GARVEYISM : BLACK RESPONSE

TO THE GREAT MIGRATIONS, 1915-1924

by

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PREFACE

One of the great dramatic episodes in American history was the granting of freedom to four million black slaves, thus ending forty years of bitter controversey and appeasing the moral sense of civilization. The problem of determining the place Negros should occupy in American life was the most difficult of the "racial problems" that confronted the American government and people after the Civil War. Clearly, to paraphrase Gunnar Myrdal, a close student of American racial development, this was the "American dilemma."

The fact that Negroes were of a different race and culture further complicated the difficulties of post-war re-adjustment. In the pre-Civil War period not only most Southerners, but many Northerners, had looked upon Negroes as an inferior and decadent race. As an indication of things to come after the War, New England abolitionists had privately declared: "This is a white man's country."[1] Fredrick Douglass, the leading Negro spokesman of the post-Civil War period doubted this

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[1]Rayford W. Logan, "Some New Interpretations of the Colonization Movement," Phylon, IV (Fourth Quarter, 1943), p. 332.

and boldly asked whether:

> ". . . American justice, American liberty, American civilization, law and Christianity could be made to include and protect alike and forever all American citizens in the rights which have been guaranteed to them by the organic and fundamental laws of the land."[2]

The generation following the collapse of Southern Reconstruction governments underwent a period of increasing prejudice and discrimination for the Negro. The Republican party, the champion and protector of the Southern Negro during the War, abandoned him after Reconstruction. Instead of looking after the Negro as the ward of the nation, they deserted him and left him as the ward of the dominant race in the South. On three major occasions, the Republicans abandoned the Negro ally: in 1877 when President Hayes removed the troops; in 1883 when President Chester Arthur chose to work with Southern independents; and when President Benjamin Harrison and a Republican Congress backed away from the Force Bill of 1890 to regulate federal elections.[3]

The virtual acceptance of white hegemony in the South by the federal government left Southern Negroes lacking an effective defense of their political and civil rights. Through violence, fraud and complicated voting

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[2] African Methodist Episcopal Review, VI (October, 1889), p. 221.

[3] Vincent P. De Santis, "The Republican Party Revisited, 1877-1897," in The Gilded Age: A Reappraisal, (Syracuse, 1963), pp. 109-110.

procedures, Negro political influence was effectively curtailed. With the Negro's political annulment came an increase in lynching and race riots.[4]

A changed emphasis in Negro leadership expressed acquiesence in this Southern attrition policy. Frederick Douglass, a champion of Negro political participation, died in 1895. His leadership position was taken by Booker T. Washington, an Alabama educator and founder of Tuskegee Institute. From 1895 to 1915, while the Negro's political and social position steadily diminished, Washington soft-pedalled civil rights and instead stressed industrial education, agriculture and racial subservience to the dominant race.

Washington urged his people to begin at the bottom, to learn how to read and write, and to acquire farms and skills in all the trades. "It is through the dairy farm, the truck garden, the trades, and commercial life," he maintained, "that the Negro is to find his way to the enjoyment of all his rights."[5] Rather than protest against the wrongs suffered by the race, he counseled patience and the gradual remedy of economic advancement.

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[4]C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, (New York, 1955), pp. 49-50.

[5]Booker T. Washington, "The Awakening of the Negro," Atlantic Monthly, LXXVII (1896), p. 326.

At the Atlanta Exposition of 1895 he summed up his philosophy in a speech which received wide acclaim and which included the much quoted: "The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house."[6]

Critics of Washington, notably the younger and brilliant William E. B. Du Bois, argued that Washington compromised too much with the status quo. Du Bois urged that the wrongs and sufferings of the colored man should be kept before the public, and that the emphasis on industrial education worked to the disadvantage of the broader cultural training necessary to produce leaders for the race.[7]

The conflict of Negro leaders reflected itself in the restlessness of the masses. Their answer to this conflict was migration. Spurred by economic motivations as well as others less tangible, the rural Negro, from about 1900 onward, moved first from the farm to the city, then from the South to the North.

By 1915, on the death of Washington, the Southern Negro had intensified a significant migration Northward.

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[6]Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery, (New York, 1899), pp. 218-225.
See also Washington, The Story of the Negro, (New York, 1909), II, passim.

[7]William E.B. Du Bois, Souls of Black Folk, (Atlanta, 1903), pp. 48-54.

