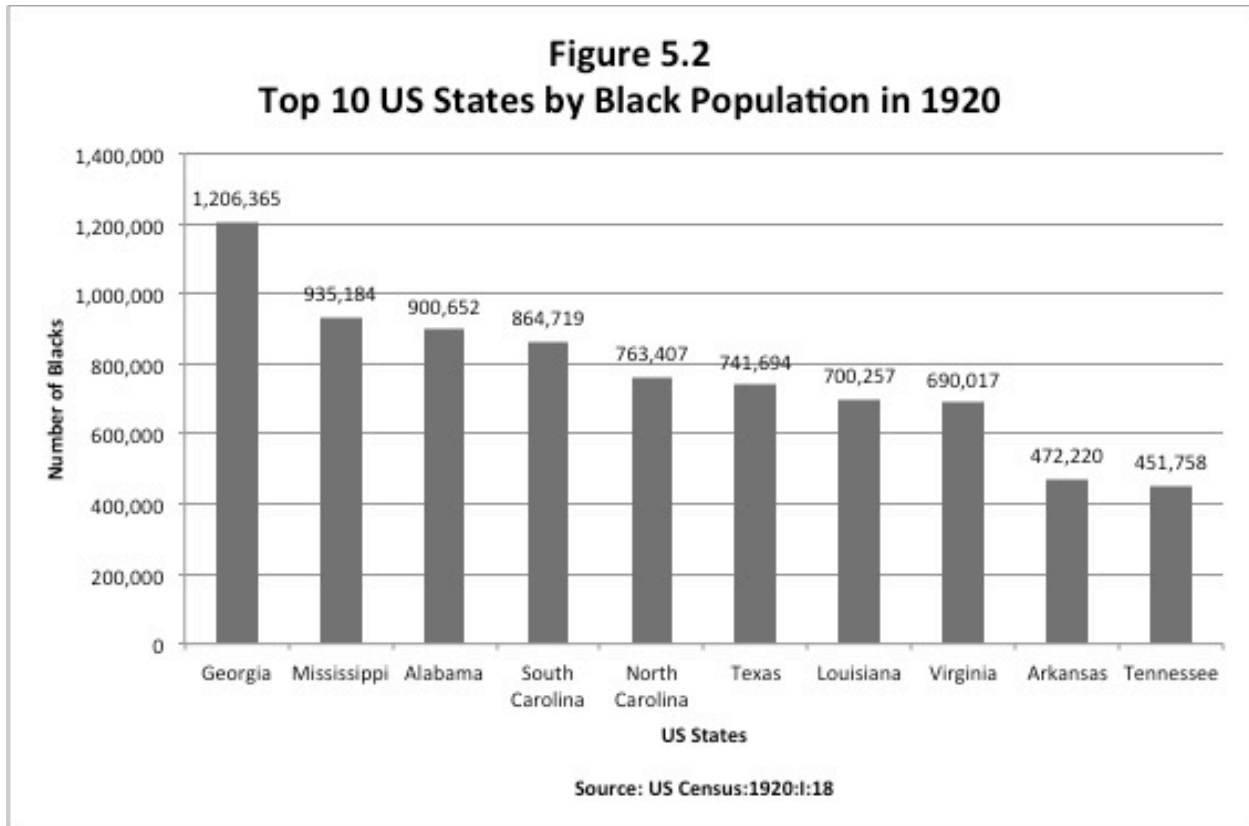
²³ This dissertation will refer to all UNIA divisions and chapters generically as branches.

UNIA GROWTH



In the previous chapters I pointed out that Garvey was interested in recruiting blacks from the South. I provided evidence from Garvey's writings, which stated that he was looking to mobilize blacks in the South because that is where the majority of blacks in America lived. I provided the details of letters where Garvey sought the support of leaders like Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, black race leaders who could have helped Garvey to mobilize the South by providing Garvey both access and credibility. As I alluded to above, relative to other major black social movement organizations such as the NAACP, the UNIA was actually failing prior to 1920,

and it was failing because the UNIA had little to no presence in the South.²⁴ The following pages provide a wealth of detail about the UNIA's Southern inadequacies.

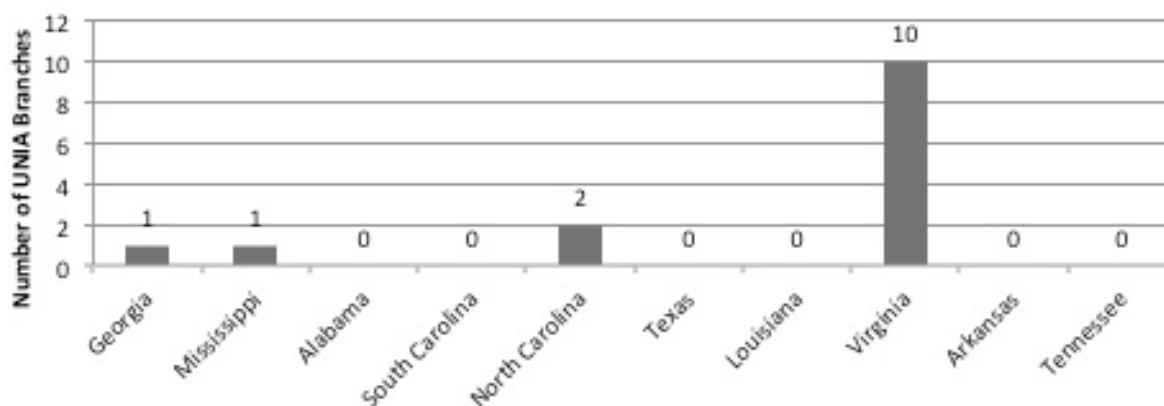


At the time of the 1920 Convention, 14 of the 95 divisions of the UNIA, slightly less than 15%, were in: Georgia; Mississippi; Alabama; South Carolina; North Carolina; Texas; Louisiana; Virginia; Arkansas; or, Tennessee.²⁵

²⁴ Rolinson's 2007 study of the UNIA in the rural South provided me with a method by which to calculate this figure. First I identified the total number of branches reported at the 1920 Convention, 95. Then, because the branches were numbered chronologically, I was able to use the UNIA Parent Body and Central Division records and papers at the Shomburg Center for Research in Black Culture to determine which of the ten states with the highest black populations had branches with charter numbers lower than 95.

²⁵ While I recognize that this is not an exhaustive list of southern states, I will refer to these states as the South from this point forward.

Figure 5.3
UNIA Branches in the 10 'Blackest' US States
Prior to the 1920 Convention



US States with the Largest Populations of Blacks According to the 1920 Census

Source(s): Hill 1983:III:642; The Shomburg Center for Research in Black Culture:
 UNIA Parent Body and Central Division Records

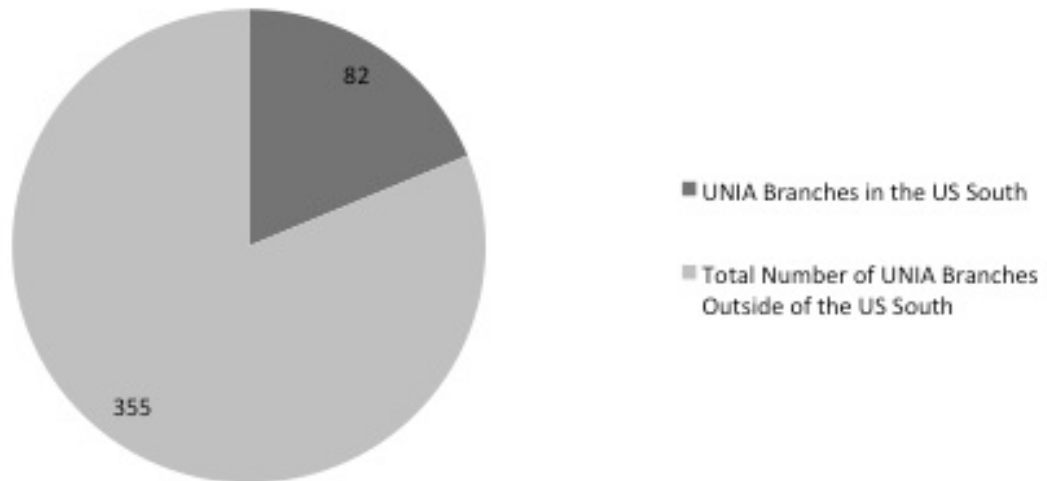
This means that as good of a job as the UNIA had done at mobilizing in the North, they were failing to tap into their largest potential support base. Again, this is where the majority of blacks resided.²⁶ The UNIA was also not doing as good of a job as was the NAACP for instance.

Fortunately, in just one year from the 1920 Convention the UNIA reported having 437 chartered branches (418 divisions and 19 chapters), and the southern states accounted for 82 of the total 437 branches or which was slightly less than 19%.²⁷

²⁶ These states accounted for about 74% (7,726,273 of 10,463,131) of blacks residing in the United States according to the 1920 US Census.

²⁷ Divisions were the names of the first branches to appear in an area. If a second branch were to be organized in an area, it would be called a chapter.

Figure 5.4
Chartered UNIA Branches in the US South and
Total Chartered UNIA Branches, 1921 Convention



The increase to nearly 19% is still a bit underwhelming and not enough to truly compete with the NAACP and others, but going from 14 to 96 in a year's time represents growth of 586% for the region— and that *is* impressive. In just one year, the UNIA had as many branches in the South as it previously had organization-wide.

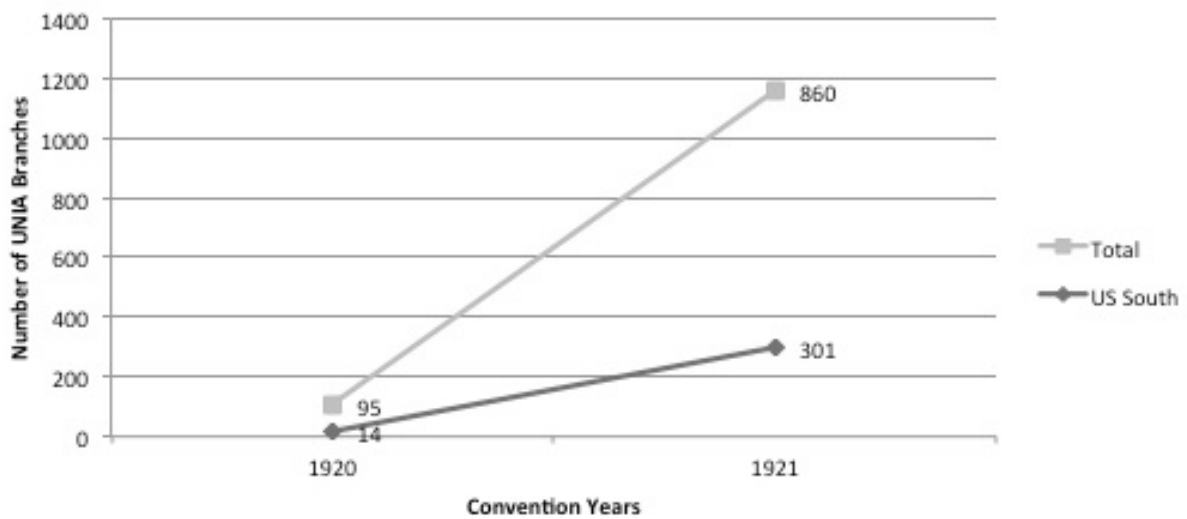
At the time of the 1921 convention, in addition to the 437 chartered branches, there were 423 branches which had been organized but had not yet been chartered. Of those 423 unchartered branches, 205 were in the above-mentioned southern states. This means that between August 1920 and August 1921, nearly half (48%) of newly organized and unchartered divisions were in southern states.