Economic considerations, as mentioned, were a primary motive in this movement, but social and personal influences also played a part. Resultant unfamiliarity with urban conditions, white hostility, and race riots--the legacy of Northern migration--stiffened the suspicions of ghetto-minded Negroes against white assistance. The new residents of the North looked to the race's organizations in the North to aid them in their social adjustment.

The void created by Washington's death was left unfilled by Northern race-oriented organizations. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Negro Business League, the National Urban League--inter-racial in staff make-up and middle class in situation--offered little redress to the socially disorganized and unskilled Southern migrant. The nascent Negro socialism of the far left was equally unsympathetic.[8] Clearly a need for leadership was evident.

Out of the disorganization of the hour rose the racial cult of Marcus Garvey. The spectacular rise of Garvey and his philosophy was a direct by-product of the migration northward during and after World War I. The prominence of the Garvey movement captured the mood of black nationalism rampant in the teeming ghettoes of the urban North. The psychology, economic program and

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[8]Oscar Handlin, Race and Nationality in American Life, (New York, 1957), p. 137.
Carl N. Degler, Out of Our Past, (New York, 1959), pp. 394-395.

influence of Garvey on his members and on his generation aptly expressed this nationalism.

Two aspects of social history will be dealt with in the thesis: (1) The migrations northward as a backdrop and ferment for Garvey's movement; and (2) the program and ideology of the movement itself as a result of the migrations.

CHAPTER I

OUT OF THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE

Ever since they were brought to this country as slaves, Negroes have been concentrated in the South. There had been little use for slaves in the North and the Northern state governments early abolished what slavery there was. The South, on the other hand, after an initial period of experimentation, came to regard slavery as an essential part of its economy and hence held its dark captives in check.

The Civil War removed the legal restrictions on Negro mobility. It also removed the slave owners' interest in moving the Negroes to places where they could be most profitably used. Perhaps Negroes moved locally more than did whites in the South, since Emancipation gave them a psychological release, and they did not own much land to tie them down. However, for a long time there was little long-distance migration out of the South. Outside of local migration, the only numerically significant migration of Negroes between

the Civil War and the World War was from rural areas to cities within the South (including Washington, D.C.).[1]

The motive for migration by these new freemen appeared always in response to better economic conditions. Migratory movement occurred in places where better opportunities existed -- to the cities, especially after 1880, and primarily from one farm to another. For example, Thomas J. Woofter, a government expert on Negro social movements, concluded that the chief cause of Negro migration before 1910 was discontent with land tenure. Many Negroes left to seek areas in which they would escalate to either sharecroppers, cash renters, or landowners.[2] Charles S. Johnson found no co-relation between social persecution and migration; in some cases Negro population increased markedly in the very centers in which large numbers of lynchings occurred. As Johnson concluded in his survey of Negro migration between 1865 and 1920:

> Reasons are one thing, motives another.. .. Persecution plays its part--a considerable one. But when the whole of the migration

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[1]U.S. Bureau of the Census, Negroes in the United States (Washington, 1915), pp. 12, 14, 63, 68.
"How Much is the Migration a Flight from Persecution?" Opportunity, I (September, 1923), pp. 272-274.
Frenise A. Logan, "The Movement of Negroes from North Carolina, 1876-1894," North Carolina Historical Review, XXXIII (January, 1956), pp. 45-65

[2]Thomas J. Woofter, Negro Migration (New York, 1920), pp. 14, 41.

> of Southern Negroes is considered, this part seems to be limited. It is indeed more likely that Negroes, like all others with a spark of ambition and self-interest, have been deserting soil which cannot yield returns in proportion to their population increase."[3]

The general history of Negro migration also tended to minimize the importance of the social factor. When pressure of social conditions had remained relatively unchanged from year to year, major Negro movements had been sharply confined to periods in which economic conditions were particularly favorable to migration.[4]

In contrast to the later "great" migrations of the years 1916-1918, 1921-1924, the early Twentieth Century movement of the Southern Negro was as much an urban South movement as an urban North one. According to the 1910 census, the first to trace the course of this exodus, a dozen cities each had over 40,000 Negroes. In twenty-seven leading cities Negroes formed one quarter or more of the population, and in four of them over fifty per cent.

The biggest percentage increase between 1900 and 1910 occurred in "New South" cities like Birmingham

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[3]Johnson, "How Much is the Migration a Flight from Persecution?" Opportunity, (Sept. 1923), pp. 272, 274.

[4]Edward E. Lewis, "The Southern Negro and the American Labor Supply," Political Science Quarterly, XLVIII (1933), pp. 172-83, for exposition of the thesis.