Figure 5.5
Unchartered UNIA Branches in the US South and
Total Unchartered UNIA Branches, 1921 Convention

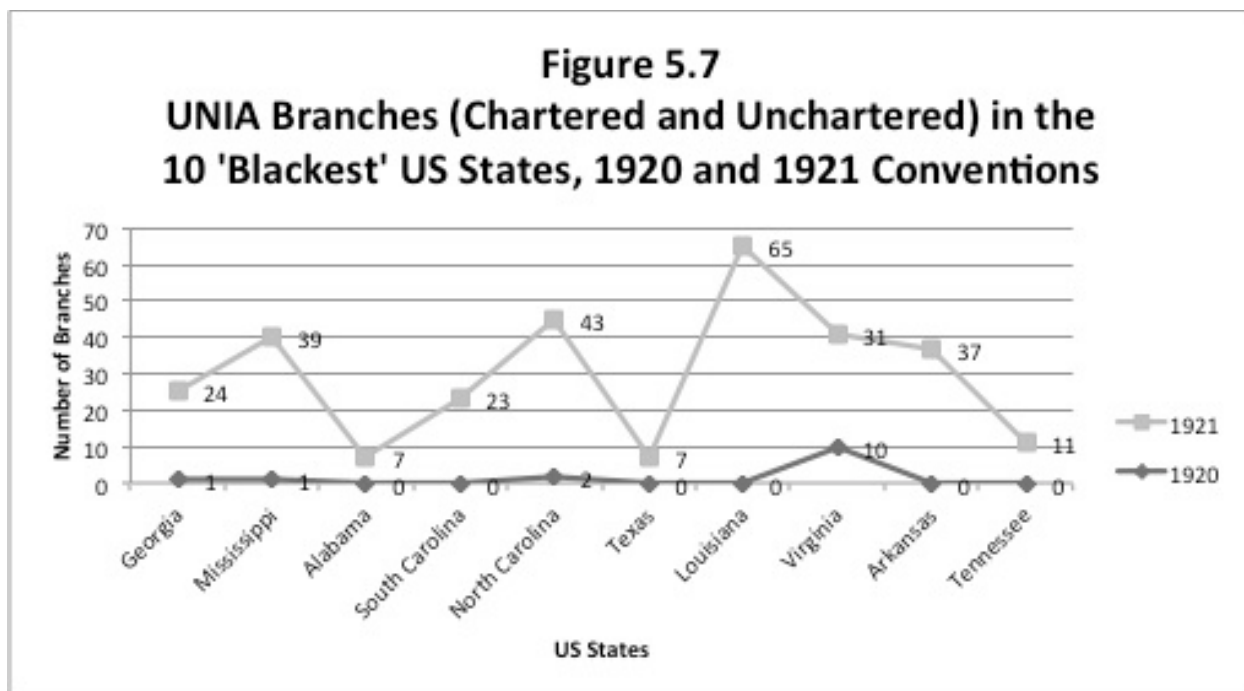


What this also means is that of the total 860 chartered and unchartered branches, 301 (35%) were in these southern states.

Figure 5.6
Number of Branches (Chartered and Unchartered),
1920 and 1921 Conventions



Accounting for both chartered and unchartered branches, as of August 1921, the UNIA grew by 800% overall and the UNIA's southern presence grew by an astounding 2,000% in just one year.



Taking into account that the majority of blacks in the US were living in the South and that UNIA experienced tremendous growth in the South in a single year, it is clear that it was the UNIA's ability to tap into this area that made its reach unmatched. What remains unanswered is what is responsible for this period of rapid growth in the UNIA? In the next section I will explain that it was the Reverend George Alexander McGuire, the UNIA's newly elected Chaplain General (1920 Convention), and Reverend James Eason, the UNIA's newly elected Leader of the American Negroes, American Organizer, and Second Assistant President General (1920 Convention), that made this impact. In the following section, through examining McGuire and Eason, I will provide an explanation for the growth of the UNIA in general, and the UNIA in the South in particular.

A CASE STUDY OF GROWTH IN GEORGIA

It did not take long before Eason and McGuire's influence began to show itself in the Deep South. In order to demonstrate that Eason had a relationship with several of Georgia's branches, I have identified several accounts of Eason's travels in the media. The *Negro World* (April 16, 1921, 8) contained the following letter entitled Dr. J. W. H. Eason Arouses Enthusiasm in Georgia written by H. F. Parlan from Brunswick, Georgia:

Dr. Eason arrived in the little city of Brunswick by the sea on Jan. 31, and was greeted by this division. He conducted a series of meetings at [Payne] Chapel, of which Rev. B. W. Jones is pastor. The people of this section were fed with many good things that fell from the lips of the greatest orator and preacher of his time. Each night the crowds gathered—too numerous to mention—and the church was filled to overflowing by the man whom we believe God sent to gather this race of ours into one solid band to free our motherland, Africa. He has raised the standard of this division, its membership numbers 700, and sold over \$200 worth of stock. He visited Mt. Olive Baptist Church, of which Rev. E. J. Rozell is pastor. A special mass meeting was held at Shiloh Baptist Church of which Rev. S. C. Roberts is pastor. Over 1,000 thronged to hear the great message. He impressed his hearers with the importance of uniting with the U. N. I. A. And buying shares in the Black Star Line and Universal Construction Loan. He also visited Brookman with much success. God bless our president, His Excellency Marcus Garvey. May he live to accomplish this great aim—the freedom of Africa. We feel assured that before many days there will be a thousand in our division wearing red, black and green. Mr. Pendergast, secretary of the U. N. I. A. Spoke on the subject, "Man a Wonderful Being." He proved to his hearers that the Negro has as much right to possess the things of this world as any other race.

From this letter we learn quite a bit about Eason and the UNIA. Firstly, we learn that of the meetings named by Parlan, each and every one of them took place at a church: Payne Chapel; Mt. Olive Baptist Church; and Shiloh Baptist Church. The black church did, in fact, benefit the UNIA. It is worth noting that Parlan lived in Brunswick, Georgia where the UNIA's first Georgian branch was located. This branch is the only one in Georgia that predated the UNIA's period of mass growth in 1920 and 1921 so it makes sense that there was a great deal of UNIA support in that area. The *Savannah Tribune* confirms that Eason did, in fact, lecture at the Payne Chapel A. M. E. Church (*The Savannah Tribune* 1921:12 February, 2). According to reports, Eason was in Brunswick, Georgia for several days in order to pitch the Black Star Line. There

was a report of similar recruitment activity a short time later, but this time at Shiloh Baptist Church just as Parlan indicated (*The Savannah Tribune* 1921: 26 February, 7). Eason came to town and began his tour where the UNIA's longest standing supporters were.

Secondly, it was confirmed by someone on the ground that Eason's oratory was, in fact, valued as I indicated in the second section of this chapter. Parlan, in reference to Eason, said that, "many good things fell from the lips of the greatest orator and preacher of his time." While I want to be sure to point out that Garvey was known as an excellent orator, here is at least one case of an avid UNIA member who places Eason's oratory second to none—Garvey included; Eason was arguably a better orator than Garvey. It is possible that Parlan never heard Garvey speak at all. Eason's ability to command an audience was one of the reasons why he was such an asset to Garvey and the UNIA.

Third, we learn that Eason drew large audiences for his lectures. These crowds were described as being too numerous to mention; if Parlan mentioned when the crowd was "over 1,000," these "too numerous" crowds must have been massive.²⁸ Eason's later visits to Georgia drew even larger audiences. According to the *Negro World*, "Dr. J. W. H. Eason, the American leader, spoke [in Pelham, Georgia] at Summer Hill *Baptist Church* [emphasis added] . . . To an audience of 10,000 on the [Black Nationalist] subject of "Africa for the Africans" (*Negro World*

²⁸ I have no reason to believe that these numbers reported by the *Negro World* were inflated. Although the official organ of the UNIA, the *Negro World* was still subject to a common system of checks and balances. If these numbers were inflated—if 1,000 actually been more like 200 and 10,000 attendees actually more like 2,000, then the people (rank-and-file) who attended these events could have easily pointed out the fraudulent reporting and that could have resulted in a loss of legitimacy for Garvey and the UNIA. I do not think that Garvey would have taken that risk.

1922: 27 May, 8). Pelham was another location in Georgia with a branch that was organized and chartered after the 1920 Convention and before the 1921 Convention. It is significant that Eason was speaking to 10,000 people (who were most likely black) on a Black Nationalist topic in rural Georgia. Again, without the veil of the Cloth it was very unlikely whites would have allowed this type of discussion, and even if they would have, where would this meeting of 10,000 have taken place? On a different occasion, *The Savannah Tribune* reported that Eason “gave a bright account [of] the Universal Negro Improvement Association and Marcus Garvey” and that Eason’s address at Antioch Baptist Church in Waycross, Georgia “was listened to with intense interest by a fine audience” (*The Savannah Tribune* 1922:18 May, 2). Knowing Eason’s lecture topics and understanding the number of attendees that Eason had at his lectures demonstrates that the UNIA’s brand of Nationalism was appealing to southern blacks. Like Pelham, Waycross was an area with a UNIA branch organized and chartered between the 1920 Convention and the 1921 Convention. Additionally, Waycross received an additional branch after 1921.

Fourth, we know that Eason not only raised membership where he traveled, but he raised funds. Parlan wrote that his division had over 700 members and was growing. Eason collected over \$200 in UNIA stock during this visit according to Parlan. While in Brunswick and nearby, Eason also collected cash for more than 500 copies of the *Negro World* (*Negro World* 1921:5 March, 2). Eason produced the two most important results for which social movement organizations can hope: membership and money.

Fifth, we have insight to Eason’s message: 1) join the UNIA and 2) give us your money. This is not surprising as the leaders of the UNIA all tend to be on one accord rhetorically.

Sixth, Eason promoted the UNIA using the type of Black Nationalist rhetorics that other UNIA leaders were using. It is important to point out that Eason was not a successful recruiter because he was giving a message that was rhetorically any different than the message that was advanced in the *Negro World*.

The following article entitled “Brunswick [Georgia] U. N. I. A. Holds Big Meeting” submitted by J. C. Wilson, a UNIA executive secretary, appeared in the *Negro World* (1921: 2 July, 9):

The Sixty-seventh Division of the U. N. I. A., Brunswick, Ga., held a very encouraging and enthusiastic meeting last Sunday, June 12, [1921] at the St. James Methodist Church. The meeting was opened by the singing of the required hymn, “From Greenland’s Icy Mountain,” and followed by a deep and well thought-out prayer by our honored Chaplain [sic], after which a very thoughtful and touching sermon was rendered to us by the Honorable Rev. J. Smith, of this city. He endeavored to impress upon the mind of his very intelligent and attentive audience these facts: That co-operation is much needed among out people, and that through His Excellency Marcus Garvey, the Moses of the Negro race, we are really co-operating, we are really organizing. He also said that the criticisms that this organization might receive will surely make it stronger in every respect.

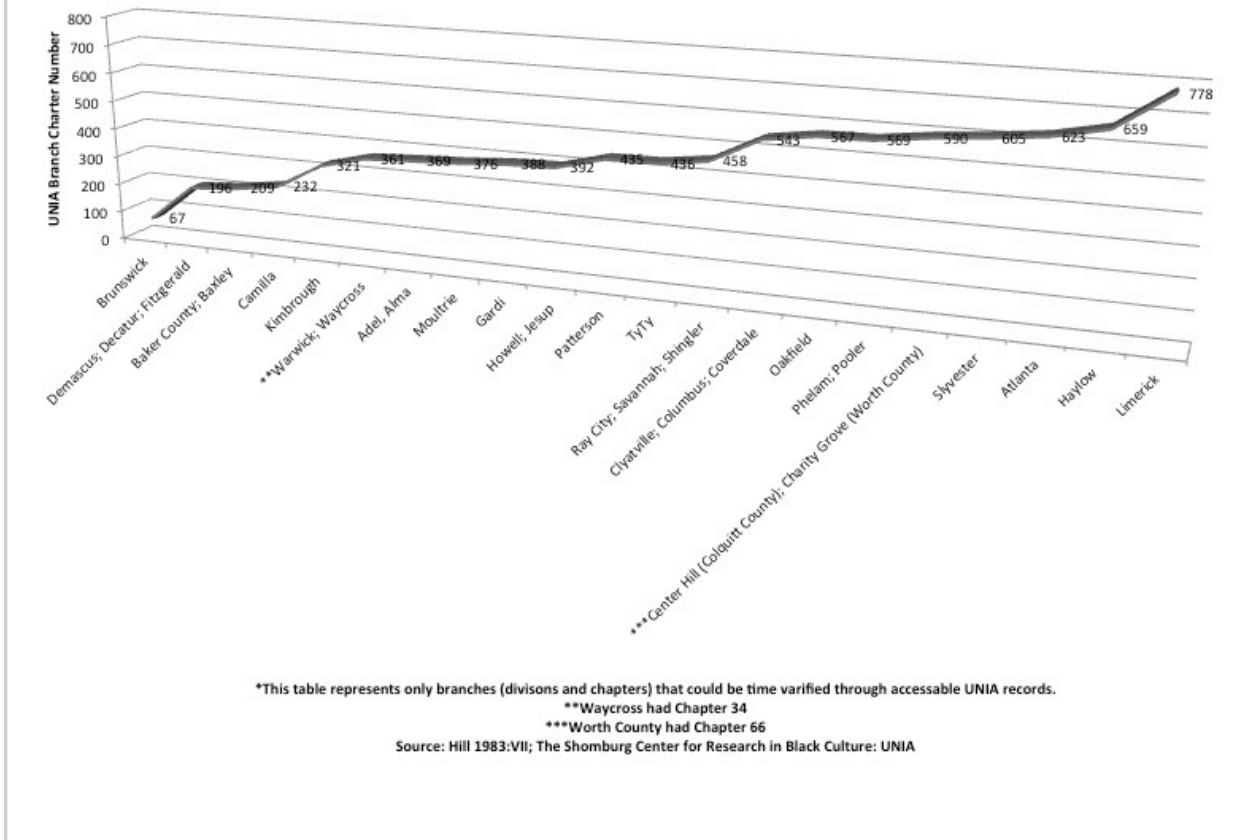
Following all of this, Rev. B. W. Jones, president of this division, rose in his intelligent and cultured way and endeavored to emphasize all facts brought forth by the different seekers in regards to life, growth and sustenance of this Sixty-seventh Division of the U. N. I. A. The president said that the Sixty-seventh Division of the great U. N. I. A. Is living, breathing, growing, and must by the help of the Almighty God continue so.

Everyone present was royally entertained and enjoyed very heartily the meeting from beginning to end.

Wilson pointed out that his branch’s meeting: 1) as most branch meetings did, operated without any presence from Garvey; 2) utilized the religious format via the high profile clergymen as described earlier in this chapter; and, 3) contained Black Nationalist rhetoric.

As indicated earlier, in 1920, Georgia was home to the highest number of blacks in the United States. And as I also indicated, between 1920 and 1921, the UNIA’s Georgia presence grew from one branch to 24 branches. The locations of those branches can be found in table 5.8.

Figure 5.8
***UNIA Branches in Georgia as of 1921**



Based on figure 5.8, it is clear to see that as I pointed out earlier, the trouble with mobilizing the South was the need to get to blacks in rural areas. The majority of the UNIA’s branches in Georgia were in rural areas.

NATIONAL BAPTIST CHURCH

As I mentioned earlier, Eason had an AME Zion background but also had ties to the National Baptist Church (NBC) like McGuire. Eason’s relationship to the NBC provided him with a huge personal network in addition to the network created via the UNIA, that would prove to be extremely beneficial to the UNIA particularly in the South, in part because “[s]outhern ministers knew the black rank-and-file much better and clearly understood the nature of

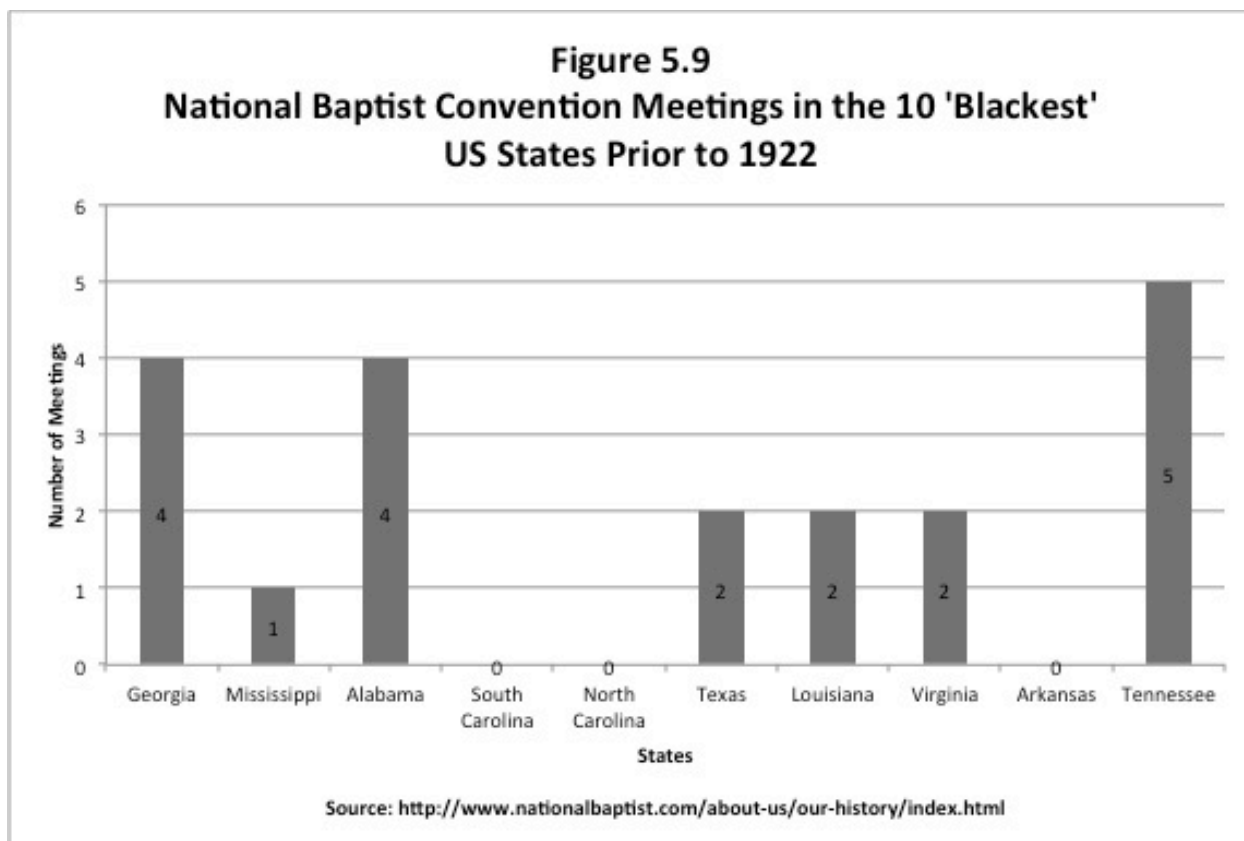
domination that was peculiar to the South” (Morris 1984:38). On the matter of the creation of relationships amongst black clergymen, Morris (1984:11) wrote:

It was (and is) common for black ministers in a community and even in different communities to have personal relationships among themselves. They met at conventions, community gatherings, civic affairs, and the like. . . . Furthermore, black ministers in a community were linked formally by either a city ministerial alliance or an interdenominational alliance, through which they were able to debate and confer on issues important to the black community.

Within the ministerial alliances were to be found ministers of the poor, the educated, the unemployed, professionals, laborers, house-maids—indeed, the entire spectrum of black society. If these ministers, through their informal and formal bodies, could be persuaded to support protest activity, each could then mobilize his own slice of the community. The National Baptist Convention, one such body, operates on the national level with a membership of more than five million.

By the time of Eason’s death in 1921, the NBC had met annually 43 times in 17 states (<http://www.nationalbaptist.com/about-us/our-history/index.html>.) When planning a national conference, logistics are very important. This means having the means to facilitate attendees and having people on the ground that are able and willing to do the day-to-day tasks that come with organizing a major event. The more that Southern states in hosted those national events, the better they got at it, and the more organized they became, and the more likely they are amenable to hosting again since their level of organization has simplified the process for themselves. Because of this I argue that the number of times that the NBC has met in the region serves as a proxy for mobilization ability and network strength. The ten blackest US states hosted the NBC’s convention 20 times by 1921. Figure 5.10 illustrates the growth of the UNIA the Southern states that hosted the NBC’s conference two or more times or that or bordered by those states. Arkansas held zero NBC conventions for example but is bordered by Texas and Louisiana, each of which had two NBC conventions by 1921. And neither of the Carolinas had NBC

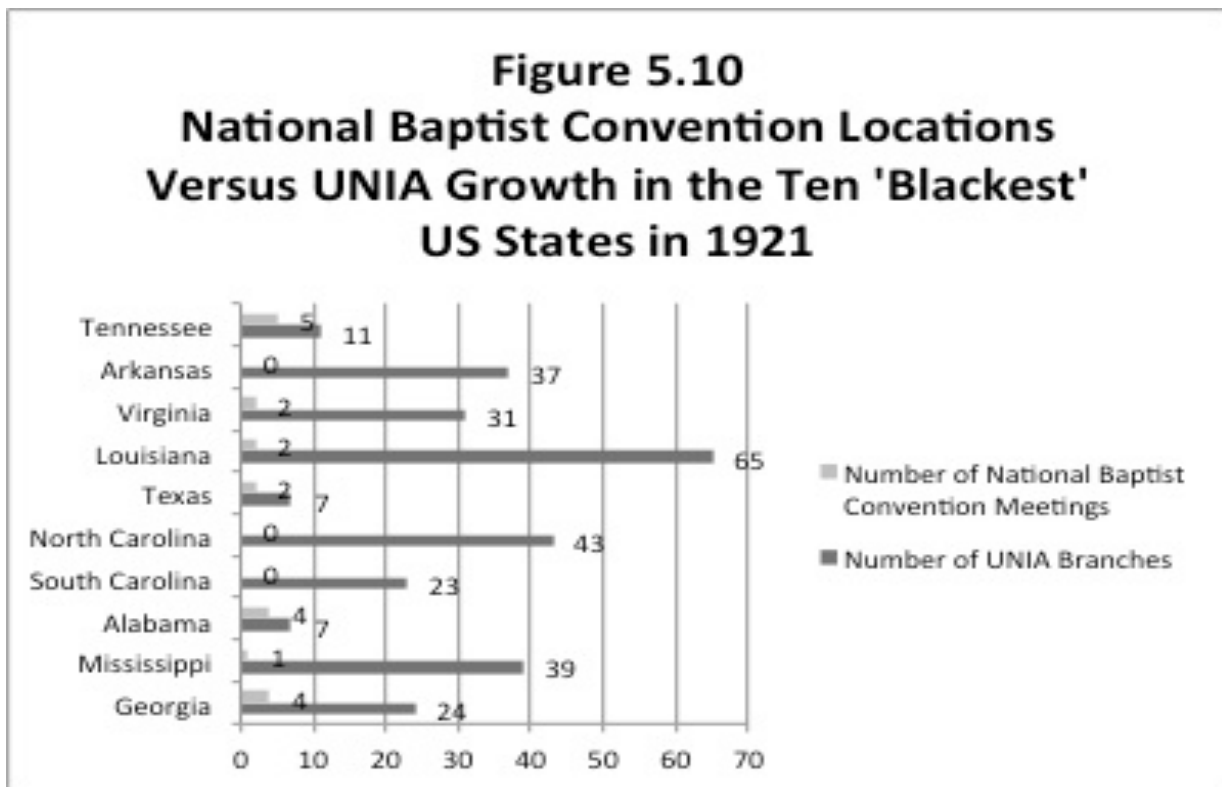
conventions, but these states are bordered by Georgia, Tennessee, and Virginia, three states which had a combined total of 11 of the 20 conventions as of 1921.²⁹



Garvey's eclectic group of clergymen served him well outside of Georgia as well. The 1920 Convention produced two UNIA officers besides the Chaplain General and the Leader of American Negroes with strong ties to the NBC. The Reverends Doctors John Dawson Gordon and James David Brooks became the UNIA's Assistant President General and Secretary General

²⁹ Eason has also been credited with the growth of the UNIA in Louisiana. The June 10, 1922 *Negro World* contained the following: "New Orleans Division No. 149, as well as nearby divisions and chapters of the U. N. I. A. have been greatly benefited by the visit of His Excellency Dr. J. W. Eason, the American leader." The article went on to report that Eason spoke before "large crowds [who] listened with enthusiasm" at places like "the Pythian Temple," and the "Baptist auditorium" (*Negro World* 1922: 10 June).

respectively. Gordon was a Baptist pastor who was a graduate of the Atlanta Baptist College and who was very active with the UNIA in Los Angeles (Burkett 1978b). Brooks served the NBC's Foreign Mission Secretary (*Negro World* 1920: 19 June). When elected to the UNIA, Brooks' duties included maintaining all of the UNIA's correspondence and to manage all of the secretaries of all of the divisions and chapters of the general body. In other words, Brooks was brought on board to organize and fundraise (Burkett 1978b). To be sure, Garvey created similar alliances with many clergymen of many denominations for the purpose of creating his recruitment machine, many times, promoting these clergymen into prominent positions within the UNIA.



DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The UNIA's success was evident in places like Georgia, for instance. In 1920, Georgia had the largest number of blacks in any state in the US. Prior to 1920, Georgia had only one UNIA branch. In Georgia I illustrated a 2,300% growth between the 1920 and 1921 Conventions. I was able to show that in Georgia's oldest UNIA branch, they were following Chaplain General George McGuire's prescribed religious meeting format. I also provided examples of the UNIA's Leader of American Negroes, Rev. Dr. James Eason, speaking, fundraising, and recruiting in places that the UNIA's records showed growth during this period. I endeavored to convey just how important the black church was to the UNIA, both in its clergy, and in its facilities. Garvey succeeded in mobilizing the UNIA, in part, because he recruited charismatic figures and relied on their abilities to help recruit the masses. Garvey's leadership development made him well aware of the history of charisma between black clergymen and their congregants. Related to this point, I drew some connections between the UNIA and the National Baptist Church, pointing out that some of the UNIA's upper echelon leaders, such as the Reverends Doctors John Gordon and James Brooks, the UNIA's Assistant President General and Secretary General respectively (elected at the 1920 Convention) were also prominent members and leaders of the NBC. To that point, I demonstrated that in the South where the NBC had had been active, the UNIA experienced tremendous growth between the UNIA's 1920 and 1921 Conventions.

In the next chapter, I will explain why the UNIA ultimately failed. I will provide a detailed explanation of how Garvey unintentionally dismantled the UNIA through a series of miscalculations starting in 1922. This explanation will include an explanation of the deterioration of the recruitment machine that the UNIA perfected in 1921.

Chapter VI: The Universal Negro Improvement Association 1922-1927

INTRODUCTION

For as good of a job as Garvey did with the creation of his recruitment machine before the 1920 Convention, he had done an equally good job in dismantling both the machine and the organization in the year or so that followed. In this chapter I argue that Garvey meticulously yet accidentally dismantled the UNIA in five steps: 1) Garvey decided that instead of trusting those proven charismatic clergymen leaders whom he had selected to mobilize for the UNIA to do their jobs, that he would instead minimize their roles; 2) Garvey began to replace charismatic clergymen with laymen and in the process replaced proven leaders with inexperienced people who were selected simply because he trusted them take his orders; 3) Garvey formed an alliance with the Ku Klux Klan in order to solve the issue of not having free passage into the South; this angered black Americans and caused Garvey to lose support; 4) Garvey's affiliation with the Ku Klux Klan, in addition to his weakened support, helped to empower his opposition; and 5) Once Garvey gave his opposition and critics the tools necessary to incarcerate him, the UNIA had no strong or experienced leader left to keep the UNIA unified in Garvey's absence. Simply put, Garvey ruined the UNIA through hyper-centralization and misguided frame bridging. In the pages that follow, I will provide a detailed account of the plummet of the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

SNAPSHOT OF 1922

By the end of the 1922 Convention, Garvey had successfully tipped the first set of dominoes that led to the end of the Universal Negro Improvement Association's growth and success. The UNIA's rapid decline began with the dismantling of the recruitment machine that

Garvey ingeniously pieced together just two years before. Of the top 14 UNIA Parent Body leadership positions named in the election report of the 1920 Convention, seven of them, or 50%, were clergymen. A closer look at the UNIA’s national leadership reveals an even more important story. In the pages that follow I will look at the UNIA’s leadership with a focus on its recruitment machine.

Figure 6.1
UNIA Leadership as of the 1920 and 1922 Conventions

Position	1920 Convention	1922 Convention	Year(s) Vacated	Cause of Vacancy
Potentate	Gabriel Johnson	Gabriel Johnson	N/A	N/A
Supreme Deputy	G. O. Marke	G. O. Marke	N/A	N/A
President General	Marcus Garvey	Marcus Garvey	N/A	N/A
Assistant President General	Rev. Dr. J. D. Gordon	Leroy Bundy	*1921-22	Resignation/Resignation
Leader of American Negroes	Rev. Dr. J. W. H. Eason	William Sherrill	1922	Impeached
Secretary General	Rev. Dr. J. D. Brooks	Robert L. Poston; 1,029	*1921-22	AWOL/Promotion
Assistant Secretary General	J. B. Yearwood	J. B. Yearwood	N/A	N/A
Chaplain General	Rev. Dr. George A. McGuire	J. R. L. Diggs	1921	Resignation
International Organizer	Henrietta Vinton Davis	Fred A. Toote	1922	Promotion
Chancellor	Rev. Dr. Stewart	Clifford S. Bourne	1922	Resignation
Surgeon General	Dr. D. D. Lewis	**N/A	*1921-22	Impeached/Impeached
Speaker in Convention	Rev. Fred Toote	**N/A	*1921-22	Promotion/Impeached
Commissioner General	Rev. Dr. Ellegor	**N/A	1921	Forced Resignation
Minister of Legions	Captain E. L. Gaines	Captain E. L. Gaines	N/A	N/A

*Turnover at both the 1921 and 1922 Conventions

**Positions left unfilled at the 1922 Convention

Potentate and Supreme Deputy

Some parts of Garvey’s recruitment machine were never dismantled during this period. For example, the Potentate and the Supreme Deputy, both of whom were *listed* as Garvey’s superiors, retained their positions. To some extent, this can be attributed to the idea that the UNIA’s Constitution did not allow for the easy replacement of these officers (Hill 1983:II:677):

Article IV. Sec. 4. The term of office of the Potentate and Supreme Commissioner and that of the Supreme Deputy shall be permanent. The term of all other officers of the parent body shall be four years, provided that their conduct conform with the interests of

the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities' League at all times. . . .³⁰

In other words, if the Potentate does his job well in serving the best interests of the UNIA, he would have his job for eternity. It would then appear that the Potentate, as the most senior officer of the UNIA, had the most power in the organization, especially when considering the following (Hill 1983:I:259):

Article V. Section 1. The Potentate and Supreme Commissioner shall be the invested ruler of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities' League and all its appendages. He shall be of Negro blood and race. He shall constitutionally control all affairs of the Association and League and all other societies. He shall institute social orders and societies and organizations in connection with the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities' League, as determined by the said Association and League, and shall retain full power and control over their actions and jurisdiction. He shall have constitutional authority, through his high office, to suspend, reduce or relieve any officer other than the Supreme Deputy of his commission or authority of service to the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities' League and subordinate orders, societies and organizations.

This states that the Potentate could even fire Garvey as the UNIA's President General, should he see fit. But in reality the Potentate was not in any way autonomous nor superior to Garvey and was instead subject to Garvey's command (Hill 1983:I:260):

Article V. Sec. 2. The Potentate's power of action in all matters shall be derived from the advice received from his Executive Council and through the officers of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities' League, which advice shall be expressive of the will and sentiment of the people, and he shall not be empowered to act in any matter of great moment without first receiving the advice of the Executive Council.

³⁰ The other and most pressing reason why Garvey retained the services of the Potentate throughout this period was because, once again, Gabriel Johnson was of great utility to Garvey. In the previous chapter I mentioned the Black Star Line (BSL) as one of the UNIA's many business ventures. One of the UNIA's goals through the BSL was to colonize Liberia and Johnson was the mayor of the city of Monrovia, Liberia's capital city, and the president of a local UNIA branch (Hill:II).

Garvey found a way to make sure that no one outranked him in a way that was potentially threatening to his power. As it pertains to the Supreme Deputy, he was simply an assistant to the Potentate (Hill 1983:I:262):

Article V. Sec. 11. The Supreme Deputy shall assist the Potentate in the discharge of his duties and shall perform the duties of the Potentate in his absence, incapacity or interregnum. He shall be the Potentate's special envoy to attend any function or ceremony that the Potentate may be unable to attend himself. He shall attend along with the Potentate the opening of the Convention and sit next to the Potentate. He shall be of Negro blood and his wife shall also be of Negro blood and parentage.

Garvey was not in a position to be disciplined in any real way by either of these officers. Both the Potentate and the Supreme Deputy were subject to removal from office at Garvey's order, thus, neither of them were free to act against Garvey should they have wanted or needed to (Hill 1983:I:261):

Article V. Sec. 4. The Potentate and Supreme Commissioner and Supreme Deputy, should they at any time act contrary to the good and welfare of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities' League in refusing or neglecting to abide by or carry out the commands of the Association and League through its Constitution and through the order of its Convention shall, on proper evidence of the fact, be impeached by any member of the Executive Council through the office of the Counsel-General, and they shall be tried for such irregularities, neglect, misconduct or disloyalty to the Association before the Convention, and if found guilty before the Convention by a two-thirds vote, they shall automatically forfeit the high office held by them, and the Convention shall take immediate steps to elect a new Potentate or Supreme Deputy.

Because the Potentate and Supreme Deputy were but titular leaders, residing outside of America, and whose job it was to come to the US at convention time and oversee things, I do not find them to be relevant to the UNIA's American mobilization efforts, which is the focus of this dissertation.

International Organizer

Because by 1920 the UNIA was headquartered in New York, USA, and had an American Leader, the International Organizer, by job description, did not deal in the UNIA's American mobilizing efforts either (Hill 1983:I:264):

Article V. Sec. 19. The International Organizer and High Commissioner shall be charged with the duty of organizing all the Negro communities of the world into the Universal Negro improvement Association and African Communities' League, and shall have under his control all local organizers, who shall report to him monthly through the officers of their respective local Divisions the results of their various organizing campaigns. He shall make periodic visits to all countries to ascertain and to see to the proper bringing together of the world's corporate body of Negroes.

Surgeon General

There was no expectation that an organization's Surgeon General participated in that organization's recruitment efforts. In fact, as of the 1920 Convention, the role of the Surgeon General was defined as follows (Hill 1983:II:679):

Article V. Sec. 23. The Surgeon General shall disseminate by lectures, articles and circulars information to the members of our race, with regard to hygiene, eugenics, vital statistics and necessary precautions for the maintenance of health and the increase of life expectation, and shall perform the duties of a physician and surgeon as directed by the President General. He shall publish at least once monthly in the journal of the Association a statement of the physical conditions among Negroes. He shall examine the physical fitness of the Officers and Privates of the Legions and other auxiliaries.

There is no evidence that points to the UNIA's use of health and medical advice for recruitment purposes.

Assistant Secretary General

Lastly, the office of the Assistant Secretary General was not involved in recruitment. The Assistant Secretary General is to the Secretary General, what the Supreme Deputy is to the Potentate, merely a helper and a stand-in (Hill 1983:II:678):

Article V. Sec. 15. The Assistant Secretary General shall assist the Secretary General in the performance of such duties of his office as shall be assigned to him by the Secretary General with the approval of the

Executive Council, and in the event of absence, illness, permanent disability, resignation or death, he shall perform all the duties of the Secretary General until such time as the Convention shall have elected a new Secretary General. . . .³¹

COMPARISON: 1920 AND 1922

To give the 1920 recruitment machine a second look with this new lens, looking only at leaders who impacted the UNIA's US mobilization, what stands out is that all but one of the eight *key* UNIA recruiters in 1920 were clergymen. In the previous chapter, I illustrated how important the black church was to UNIA mobilization. It is just as important to point out that by 1922, in these same nine key positions, there were zero clergymen. I have previously documented that the UNIA was by-and-large unsuccessful prior to 1920, the point at which Garvey filled the UNIA's Parent Body with clergymen. It stands to reason that absent of any special circumstance, without these clergymen, their charisma, and the organizations that they were members of, UNIA mobilization would regress. This is exactly what happened.

As I have explained in previous chapters, the majority of Garvey's recruitment machine were not just clergy, but important clergymen with strong communal ties—ties that existed prior to their affiliations with the UNIA. I have argued that these ties were the reasons why Garvey placed those clergymen into high positions. For the clergymen listed above, I have already painted a portrait of their roles during the UNIA's peak growth. In the following sections, in order to demonstrate how Garvey, due in part to these leaders' absence, impacted the UNIA's decline, I will discuss the circumstances under which the clergymen left the UNIA.

³¹ I will, however, include the Assistant President General in my analysis because he was Garvey's direct assistant and worked under Garvey's direct charge.