(215 per cent), Jacksonville (81 per cent), and Atlanta (45 per cent); even Philadelphia, Richmond, and Chicago recorded increases of 30 per cent.[5]

Moreover, this urban migration was increasingly a northward movement also. As early as 1903, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Negro sociologist, observed that "the most significant economic change among Negroes in the last two or twenty years has been the influx into northern cities."[6] New York had three-fourths as many Negroes as New Orleans; Philadelphia had almost twice as many as Atlanta; Chicago had more than Savannah. During the next two years this development produced even more striking results; according to the census of 1910, two cities, Washington and New York, had over 90,000 Negroes, and three others, New Orleans, Baltimore and Philadelphia, over 80,000. Of these five, only one was truly a Southern city.[7] Ray Stannard Baker, the most astute political reporter of the time, further noted:

> "In 1880, Chicago had only 6,480 colored people; at present (1908), it has about 45,000, an increase of some 600 per cent. The census of 1900 gives the Negro population of New York as 60,166. It is now probably not less than 80,000. Between 1890 and 1900, the Negroes of Philadelphia

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[5]Thomas Jesse Jones, "Negro Population in the United States," The Negro's Progress in Fifty Years (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XLIX, 1913), p. 7.

[6]August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915, (Ann Arbor, 1963), p. 274.

[7]U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, (Abstract), pp. 93-94.

> increased by 59%, while the Caucasians added only 22%, and the growth rate since 1900 has been even more rapid, the colored population now exceeding 80,000.[8]

Economic motives were most evident in these sporadic pre-World War I migrations. But other, less fundamental influences on Negro migration, held significance. The view and treatment of Negroes by Southern whites, the ideological assumptions of the age, as well as the tightening of the Jim Crow vise--all explain not only non-economic migratory concerns, but the environmental milieu from which Negro migration initially took root.

In the early years of the Twentieth Century, it was becoming evident throughout the South that the Negro would be effectively disfranchised and that neither equality nor aspirations for equality in any department of life were for him. One editorial in a large Georgian newspaper of the time spoke well the prevailing sentiment of the white South:

> ". . . . I am, I believe, a typical Southern white workingman of the skilled variety, and I'll tell the whole world, . . . that I don't want any educated property-owning Negro around me. The Negro would be desirable to me for what I could get out of him in the way of labour (etc!); (but) I have no other uses for him."[9]

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[8]Ray Stannard Baker, Following the Color Line, (New York, 1908), pp. 110-111.

[9]Atlanta Georgian, October 22, 1906.

Baker, in his two year study of Southern Negroes was particularly impressed and disturbed that a Negro was punished much more severely than a white man arrested for the same offense.[10] He also observed that "No Negro was ever called 'Mr.' or 'Mrs.' by a white man; that would indicate social equality. . . . They were ready to call a Negro 'Professor' or 'Bishop' or 'The Reverend' but not 'Mr'."[11] Hence the Negro was economically chained to the land and socially shackled to insult and discrimination. Politically he lay impotent, robbed of his voting vitality through lack of the voting privilege.

The Northern liberal community had all but lost interest in the Southern Negro. This was particularly true following the collapse of the Reconstruction regimes of 1877.[12] On the contrary, it was quite common in the eighties and nineties to find in the Nation, Harper's Weekly, The North American Review, or Atlantic Monthly, a similar racial viewpoint as in the South, Northern liberals and former abolitionists repeated the slogans of white supremacy, regarding the Negro's innate "inferiority, shiftlessness, and unfitness for the white

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[10]Baker, Following the Color Line, (New York, 1908), p. 49.

[11]Ibid., pp. 63-64.

[12]See Rayford W. Logan, The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901, (New York, 1954), pp. 239-273, for the change in Northern white opinion to 1900.

man's civilization."[13] When America took up the 'White Man's Burden', asserted Woodward, she took up at the same time many Southern attitudes on the question of race:

> "If the stronger and the clever race," said the editor of the Atlantic Monthly, "is free to impose its will on newly-caught, sullen pupils on the other side of the globe, why not in South Carolina and Mississippi?"[14]

And after all, did not the Governor of Alabama correctly state in 1906 that:

> "The Negro race is a child race. We are a strong race, their guardians. . . . He only knows how to do those things we teach him to do; it is our Christian duty to protect him."[15]

Meanwhile, first by custom and then by law, the Southern states were evolving a system of race relations that achieved stable form after the turn of the century. Throughout the South legal separation of the schools--with discrimination in the distribution of school funds--was provided for in the 1870's and 1890's. Usually custom preceded law in these matters, and segregated facilities were unequal facilities. Indeed, as Baker concluded in his study,

> ". . .,there could be no better visible evidence of the increasing separation of

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[13]C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, (New York, 1955), pp. 52-53.