Figure 6.2
Key American UNIA Leadership as of the 1920 and 1922 Conventions

Position	1920 Convention	1922 Convention	Year(s) Vacated	Cause of Vacancy
President General	Marcus Garvey	Marcus Garvey	N/A	N/A
Assistant President General	Rev. Dr. J. D. Gordon	Leroy Bundy	*1921-22	Resignation/Resignation
Leader of American Negroes	Rev. Dr. J. W. H. Eason	William Sherrill	1922	Impeached
Secretary General	Rev. Dr. J. D. Brooks	Robert L. Poston	*1921-22	AWOL/Promotion
Chaplain General	Rev. Dr. George A. McGuire	J. R. L. Diggs	1921	Resignation
Chancellor	Rev. Dr. Stewart	Clifford S. Bourne	1922	Resignation
Speaker in Convention	Rev. Fred Toote	**N/A	*1921-22	Promotion/Impeached
Commissioner General	Rev. Dr. Ellegor	**N/A	1921	Forced Resignation
Minister of Legions	Captain E. L. Gaines	Captain E. L. Gaines	N/A	N/A

*Turnover at both the 1921 and 1922 Conventions

**Positions left unfilled at the 1922 Convention

1921 CONVENTION

One cannot tell if they have reached an apex until they are in the process of a descent. For Marcus Garvey and the UNIA, 1921 represents the end of the best mobilization period in the history of the UNIA. As I pointed out in chapter five, the UNIA grew about 800% between the 1920 Convention and the 1921 Convention. Besides the branch growth itself, some of the biggest changes of the period between the 1920 Convention and the 1922 Convention were the centralization of control that came from having a Leader of American Negroes, whose job it was to go mobilize states based on Garvey's orders, and, having a Chaplain General who created an advanced network of clergymen for UNIA leaders to tap into for the purpose of mobilizing new members.³² This being the case, there were many leaders in place in 1920 who did not remain in office in 1922, whose absence is worthy of discussion.

Assistant President General

³² See chapter five for details.

The Assistant President General's position was important for at least two reasons: 1) this office was created during the 1920 Convention, which implies that Garvey identified someone who he deemed as useful to the organization and created this position for them as he had been known to do; and, 2) this officer served directly under Garvey during this period. The UNIA's Constitution states (Hill 1983:II:678):

Article V. Sec. 13. The Assistant President General shall assist the President General in the performance of such duties of his office as shall be assigned to him by the President General. He shall perform all the duties of the President General in case of absence, illness, permanent disability, resignation or death, until such time as the Convention shall have elected a new President General . . . (Hill 1983:II:678).

Garvey, the UNIA's President General, was very concerned with recruitment, therefore it seems that he would want to place into this position someone who was a proven recruiter/mobilizer. In addition to being a great mobilizer, in 1921 the UNIA's Assistant President General, Rev. Dr. J. D. Gordon, was an excellent fund raiser and was instrumental in the collection effort for the UNIA's Liberian Construction loan (Hill 1983:III:148). During the 1921 Convention, Gordon provided a fifteen-point explanation as to why he was resigning as Assistant President General after only one year (*Negro World* 1921: 27 August). While the exact reasons were not reported by the *Negro World*, a committee decided that some of what Gordon had to say had merit (*Negro World* 1921: 27 August). At the 1921 Convention, Garvey thus replaced Gordon with William H. Ferris who also resigned after only one year of working directly underneath Garvey.

Secretary General

The job of the Secretary General, as I pointed out in the previous chapters, was to aid in recruitment and money collection processes (Hill 1983:I:262-63):

Article V. Sec. 13. The Secretary General and High Commissioner shall have in his custody all correspondence of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities' League. He shall have under control all Divisional Secretaries and shall conduct the general correspondence of the organization. He shall attend Convention and read reports and answer questions relative to the work of the organization. He shall be the spokesman of the Potentate and Executive Council in Convention.

The Secretary General's report given at the 1921 Convention was delivered by the Assistant Secretary General, J. B. Yearwood, who reported that he had "the control of the department [due to] the Secretary-General being frequently in the field" (*Negro World* 1921: 20 August, 8).

Unfortunately, Dr. J. D. Brooks, the UNIA's Secretary General, was accused of keeping monies collected for the UNIA and not following Garvey's orders, specifically, not following his itinerary that Garvey assigned him (Hill 1983:III). Because Brooks had not returned to UNIA headquarters and was not present at the 1921 Convention, and because of the charges of incompetence and violating the UNIA's constitution, the office of the Secretary General was declared open on August 25, 1921 (Hill 1983:III). Like the office of the Assistant President General, two people occupied the Secretary General's office in as many years, bringing instability to yet another key position in the UNIA.

Chaplain General

In ranking order, following the loss of the Secretary General was the loss of the Chaplain General. The UNIA's Chaplain General Dr. G. A. McGuire, whose critical role in the UNIA's growth was discussed in the previous chapter, resigned during the 1921 Convention (Hill 1983:III). Garvey expected that all of his officers would dedicate themselves fully to the work of the UNIA and forego any outside interests. While the Chaplain General's official duties were "to be the spiritual adviser of the Potentate and the Council [and to] act as the representative of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities' League in conducting the investiture of all high officials and at the conferring of titles, honors and degrees by the Potentate

[and to] attend convention at its opening along with the Potentate and open the proceedings with prayers,”³³ McGuire meant much more than that to the UNIA (Hill 1983:I:263). McGuire was a central figure in the formation of the UNIA’s recruitment machine as detailed in chapter five. Garvey felt that McGuire was not able to be both a leader in the church and a leader in the UNIA and therefore charged McGuire with dual service (*Negro World* 1921:3 September). McGuire, being forced to choose between the church and the UNIA, elected to resign from his office with the UNIA.³⁴

Speaker in Convention

Again, by rank, following the Chaplain General’s resignation was a change in the office of Speaker in Convention. The significance of the office of Speaker in Convention is unique.

According to the UNIA’s Constitution:

Article V. Sec. 18. The Speaker in Convention shall be the chairman of the convention whose order and ruling shall be obeyed in convention according to the rules of debate. He shall prepare through his office all orders and arrangements for the convening of convention. During the rising of convention he shall receive all motions, resolutions, or matters to come before the convention which he shall have arranged in order for presentation (Hill 1983:I:263).

On its face this job description may not appear to be very significant to the operation of the UNIA. But given that in 1920 this position was occupied by Rev. Frederick Toote, one of the founders of the African Orthodox Church, it is easy to see why this was a critical appointment (Burkett 1978b). The Speaker in Convention’s job was to recruit UNIA members to the

³³ 1918 Constitution, Article V. Sec. 15.

³⁴ As evidence of Garvey’s recognition of McGuire’s importance to the UNIA, McGuire was asked to stay on as Honorary Chaplain General (*Negro World* 1921:3 September). Garvey then opted not to fill the position for the 1921-1922 year making McGuire the de facto Chaplain General but granting him the autonomy to work on building his own church.

convention. Because the UNIA's leaders and therefore its delegates were clergymen, it was very valuable to have a convention manager who understood the attitude and behaviors of clergymen. Tooté was obviously someone who Garvey trusted, given that he was retained when most other UNIA leaders were jettisoned. By reading the UNIA's official letterhead in 1921 and 1922, we learn that at the 1921 Convention, Tooté was promoted to Secretary General to replace Brooks, and then in 1922 became the UNIA's International Organizer. As was the case with the offices of Assistant President General and Secretary General, someone different held the office of Speaker in Convention in both 1921 and 1922.

Commissioner General

The last of these key offices to experience turnover in 1921 was that of the Commissioner General. The Commissioner General had a unique set of responsibilities (Hill 1983:I:263):

Article V. Sec. 17. The High Commissioners General shall be the head of the foreign High Commissioners. He shall receive their reports and report the same to the Potentate and Executive Council. He shall recumbent to the Potentate worthy individuals on whom commissions, titles, honors, social distinctions and degrees should be conferred.

The Commissioner General had a hand in determining promotion and distinction in the UNIA. This position was not a recruitment position, but one of his tasks was to oversee the other recruiters to determine their worthiness. Having a Reverend in this position such as Rev. Dr. Ellegor was beneficial to the UNIA because the people who were most likely to be vying for promotion were fellow clergymen. This meant that aside from being subject to Garvey's judgment, clergymen were being evaluated by a clergyman. In 1921 Garvey removed the buffer that was Commissioner General, forcing Ellegor to resign and then opting not to fill the post for the 1921-1922 year (*Negro World* 1921:3 September).

By 1921, one year into the peak of UNIA mobilization, the UNIA had turnover in the offices of the Assistant President General, Secretary General, Chaplain General, Speaker in Convention, and the Commissioner General. This alone would be enough to disrupt any organization's operations—but there would be more. In 1922, the UNIA lost other key leaders, leading to UNIA demobilization.

1922 CONVENTION

There were two other key positions that turned over in 1922, the Chancellor and the Leader of American Negroes (listed in order of vacancy).

Chancellor

According to Article V, Section 14 of the UNIA's Constitution (Hill 1983:I:263):

The High Chancellor shall be the custodian of the funds of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities' League and shall, under the direction of the President General, deposit all funds in some responsible bank. He shall give bond to the President General, which bond shall be well recognized. He shall attend convention and deliver the financial speech of the year (Hill 1983:I:263).

During the 1922 Convention, Rev. Dr. Stewart, at the completion of his report indicating that the UNIA was in good financial condition, tendered his resignation. This was a devastating blow to the UNIA because this was a public showing of a loss of faith in the UNIA's economy by a clergyman, despite the positive report of the UNIA's financial standing. With Garvey's long-standing reputation as someone who mismanages funds, it does not look good to have the UNIA's top financial officer distancing himself from the ledger.

Whether the Chancellor wanted to admit it or not, finances were a sore subject within the UNIA during this time as they always had been. By 1922 the Black Star Line had completely collapsed, costing blacks around the world hundreds of thousands—if not millions—of dollars,

and costing Garvey his freedom as I detail below. The *New York World* (1922:13 January) reported:

Marcus Garvey's heralded plans for the colonization of Africa by means of a half-dozen stock selling corporations caused his arrest yesterday on charges of using the mails to defraud.

This provides the climax to a bizarre career that lifted the Negro from obscurity to . . . titles, hero worship, and wealth. Provisional President of the "Republic of Africa," guiding spirit of the Black Star Line, [the] Universal Steam Laundry and other diversified organizations, he was hailed by some of his race in Harlem as a phenomenal promoter, statesman and prophet.

All his widely advertised activities on the behalf of Africa that was to be are cast in the shadow by the Post Office Inspectors, who charge that he made "fraudulent representations" to enlist membership in them.

Specifically he is accused, as President of the Black Star Line, of advertising and selling passage to Africa on a mythical vessel. The Post Office Inspectors charge too that he used the mails to defraud in disposing of stock in the Black Star Line, the link between this country and the Africa of the future.

For this he was taken from his apartment at No. 129 West 130th Street to the Federal Building, arraigned before United States Commissioner Hitchcock and released on \$2,500 bail. . . .

Recall, Garvey's financial difficulties have been documented from before the creation of the UNIA. Some scholars point to the UNIA's failed business dealings as the reason for the decline of the UNIA (Bontemps and Conroy 1966). These failures alone, even with their huge financial losses, were not sufficient in causing the decline of the UNIA.

UNIA Support

It was clear the Garvey still had supporters following his mismanagement of the Black Star Line and other businesses (*New York World* 1922:14 January):

Marcus Garvey, arrested Thursday on charges of using the mails to defraud, was hailed tumultuously as the "Prince of Men" at a meeting of his supporters at Liberty Hall, 138th Street and Lenox Avenue, last night.

More than 1,000 Negroes crowded the hall, cheered wildly for the "Provisional President of Africa," booed the newspapers and paid reverence to the red, black and green flag of Garvey's contemplated African Government. . . .

Having 1,000 supporters at a rally following Garvey's arrest is a sure sign of support. At this point, Garvey still had the support of the clergy. The Christian Recorder, the official organ of the

AME Church, published an editorial that spoke to the support that Garvey had in light of his imperfections. This editorial was reprinted in the *Negro World* (1922:11 March):

A GREAT [sic] many people seem to be in glee because Marcus Garvey is having some trouble in the New York courts. This is wrong. We are frank to say we hope Mr. Garvey will overcome all his enemies, and they will not be able to prove anything against him. His is [a] gigantic program, fraught with many dangers. For many reasons a large group of people want him to fail. To our mind it would be a great calamity for him to fail.