[14]Ibid., pp. 54-55.

[15]Baker, Color Line, p. 19.

[16]Ibid., p. 30.

> of the races, and of the determination of the white man to make the Negro 'keep his place', than the evolution of Jim-Crow regulations."[16]

Many abolitionists had been paternalistic rather than equalitarian in regard to Negroes. Thus no difficulty prevented disillusionment with the 'lack of progress' of the 'freedman' or the 'follies' of the Reconstruction governments. The majority of Northerners had never possessed any exalted notions of racial equality, and once memories of war and the need for a solid Republican South faded, reconciliation and nationalism became the order of the day. By the end of the century public opinion in the North had come to a belief in the Negro's inferiority, civil unfitness, and consequent need for white domination.[17]

The political situation and the attitude of the Republican party mirrored the changing attitudes and conditions. From championship of the Negroe's cause, the party shifted first to compromise and then to acceptance of the Southern race system. The Compromise of 1877 expressed what had actually been the underlying trend for several years -- that the Republican party was loathe to enforce Reconstruction legislation in the South.

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[16] Ibid., p. 30.

[17] For extensive examination of the North's view of the Negro, see Leslie H. Fishel, "The North and the Negro, 1865-1900" (doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1953); Fishel's "Northern Prejudice and Negro Suffrage, 1865-1870," Journal of Negro History, XXXIX(January, 1954), pp. 8-26. Fishel cites Negro discrimination in housing and public accommodations in the North.

It was a Republican Supreme Court that in 1883 declared the Civil Rights Act unconstitutional. It was a Republican Congress that in 1890 repudiated campaign promises through its failure to pass the Lodge Federal Elections Bill and the Blair Federal Aid to Education Bill; the former would have protected Negro political rights and the latter would have improved Negro (and white) schooling in the South.[18]

By the 1890's, moreover, the new imperialism was reinforcing American racism. Heftstadter demonstrated that this racism was not a new current of thought. Since Americans were a people long familiar with frontier Indian warfare and pro-slavery segments of Southern politicians and publicists, the United States had been thoroughly grounded in notions of racial superiority.[19] The acquisition of an overseas empire was especially significant for Negroes because of its association with exploited Phillipinoes, Puerto Ricans, and other colored peoples. The racial significance of the "White Man's Burden" abroad was not overlooked by Southerners at home; nor were those who undertook this burden unaware of the

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[18]Patrick W. Riddleberger, "The Radicals' Abandonment of the Negro During Reconstruction," JNH XLV, (April, 1960), pp. 88-102. See particularly pp. 93-99, and Victor P. De Santis, "The Republican Party and the Southern Negro," 1877-1897, JNH, XLV, (April, 1960), pp. 71-87. See particularly pages 73-74.

[19]Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought, (Boston, 1944, 1955), p. 171.

buttress given the Southern race system by their action.

The 1896 Supreme Court decision Plessy vs Ferguson crowned the heap of indignities on the Southern freedman. By an eight to one decision, the Supreme Court constitutionalized the state enactment of racial prejudice. It also legalized the Southern Negro's inferior political status. Through the influence of Social Darwinism,

> ". . ., the Supreme Court, in constitutionalizing racial separation, had condemned the Negro to an inferiority confirmed by the legal recognition of contemporary biological and social science 'truths'."[20]

Booker T. Washington, the foremost Negro leader of the age, typified the plight of the Southern Negro. The central theme in his philosophy, enunciated so persuasively at Atlanta in 1895, was that through economic and social advancement Negroes would attain their constitutional rights. To Washington it seemed but proper that Negroes would have to measure up to American standards of nobility and material prosperity; if they were to succeed in the Social Darwinist race of life. Washington said:

> "It is not within the province of human nature that a man who is intelligent and virtuous, and owns and cultivates the best farm in his county, shall very long be denied the proper respect and consideration."[21]

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[20]Barton J. Bernstein, "Plessy vs. Ferguson: Conservative Sociological Jurisprudence," JNH XLVIII (July, 1963), p. 205.

[21]Booker T. Washington, The Future of the American Negro, (Boston, 1899), p. 176.