We do not say that everything Mr. Garvey has done has been wise or politic or even financially profitable. But we do say our prayers are with him, and should his project fail we say we should feel it as though it were a great personal loss. Should he succeed in one-half of his undertaking, within the next ten years, he will have accomplished the greatest thing in Negro history since Richard Allen established the A.M.E. Church.

The AME Church knew that Garvey was fighting an uphill battle and he was imperfect, but they continued to support him. It is worth repeating here, Garvey was known to be financially inept prior to the UNIA's period of peak mobilization; Garvey was proven to be financially inept during the UNIA's period of peak mobilization. Garvey remained financially inept after the UNIA's period of peak mobilization. Financial mismanagement was not sufficient in causing of the decline of the UNIA.

Leader of American Negroes

One member of the UNIA's machine who appeared to no longer support Garvey—although he was still in support of the UNIA—was its American Leader, Rev. Dr. James Eason. Rev. Dr. Eason became the UNIA's American Leader within months of becoming the organization's acting Chaplain General, which was still only months after joining the UNIA. Leader of American Negroes was not a position that was written into the UNIA's Constitution until 1920, which makes it obvious that this position was created for Eason because he possessed a particular set of skills—the ability to mobilize actors and collect money.

During the 1922 Convention, Garvey laid the following charges against Eason as reported in the *Negro World* (1922: 2 September, 2):

1. Issuing checks to divisions and members of the U.N.I.A. in bad faith, knowing that he had no account at the bank to cover the amounts for which the checks were issued.
2. Borrowing money from members of the U.N.I.A. as an officer without any authority to do so.
3. Disobeying the orders of the President-General in violation of the constitution of the U.N.I.A.
4. Selling pictures of the President-General and Provisional President of Africa and of himself, as American leader, without the authority of the organization and using the money for his own purposes.
5. Disloyalty, by uttering statements calculated to place the U.N.I.A. in an embarrassing and unfavorable position.
6. Uttering statements and making charges against the President General and Administrator that tend to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the U.N.I.A.
7. Acting in a manner to cast discredit on the U.N.I.A.
8. Receiving moneys from branches of the U.N.I.A. without reporting the same to the headquarters of the U.N.I.A.

Eason had many charges preferred against him, most of which pointed to disobedience and disloyalty. In addition to being relieved from office, Eason was expelled from UNIA activities for a period of 99 years (*Negro World* 1922:2 September, 9).

But for Garvey and the UNIA, as it is for anyone looking to lead a widespread social movement, it was important not just that one has supporters, but to make sure that they have the proper supporters; this is a process that I have shown Garvey to have been well aware of even from before his days in the US.

As I pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, Garvey spent the better part of 1921 and 1922 moving key pieces of his recruitment machine and changing the UNIA's policies in such a way that provided him with more and more power, as I will demonstrate in the next section. The UNIA went from having seven of eight key positions staffed with clergymen, to having no clergymen in these positions. With the clergymen went their organizations and their charisma.

Obviously, this resulted in the weakening of Garvey's 'machine.' The UNIA's recruitment machine was extremely beneficial to the UNIA, and that by weakening the machine, Garvey made the first step in causing the UNIA's decline.

CENTRALIZED POWER

Another of Garvey's huge mistakes of the 1921 Convention was his attempt to hyper-centralize UNIA control. Garvey was not content with the UNIA's Parent Body being in control of the many branches of the UNIA, and having the many leaders that Garvey put into place report to him as the organization operated during times of peak mobilization. Instead, Garvey wanted to cut his staff out of the equation and create more direct links between the branches and himself. It is important to note that some members of the UNIA's machine were forcibly removed from office while some members stepped down or abandoned the UNIA altogether. Garvey retained a few figures who would be recycled in positions of need, and decided that some offices would not be restaffed at all. The best examples of Garvey's hyper-centralization came in the changes in policy of using Executive Secretaries and how branch Presidents were elected at the 1922 Convention.

Change . . . Executive Secretary

During the 1921 Convention Garvey implemented a new position to put a handle on all of the new growth that the UNIA was experiencing:

Art. III, Sec. 2 . . . An Executive Secretary (who shall be a Civil Servant appointed by the President-General from the Parent Body . . .

(a) The Executive Secretary of each Division shall be a Civil Servant of the Parent Body. He shall be an educated and competent person. He shall keep under his control all books, papers and documents belonging to the Division, and shall be responsible to the local Division and the parent body for his conduct.

(b) The Executive Secretary shall make a monthly report of the Division and forward same to the parent body by the 1st of every month. He shall see that all members are financial and have paid all dues and assessments, including the death tax.

(c) He shall be the financial representative of the parent body, and all loans, bonds or stock sold for the parent body shall be under his charge, and he shall lodge such amounts of money in the bank, separate and distinct from the funds of the local Division. Such funds shall be lodged in a special account as directed by the parent body through the office of the President General, and he shall see that every member of his Division subscribe to the official organ of the organization, "The Negro World." [Sic]

(d) The Executive Secretary shall supervise the work of all other secretaries of his Division and all Chapters in his jurisdiction. He shall be the secretary to the local executive officers of the Division. He shall instruct the General Secretary to receive the dues, collections, assessments, etc. of the members of the Division and report the same to him so that he can report to the local officers and make a monthly report to the parent body,

(e) Where the funds of the local are low and cannot pay two officers to attend to its work, the Executive Secretary shall be the only one paid, and he shall do all the work with the assistance of the honorary officers, who shall not be paid. The Executive Secretary shall give all his time to the organization and cannot be employed otherwise.

Through the Executive Secretary, Garvey figured out a way to have an imprint on each branch. Concerned with the financial health of the UNIA, Garvey also figured out a way to know how much money the UNIA generated and he knew to be watchful for skimming; he had just charged the UNIA's American Leader with misappropriating funds. Knowing that Garvey did not possess the credibility or access to go into the South and do his own mobilizing and checking in on UNIA business, this was the closest that he could come to achieving omnipresence.

Change . . . Branch President

The major change that emerged from the 1922 Convention was the way that UNIA leaders were to be trained. Prior to the 1922 Convention, branches elected their presidents with minimal influence from the Parent Body. The UNIA's Constitution was amended to reflect the following (Hill 1983:IV:1065-66):

Art. III, Sec. 2. Every chartered division shall elect its own officers with the approval of the President-General, with the exception of the President who shall be appointed by the President-General, from a submitted list of graduates of the University of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and eligible to the position of President. The divisional and executive officers shall be a President elected as herein stated, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Third Vice-President, a President of the Ladies' Department who shall also be a graduate of the University of the Universal Negro Improvement

Association, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President and Third Vice-President, each of whom shall be elected by the people. The Executive Secretary (who shall be a Civil Servant appointed by the President-General) who shall act in divisions where there is not a President who is a graduate of the University of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and where there is sufficient business in a division having a graduate President; an Associate Secretary who can be male or female and who shall be the General Secretary of the Ladies' Department; a Treasurer; an Assistant Treasurer who can be male or female; a Chaplain, each and all of whom shall be appointed by the President with the approval of the membership; a Board of Trustees consisting of five male persons, three of whom shall be elected by the people and two appointed by the President. There shall also be an Advisory Board which shall consist of all of the elective and appointive officers of the division. No other persons are eligible as a member of the Advisory Board.

Giving Garvey the ability to train and appoint branch presidents increased his hold on the UNIA. Another way to see it is that Garvey weakened the authority of all of his leadership team. Garvey spent the two years of peak UNIA mobilization inventing ways to minimize his reliance on the UNIA's recruitment machine. Garvey was not content with the UNIA's success because its success was molded by the hands of people who were respected community leaders who had found success without Garvey. Garvey wanted to be the undisputed central figure of the UNIA; Garvey was looking for members who would support him, not the other way around. Garvey still had one major problem if he was to eliminate key leaders from his machine: he would need access to Southern blacks as well as the freedom to travel from place to place and hold radical mass meetings, the same freedoms that black clergymen had.

KU KLUX KLAN

In the absence of the UNIA's recruitment machine, Garvey needed to travel South to recruit and supervise the branches there. Garvey recruited clergy to mobilize the UNIA because he felt that their charisma and networks benefitted the organization, and that clergymen received a bit of a reprieve from white racism in the South. Because the UNIA already had the machine-made Southern presence, Garvey thought that the machine was expendable. Thinking that his only remaining issue was to be sure not to be beaten or lynched by racist Southern whites who would not appreciate his message or presence, Garvey turned to the Ku Klux Klan (KKK).

The KKK was a white supremacist organization that got its second wind around the time that the UNIA was nearing its peak (Cronon 1955). The KKK insisted that America was their country and that blacks who that lived there had very few rights. The KKK did everything in their power to rid themselves of blacks, from burning crosses where blacks resided, to sending mailers to influential whites in an attempt to have blacks deported. As unofficial ambassadors of the US government, the KKK sent representatives to black communities, explaining that they would like blacks to return to the homeland of their ancestors.

Without the benefit of the relative autonomy of religion, blacks passing through the South were subjected to a great deal of scrutiny. UNIA representatives were no exception. Take the following excerpt from a letter written by R. B. Moseley, the UNIA's Texas Commissioner and non-clergyman, printed in the *Negro World* for instance (1922:3 June):

On May 8 I left Dallas for Frys Gap, Jacksonville, Rusk and [Cushing], Texas. I arrived at Frys Gap at 12 noon Monday, May 8. that night I spoke in the C.M.E. Church. Tuesday I visited the farmers. In the evening I spoke at the same church and on Wednesday I went to Jacksonville and spoke in a Baptist Church. Leaving Jacksonville I returned to a place called The Mountains, and on Thursday I canvassed every home in that section, covering about fifteen miles. That night (Thursday) I spoke again on the Church Hill Old Farm. Friday I was requested to speak at a Baptist Church on The Mountains on Saturday night. I spent Saturday going among the people, and that night there were 500 Negroes present.

I was standing outside talking to a Mr. Bates when a Ford car driven by white man with two other white men in it came up. As a drove out of the driveway they asked for V. G. Ragsdales, stating that they were told that there was to be speaking here and they wanted to hear what the speaker was going to talk about.

At 9.15 [sic] I began to speak, and the three white men were present. After I have finished the white men shook hands with me and said they were well pleased. I left with Mr. Simmons to go home with him to spend the night. As we were going along the road I heard a car coming. Suspecting that something was wrong we stopped beside the road and the car went past. Upon arriving at the farmers home the white man asked for me. At this time I was standing behind the house, and as they drove away two men came up and told us that the white man wanted to flog me. I was taken to the home of Mr. Henry Chatman for the night. On Sunday I spoke at the New Hope Baptist Church. On Monday I left for Cushing, and when I arrived at Jacksonville I was taken off the train by three men and placed in jail without any charges being preferred against me. That night the County Attorney took me to Rusk for safekeeping. On Tuesday the County Attorney told me they had placed against me a charge of vagrancy, and in order that I might get away without being killed it was best to plead guilty and return to Rusk and take the train there for Dallas. I asked for a lawyer, but I was informed that it was of no use, and on Wednesday I was taken to Jacksonville for trial and fined \$10.40. They brought me back to Rusk, and on Thursday at 1.20 [sic] I was released. Sheriffs went with me to the bank get the money that was sent from Dallas. After receiving the money I paid the fine and the Sheriff told me to go to the station and catch the train that left there at 2.30 [sic]; it

was then 2 o'clock. As I started down the street two cars came up behind me, with eight men in the two. They got out and ran me down . . . and put me into a Hudson and drove to the woods. I tried to let out a cry, but was struck in the mouth by man weighing about 200 pounds. They drove a quarter of a mile from the town, made me get out of the car and took me to the woods and threw me on the ground. One held my head, one on each arm and one on each leg, while a man weighing about 200 pounds whipped me with a strap about three feet long and three inches wide and about one-quarter of an inch thick. Then they ordered me to get out of town and stay out. I walked about three miles to a station called Delmis. There I caught the train for Dallas. I am sore and stiff as can be at present and in the care of a doctor, and really in need of aid. Will tell you more about this matter when you arrive in Dallas.

This would not have likely occurred with a clergyman because white racists had respect for religion even if not for blacks. It was after this point that Garvey knew that he needed to find favor with the KKK both for his own sake and for the sake of any of his new laymen leaders.

The *Negro World* (1922:1 July) carried news of a meeting between Garvey and the KKK's principle recruiter and acting Imperial Wizard, Edward Young Clarke, in which Garvey said that Clarke:

. . . denied any hostility toward the Negro as a race. He expresses sympathy for aims and objects of Universal Negro Improvement Association. He believes America to be a white man's country, and also states that the Negro should have a country of his own in Africa. He denied that his organization, since its re-organization, ever officially attacked the Negro. He has been invited to speak at the forthcoming convention to further assure that race of the stand of the Klan.

From this meeting, Garvey began to marry the aims of the UNIA to those of the KKK as written in the *Negro World* (1922:1 July):

. . . There is no disputing the fact that America is a white man's country. It has become so by conquests, and that the white man conquered the Indian, exterminated him and took possession of his property. That which he has worked for, suffered for, and died for he is not going to give up to Negroes under any circumstances . . .

The fight with the American and Western Negro is not with the Ku Klux Klan of America or with the other white people of America; the fight with the Negro is with himself to bring about a united sentiment, a united race, with a common object in view. My travels throughout America revealed to me that the bitterest enemy of the Negro is not the white man, is not the Ku Klux Klan, but the Negro himself. The many places where I've spoken, where I have been confronted with embarrassments, where the police captains of this or the other city would try to interfere with the holding of my meetings, are all brought about, not by the white people of those communities, but by jealous, petty, small-minded Negroes trying to create the wrong impression in that community against the Universal Negro Improvement Association simply because they could not tolerate the idea of seeing any Negro movement other than those that they are head of prosper in any way.

Garvey obviously met with KKK leadership and then drastically reframed the UNIA and its stance on the race problem in order to get passage into the South. Before this time, Garvey spoke

of blacks as needing to have their own enterprises in America since they were just as good as any other race—if not superior. As evidence of this arrangement with the KKK, suddenly Garvey began traveling to the South—unbeaten and uninterrupted—when before there had been little to no reports of his Southern travels. The *Gleaner* (1922:11 July) reported:

Marcus Garvey, Negro leader and promoter of the Black Star Steamship Line, spoke to a crowd of Negroes at the Attuck Theater in this city last night. He urged his hearers to form fraternal and social organizations.

Garvey came here from Georgia. Yesterday he conferred in Atlanta with acting Imperial Wizard Clarke of the Ku Klux Klan. He said nothing to his hearers about the conference. . . .

Garvey said during a speech at Liberty Hall that he had also been to Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana as well, holding meetings for thousands of UNIA members and sympathizers, which was also unusual for Garvey prior to his meeting with the KKK (*Negro World* 1922:15 July).

On July 9, Garvey gave an address at Liberty Hall which was also published in the *Negro World* (1922:15 July)—below are several excerpts from this address:

From my impressions, from my observations, from my understanding, the Ku Klux Klan is a mighty white organization in the United States of America, organized for the purpose of upholding white supremacy in this country; organized for the purpose of making America a white man's country pure and simple. The organization has absolutely no apology to make as far as its program is concerned—a program of making America a white man's country.

Aggravating the Ku Klux Klan or aggravating any organization in the world organized for the specific purpose of white supremacy is not going to help the [black] race in America, placed at a disadvantage as it is.

Let me tell you this: that the Ku Klux Klan is really the invisible government of the United States of America, and that there are more people identified with the Klan than you think; that there are more people in sympathy with the activities of the Ku Klux Klan than you think, and that there is more sympathy in this country for the Ku Klux Klan than the ordinary illiterate Negro newspaperman thinks and sees on the surface.

I found out, therefore, that the Ku Klux Klan was purely a racial organization standing up in the interests of white folks exclusive of the interests of others. You cannot blame any group of men . . . for standing up for their interests or for organizing in their interest . . . I want a proper understanding about the Ku Klux Klan so that there can be no friction between the Negroes in America and the Ku Klux Klan, because it is not going to help.

The attitude of the Ku Klux Klan is that America shall be a white man's country at all hazards, at all costs. The attitude of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is in a way similar to the Ku Klux Klan.

Whilst the Ku Klux Klan desires to make America absolutely a white man's country, the Universal Negro Improvement Association wants to make Africa absolutely a black man's country.

With all of Garvey's efforts in playing politics with the KKK, Garvey was comfortable with making the changes to his recruitment machine. The KKK's leadership granted Garvey and the UNIA passage into the South provided that the message to UNIA members and sympathizers remained palatable to the KKK. The problem with Garvey's new Southern strategy was that he did not take into account how UNIA members and leaders would feel about his attempt to bridge the UNIA and the KKK's frames. Garvey said that "[t]he attitude of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is in a way similar to the Ku Klux Klan." This was not the attitude of the organization but instead Garvey's new attitude.

Public Response to Garvey and the KKK

Soon after Garvey's public leaning toward the KKK, letters began coming in to newspapers across America against Garvey. For example, the *New York World* (1922:23 July) carried the following letter to the editor from R. Desmond St. Clair:

I see in the columns of your journal that after an interview with the King Kleagle of the Ku Klux Klan, Mr. Marcus Garvey advises the Negroes in order to avoid the Ku Klux Klan to migrate to Africa. Now, as an American Negro whose father, grandfather and great-grandfather were born in this country, I [would] say for the American Negro that it [would] be a blessing if Garvey and the [entire] aggregation of foreign Negroes who think this country is not good enough to become citizens of would migrate to Africa or some warmer climate and let this race agitation cease. Garvey, like many other foreigners, came to this country penniless, and as soon as they get a few dollars the country is not good enough for them. But they remain here and send for all their kindred.

When some foreigners come to America and bring something instead of coming to get something, then some men of color may consider following them.

Mr. St. Clair was clearly displeased with Garvey's change of heart. He expressed his displeasure on not only his behalf, but on the behalf of his black ancestors. When Garvey invited William Pickens, an NAACP leader who had been even-handed in his evaluation of Garvey over the years, to attend an awards ceremony at which Pickens was likely to be honored, Pickens responded by saying (Hill 1983:IV:747):

. . . You compare the aim of the Ku Klux in America with your aims in Africa,—and if that be true, no civilized man can endorse either one of you. . . .

It is fair to assume, in the absence of their objection, that your Executive Council approve of your endorsement of the Klan, which proposes to decitizenize the American Negro. But I believe that the rank and file of the U.N.I.A., if they understand it, will disapprove of it as strongly as do the rank and file of the rest of us.

If you are trying to fool the Klan, you have employed a losing stratagem. If you are sincere, then you are more unfortunate to the American Negro than the whole Klan. . . .

. . . In this Ku Klux attitude [Garvey] is just about the wrongest black man that ever tried to lead American Negroes anywhere.

Pickens' response was typical of black leadership during this time. The following quote comes from an editorial called "Marcus Garvey! The Black Imperial Wizard Becomes Messenger Boy of the White Ku Klux Kleagle," published in the *Messenger* (1922:July), the official organ of the NAACP:

A few days ago Marcus Garvey speaking at New Orleans, said:

This is a white man's country. He found it, he conquered it, and we can't blame him if he wants to keep it. I am not vexed with the white man of the South for Jim Crowing me because I am black.

I never built any street cars or railroads. The white man built them for his own convenience. And if I don't want to ride where he's willing to let me ride than I'd better walk.

These are the words of that self-styled, courageous, so-called "new Negro" leader who is going to free Africa of the white man's menace.

This fool talk, too, emanates from a blustering West Indian demagogue who preys upon the ignorant, unsuspecting poor West Indian working men and women who believe Garvey is some sort of Moses.

We are well acquainted with many splendid, courageous, intelligent West Indian men and woman—West Indians who would suffer their right hand be cut off before they would yield up such a servile statement. . . .

Garvey was losing supporters and further angering opponents. During the 1922 Convention, anti-Garvey meetings were held in Harlem by The Friends of Negro Freedom, organized by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, both black political activists with ties to the NAACP, who had launched what became known as the "Garvey Must Go!" campaign. During one meeting Garvey was accused of organizing a black KKK (*New York Times* 1922:7 August). As Garvey's opponents gained traction because of Garvey's newly formed relationship with the KKK, they

additionally emphasized Garvey's mismanagement of the BSL and the UNIA's mismanagement of funds in general (*New York Call* 1922:14 August). By the later days of the 1922 Convention, the Friends of Negro Freedom were hosting meetings that had in attendance as many Garvey denouncers as the UNIA Convention had Garvey supporters. The *New York Times* (1922:21 August) reported a crowd of nearly 2,000 Negroes gathering against Garvey for being allied with the KKK and stealing Negro money.

KU KLUX KLAN, FINANCIAL MISMANAGEMENT, AND EASON

Pickens, an NAACP leader, raised the question of the UNIA's support of Garvey's new stance on the KKK. I pointed out earlier in this chapter that of the key members of the UNIA's recruitment machine, some were forced from their offices while some others resigned. To illustrate the position of the recruitment team, I will go back for more thorough examination of the circumstances behind Eason's impeachment and expulsion during the 1922 Convention.

As previously documented, one of the charges that Garvey preferred against Eason was "uttering statements calculated to place the Universal Negro Improvement Association in an embarrassing and unfavorable position." When Garvey was questioned as to the basis for this charge, he replied (*Negro World* 1922:2 September):

The American Leader has on several occasions stated that the Universal Negro Improvement Association owes him money and will not pay him and he cannot get money to live on and remarks of that kind which created in the mind of members of the association and the public that the Universal Negro Improvement Association was not carrying out its part of the contract unsatisfying officers elected to office.

This claim of financial mismanagement is consistent with the claims of Garvey's opponents. Likewise, when Garvey explained the charge of "uttering statements and making charges against the President General and Administrator that tend to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the

association,” Garvey explained that the basis for this charge was (*Negro World* 1922:2

September):

. . . the American Leader in an impromptu manner got up here and made charges about being affiliated, or words to that effect, with some disreputable organization or association detrimental to the interest of the Negro race and at this time there is propaganda being advanced that I am supposed to be in alliance with the Ku Klux Klan, and the American Leader to my mind and belief made that statement, knowing well that there is absolutely no truth in it, in that he as an executive officer and knows of everything that happens, like all other executive officers, and no information has been given them by me that there is any alliance with any organization of any kind detrimental to the interests of the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

After Eason’s impeachment, Eason impeached Garvey and “endeavored to prove that the President General was incompetent to manage the entire affairs of the association, and cited several instances where he claimed funds of the association had either been loaned or invested by the President General and had brought no profits to the association” (*Negro World* 1922:2 September). Eason also “alleged that monies raised for special purposes had not been used for the purposes for which they had been raised, and very often these moneys had been ordered spent by the President General without the approval of the Executive Council . . . (*Negro World* 1922:2 September). Lastly, Eason pointed out that Garvey “had violated the constitution in not permitting elected officers of the association to function in their proper positions” (*Negro World* 1922:2 September).

It was clear that Eason’s sentiment matched that of Garvey’s opponents: 1) Garvey mismanaged funds to the detriment of the UNIA and the black race; and 2) Garvey’s alliance with the KKK was unacceptable among black Americans, both UNIA members and non-UNIA members. It was also clear that Eason also felt that Garvey’s control of the UNIA was becoming hyper-centralized and that he found this to be problematic. I argue that Eason’s sentiments were reflective of many members of the UNIA, both leadership and the rank and file, and that this a

main reason why the UNIA would never realize success at the level that it had between 1920 and 1922. In the next section, I will give a general overview of UNIA events from 1923-1927.

THE END OF THE END: 1923-1927

Many of those who once led the UNIA, but had left, still supported the UNIA's principles. For instance in 1921, Noah D. Thompson of Los Angeles decided to leave the UNIA over questions of the UNIA's finances. He brought along the majority of his branch, which included Rev. Gordon, the UNIA's Assistant President General. They founded the Pacific Coast Negro Improvement Association (Hill 1983:III:66-67). During the 1922 Convention when the High Chancellor Rev. Dr. Stewart resigned, he assured the UNIA's members that he "was still willing to assist in the work of the association" (*Negro World* 1922:26 August). After Eason's expulsion in 1922, he founded the Universal Negro Alliance (Grant 2008:360).