Experience proved just the opposite of this assumption. W. E. B. Du Bois, a persistent critic of the Tuskeegan angrily charged that Washington asked black people to give up "political power . . ., insistence on civil rights, and higher education," instead of concentrating "all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South."[22] To a certain degree this assertion was correct. Washington's belief that Southern white co-operation was necessary to Negro advancement, meant that his policy rested inevitably on accommodation to existing conditions and prejudices.

Yet it is quite certain that Washington did not intend his philosophy to invite aggression against the Negro. But to propose the virtual retirement of the mass of Negroes from the political life of the South, and to stress the humble and menial role that the race was to play, he unwittingly smoothed the path to political annihilation.

Industrial education, Washington's economic program, appealed to many Negroes in the face of worsening conditions. It appealed to most Southern and many Northern whites because it appeared to relegate Negroes to an inferior position. It also appealed to philanthropists

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[22]W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Souls of Black Folk, (Atlanta, 1903), p. 51.

unconcerned with Negro rights, who were impressed by the practicality of such a program for uplifting a "backward race" and creating a semi-skilled labor force to exploit Southern resources. Thus from 1895 to his death in 1915, Washington emerged as THE national Negro "leader," not because he was original in his proposals, but because his program had already become the assured belief of influential groups in the North, the South, and among Negroes.[23]

Washington erred grievously when telling the race that the "best" white people would discriminate in Negroes' favor, based on their education, character, and general merit. When discriminatory laws lumped all Negroes together regardless of individual merit, Washington's faith in 'progress' made him continue to insist that race relations were steadily improving.[24]

Exceedingly important in Washington's outlook was an emphasis on agriculture and rural landsmanship that has ordinarily been overlooked. He constantly deprecated migration to cities where, he said, the Negro was at his worst and insisted that Negroes should stay on the farmlands of the South.[25] Since all people who had gained

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[23]August Meier, Negro Thought in America (Ann Arbor, 1963), pp. 97-99.

[24]Samuel R. Spencer, Jr., Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life, (Boston, 1955), pp. 198-199.

[25]Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery, (Philadelphia, 1898), pp. 68-69.

wealth and recognition had come up from the soil, agriculture should be the chief occupation of Negroes. They should be encouraged to own and cultivate the soil. While he called Negroes the best labor for Southern farmers, he optimistically looked forward to an independent yeomanry, respected in their communites.

Equally important in the Washington philosophy, since it bears directly on the later Garvey cult, was an emphasis on race pride and solidarity. Negroes should be proud of their history and their great men. For a race to grow strong and powerful, it must honor its heroes. Negroes should not expect any great success until they learned to imitate the Jews, who through unity and strength in their own destiny were becoming more and more influential. Washington showed a considerable pride in the all-Negro communities. At times he espoused a high degree of racial solidarity and economic nationalism. On one occasion he declared: "We are a nation within a nation." Although granting that Negroes should be the last to draw the color line, they should, at the same time, see to it that "in every wise and legitimate way our people are taught to patronize racial enterprises."[26]

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[26] Detroit Leader, September 8, 1911.

An examination of the Negro generally, and the Southern Negro particularly, about 1915 revealed something less than ideal circumstances. Negroes were practically omitted from the Progressive era's program of reform. Direct primaries might be more democratic, but white primaries were less so. As C. Vann Woodward has pointed out, the Progressive Movement in the South was for whites only.[27] "Progressive" Roosevelt utilized "conservative" Washington, and acted quite conservatively on racial matters, and by tacit agreement with the President, Washington agreed not to speak out against injustice, except by circumspection.[28] Wilson had no interest in the welfare of the Negro, in fact his administration marked the extension of federal segregation in government, a policy begun by Taft.[29]

By late 1915, when death unexpectedly carried Booker T. Washington from his beloved South, a large segment of the Negro population had already migrated to the North. The restless, rural Southern Negro had "cast down his bucket where he was," to borrow Washington's phrase, and moved northward toward a new life. As an embittered young Negro stated:

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[27]Woodward, Strange Career, p. 53.

[28]Daniel Walden, "The Contemporary Opposition to the Political Ideals of Booker T. Washington," JNH XLV (April, 1960), p. 107.

[29]Kathleen L. Woglemuth, "Woodrow Wilson and Federal Segregation," JNH (April, 1959), pp. 158-163.