Nineteen Twenty-Three

In January of 1923, Eason was murdered and the suspects were identified as Garveyites (Grant 2008:361). Two Garvey-affiliated men were convicted of this crime (Grant 2008:362). I suspect that Garvey realized that Eason roaming the US with the same access to the UNIA's networks as before, with a similar message as the UNIA's, minus the KKK ties, and more credibility than Garvey had due to his KKK and financial troubles, and, the fact that Eason likely had legitimately incriminating information on Garvey, worried Garvey, and that because of this, Garvey felt that Eason needed to be neutralized. After Eason's death, the Garvey Must Go campaign was ratcheted up yet again—now this group was asking the federal government to work harder to convict Garvey of the BSL mail fraud case that he was already being investigated for. This is important because since Garvey had discredited himself among UNIA officials and

pinched a new nerve of his critics, the Attorney-General could feel free to pursue charges against Garvey without fear of recourse from the UNIA or other black-led organizations. There were no strong black leaders in the UNIA, and the other black leaders were mostly against Garvey.

Also indicative of Garvey's loss of support and that the UNIA was in full decline, there was no 1923 Convention. Garvey then called for the 1924 Convention to be held in Liberia as opposed to New York (*Plaindealer* 1923:18 May). Here I argue that Garvey canceled the 1923 Convention because he knew that poor attendance would be most detrimental in his attempt to keep the UNIA's appearance strong, not to mention, he knew that he could be facing some time in prison. I further argue that Garvey decided to hold the 1924 Convention in Liberia because it would be totally understandable if not too many people came, and also because he was soon to introduce another shipping company that would be tied to Liberia (see below).

Garvey's fraud trial started in May. Members of Garvey's cabinet testified against him (*South Bend Forum* 1923:26 May). By June Garvey was sentenced to five years in prison; he was temporarily jailed in New York and was released on bail in September (Cronon 1960).

Nineteen Twenty-Four

While Garvey was out of prison on bail, he started another company similar to the Black Star Line. This shipping company was called the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company (Cronon 1960:121). This line was meant, in part, to transport black Americans to Liberia in support of the UNIA's Liberian colonization efforts. In another big blow to Garvey, Liberian leadership declared that Garvey nor his affiliates would be allowed to land in Liberia (Martin 1976:128). Yet again, Garvey mismanaged money. For the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company, the UNIA raised about \$300,000 in about two years, whereas the UNIA raised about

\$800,000 in about ten months for the Black Star Line. It was clear that Garvey's UNIA was losing steam, and, it was clear that Garvey was a much better orchestrator than he was a fundraiser.

Nineteen Twenty-Five

In February Garvey was taken into custody in Harlem to begin his five-year prison sentence in Atlanta. Garvey requested that there be no 1925 Convention and that instead branches were to host local conventions for 15 days beginning with August 1, 1925—he also reminded UNIA membership that William L. Sherrill was serving as Acting President General (*Negro World* 1925:23 May). Sherrill, a non-clergyman with no outside organizational backing, was someone who Garvey felt that he could control. Sherrill's role was to take orders from Garvey in prison and execute them. Garvey did not want the UNIA's convention to go on without him, likely because he feared for his position. Garvey's absence was critical in the undoing of the UNIA because there was a great deal of infighting during this time. Branch presidents were forming alliances to go against the UNIA's Parent Body, they even called for the removal of the Supreme Deputy and the secretary of the New York local branch (*Negro World* 1926:20 March).

Nineteen Twenty-Six

In February, Garvey published a letter in the *Negro World* to announce that Sherrill was not following Garvey's orders (*Negro World* 1926:20 February). One week later, Garvey published another letter asking for an emergency convention in Detroit for the purpose of electing all new officers to the Parent Body (*Negro World* 1926:27 February). Next Garvey made public the 27 charges he preferred against Sherrill, including the accusation of trying to

dismantle the UNIA (*Negro World* 1926:20 March). By August, the UNIA was no longer functioning as a mass organization. The UNIA had split into two bodies, one allied with Garvey, and one under the leadership of George Weston (Hill 1983:VI). The group that supported Garvey was the group that split from the UNIA (Incorporated), leaving behind all of the UNIA's assets etc. (Hill 1983:VI).

Nineteen Twenty-Seven

In September, Liberty Hall was foreclosed and auctioned (Hill 1983:VI:lxvii). In November, after years of petitions from Garvey supporters and detractors alike, President Coolidge commuted Garvey's sentence and ordered that he be deported to Jamaica. Garvey was released from prison but remained in federal custody and was transported to New Orleans for immediate deportation (Hill 1983:VI:lxvii). The UNIA, like Garvey, was a shell of its former self. Neither would recover.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Garvey decided that instead of trusting those proven leaders whom he had selected to mobilize for the UNIA to do their jobs, that he would instead remove most of them from the organization. Garvey built a great network of recruiters who, through their own networks and charisma, made the UNIA a national force. Garvey undervalued the clergymen and seemed to have felt that he could do what they did after they poured the foundation, although Garvey had not been nearly as successful before the addition of these clergymen.

Garvey valued his own image over the success of the UNIA. When Garvey removed those key leaders from his recruitment machine, he put upon himself the responsibility to do something that he had never demonstrated the ability to do—mobilize the South (and parts of the North).

The UNIA had a Southern presence by 1922 only because Garvey was smart enough to employ the aid of black clergymen.

Garvey began to replace clergymen with laymen and in the process replaced proven leaders with inexperienced people who were selected simply because he trusted them take his orders. By looking at the UNIA's Constitution, it is obvious that Garvey was not interested in working alongside strong leaders. Garvey wanted people who he could easily control. Garvey found that some of the people whose job it was to take his orders were simply incompetent, while others were outright defiant. This was a losing proposition for Garvey and the UNIA. Having disposed of the clergymen, Garvey needed access to the South.

Garvey formed an alliance with the Ku Klux Klan in order to solve the issue of not having free passage into the South. This was yet another losing proposition for Garvey. This angered black Americans and caused Garvey to lose their support. Garvey underestimated the hostility between black Americans and the KKK. He also undervalued black American's sense of American Nationalism above Black Nationalism; Black Americans, by this time, were very Americanized. Asking blacks to go to Africa out of a position of power was one thing, but trying to convince proud third-generation free black Americans that they had no claim to America was another.

Garvey's affiliation with the KKK, in addition to his weakened support among other factors, helped to empower his opposition. Absent of Garvey's pending fraud case, Garvey could have survived his missteps with the KKK. If Garvey had been a better businessman and had not given his critics extra ammunition, he would have had supporters, albeit a smaller group than in 1920-1922.

Once Garvey gave his opposition and critics the tools necessary to help get him incarcerated, the UNIA had no strong or experienced leader left to keep the UNIA unified in Garvey's absence. The UNIA had already given birth to several splinter organizations, each new organization pulling both money and manpower away from the UNIA. Garvey weakened the UNIA bit by bit every year until the members aligned on either side of the polarizing Mr. Garvey tore the UNIA in two. The UNIA of the early 1920s was no more.

Chapter VII:

Discussion and Conclusion

This study of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) has revealed important details about the UNIA's mobilization and demobilization. The factors associated with the UNIA's mobilization and demobilization includes: Nationalism; religion; organizational structure; and, opposition. The following pages provide an overview of the dissertation's findings.

Garvey employed Black Nationalist frames, a tool that he adopted early in his life and refined over time, to mobilize the UNIA. Garvey was exposed to Black Nationalism through his parents and had participated in at least one other Black Nationalist organization prior to founding the UNIA in 1914. Additionally, a respected clergyman who had strong ties to the AME Church, a denomination that developed from Black Nationalist ideology, mentored Garvey. Garvey went through many iterations of Black Nationalist appeals; he attempted to marry Black Nationalism with Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute with moderate success, then with the black church with great success, and finally with the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) with little success. In Garvey's development as a leader, he learned that religious Black Nationalism worked best for UNIA mobilization. Fortunately, clergymen were attracted to Garvey's reframed Black Nationalism because of his emphasis on black pride and beauty.

Garvey used elements of religion and Black Nationalism to create what was arguably the largest black-led social movement in American history. Religion, like Black Nationalism, was another tool that Garvey began to value at an early age. Garvey was raised in a religious household and was taught by four eminent preachers from childhood to early adulthood. Garvey also visited churches to develop his oratorical skill from copying preachers. Garvey used

clergymen to recruit and address blacks, due to the longstanding charismatic relationships that existed between blacks and black clergymen. One denomination that Garvey utilized heavily for this purpose was the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, a denomination with well-chronicled Black Nationalist roots.

The UNIA's success is attributed to Garvey's decision to use clergymen as recruiters. It was not until Garvey staffed seven of eight key UNIA leadership positions with clergymen that the organization reached its peak mobilization; before this point the UNIA had very few branches in the South where the majority of black people lived. Two of the key clergymen to be part of this process were the UNIA's first and second Chaplains General, Rev. Eason, an activist with ties to the AME Zion- and National Baptist- Church, and Rev. McGuire, a proven mobilizer with ties to the Protestant Episcopal Church, the American Church Institute for Negroes, and the African Orthodox Church. Adding clergymen to the UNIA's leadership was not the only change that impacted UNIA mobilization.

Garvey's hyper-centralization of the UNIA contributed to its decline. Garvey had no superiors and he ruled with a heavy hand. To avoid sharing organizational control, Garvey began eliminating the UNIA's religious leadership, despite their proven contribution to mobilization. Two of the best examples of this were Rev. McGuire's Garvey-prompted resignation in 1921, and Rev. Eason's expulsion in 1922. In addition to these changes, in 1921 Garvey added Executive Secretaries to each branch to act as his informants, keeping tabs on each branch's finances and leadership, in part to safeguard against organizational cleavages. Then in 1922 Garvey required that any would-be branch president attend six months of instruction from the newly formed University of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. The purpose of this training was to impart Garvey's ideology, recruitment, and leadership practices upon the UNIA's

future leaders. Garvey also created a Chancellor position for each branch whose job it was to maintain funds, make deposits, and provide a copy of all financial transactions to him. This hyper-centralization led to many problems.

Through his hyper-centralization, Garvey caused the UNIA's decline in several separate but related steps. The main reason that the UNIA had a weak Southern presence before clergymen staffed the its key offices was because Garvey realized that he could not comfortably visit the South and spread radical Black Nationalism without a pass from white racists; Garvey was likely to be beaten or lynched. Black clergymen had more autonomy than most blacks because of white's religious values, and were generally free to move through the South to conduct business. When Garvey replaced clergymen with secular leadership, he needed another plan to continue to mobilize the UNIA's Southern base. Garvey's solution was to go directly to the KKK to be granted passage into the South. Under KKK influenced Black Nationalism, Garvey insisted that America was a white man's country and that Blacks should leave the US in favor of African colonization. This reframing of Black Nationalism cost Garvey the support of both UNIA leaders and its rank-and-file. Garvey failed to account for black American's American Nationalism as separate from their Black Nationalism, which developed after centuries of blacks struggling for American equality. This caused Garvey to have increased opposition.

Garvey's opposition helped to facilitate the UNIA's decline. Before supporting the KKK Garvey operated under strong opposition for many years. Garvey's opposition would not have been sufficient in causing the UNIA's demobilization if not Garvey's other actions. Garvey had lost a substantial amount of money from investing in unsuccessful businesses. Garvey's involvement with one of the businesses, the Black Star Line (BSL), led to a fraud indictment. The year after Rev. Eason's expulsion he was murdered and two UNIA members were charged,

leading to accusations that Garvey was behind Eason's murder. The combination of these events caused Garvey's opponents to request the US Attorney General to aggressively pursue the charges related to the BSL. Under no fear of mass protest from Garvey's supporters, the US government obliged. Before this time, the US Attorney General had to be mindful of martyring Garvey, and the Republican Party had to be careful not to lose the black vote. Garvey's missteps combined with his lack of support, led to his imprisonment.

Garvey's imprisonment proved to be insurmountable for the UNIA. Having replaced strong, proven, charismatic religious leaders with inexperienced, pliable, secular ones, the UNIA was in chaos during Garvey's imprisonment. Many UNIA members were still very invested in the organization's mission but had grown tired of Garvey and the surrogates he had left in charge during his absence. After many big public disputes, UNIA membership voted Garvey and his staff out of office. A large group of UNIA members who were loyal to Garvey split from the UNIA Incorporated to form the UNIA Unincorporated and again elected Garvey as their leader. It was at that point that Garvey might have refused the nomination to be the UNIA Unincorporated's president, and instead called for his supporters to rejoin the UNIA Incorporated. Instead the two UNIA factions started fighting over resources and losing money and supporters in the process. Neither group ever grew to be as strong individually as they had been as a collective. Valuing his control over the UNIA's long-term sustainability, Garvey ultimately caused the decline of the UNIA.

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