> "They've given us their blood; whether we wanted it or not," he said, "and now they ask us not to respond to the same ambitions and hopes they have. They have given us fighting blood, and expect us not to struggle."[30]

With the movement northward, there was ample opportunity and need to actuate that restless spirit. The Great Migration northward also provided a backdrop for another "struggle," this time an ideological one--that of assimilation with the new Northern environment or separation from it.

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[30]Baker, Following, p. 55.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EXODUS

Until World War I Negro migration northward had not assumed large proportions. In spite of the belief among Southern Negroes that the North granted black men a nearer approximation of equal justice in the courts, in education, and in the use of the ballot, than in the South, in 1910 only thirteen per cent of America's Negroes dwelt in the section where these reputed advantages were to be had.[1] Regardless of qualifications, most Northern Negroes at this time found themselves forced into domestic and personal service or restricted to odd jobs of unskilled labor. History does not show many peoples who have migrated because of persecution alone. The rural Negro was not dissimilar to others, and where no economic basis was assured, he preferred to endure those ills he had, rather than fly to others he did not know.

By 1915, however, the previous trickle of Negro migration northward had swelled to flood stage. The migration may be divided into two phases. The first

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[1]U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 (Abstract), pp. 93-94.

phase began in 1915, reached its crest in 1917, and continued at a decreasing rate until 1920, when, because of economic depression, it almost ceased; the second phase started in 1922 and continued until the depression of 1929 put an end to prosperity.

The magnitude of the movement toward the city was shown in statistics. Between 1910 and 1920 the Negro population in Philadelphia increased by 50,000, in New York by 61,000, and in Chicago, by 65,000. In Cleveland the increase during the decade was more than 300 per cent and in Detroit more than 600 per cent.[2]

The estimates of the United States Department of Labor revealed that between 400,000 and 500,000 Negroes shifted from South to North between 1915 and 1920. Not all of these remained in the North. The cancellation of war contracts in 1918 brought an end to temporary prosperity and reversed the tide of migration southward. The 1920 census showed that the number of Southern-born Negroes living in the North had increased by only 330,000 since 1910. The rest had either returned to the South or had died.[3]

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[2]Charles Luther Fry, "The Negro in the United States--A Statistical Statement," in The American Negro, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, XXXX, (Nov., 1928), pp. 32-33.

[3]LeVerne Beale "Negro Enumeration of 1920," Scientific Monthly XIV (April, 1922), p. 353.

The northward moving Negroes showed a tendency to concentrate in the Middle Atlantic and East North Central states. The former sector showed a gain of 43.6 per cent in 1920, while the latter gained 71 per cent. This gain was far in excess of the rate of increase among Negroes in the entire United States for the ten year period. A corresponding increase in the Negro residents of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois, with a sustained loss of population in many deep South states was likewise noted.[4]

Estimates of the amount of migration were based on the receipt of railroad ticket offices and the transitory addresses of insurance companies. For example, from April 1, 1916, to May 1, 1917, 12,731 persons left the Birmingham district over one railroad. Probably the three other railroads running north from Birmingham carried at least as many more. The points of destination show that most of them were coal miners, bound for the coal fields of Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia and Pennsylvania.[5] Using figures based on the auditing departments of several railroads handling egress traffic out of Alabama, the Commissioner of Agriculture concluded that 90,000 Negroes left that state during the war period. This figure was accepted by Dr. William B. Williams in

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[4] Ibid., pp. 354-355.

[5] U. S. Department of Labor, Negro Migration in 1916-17, p. 55.

the Department of Labor report.[6] Dr. Williams also estimated that 100,000 Negroes left Mississippi during the war period, basing his figures on estimates made by officials of insurance companies.[7]

In 1921 the United States placed immigration from foreign countries on a quota basis. As prosperity increased, the labor available proved unequal to the demands of industry, and in 1922, a northward migration of Negroes began again. The number of migrants during this period at least equaled that of the war period. A release from the Department of Labor stated that, for the year ending September 1, 1923, 478,700 Negroes had left Southern homes for the North.[8] The director of the Detroit Urban League thought at least 500,000 Negroes had moved northward since the beginning of 1922.[9] While not all of these remained, the census of 1930 showed an increase of 978,666 Negroes living outside the South, or 957,574 more than the normal increase by birth.

During the ten-year span three Southern states--Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia showed losses in Negro population while several Northern states showed an increase. This growth in population ranged from 182 per

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[6] Ibid., p. 97.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Monthly Labor Review, XVIII (April, 1924), pp. 762-4.

[9] Charles H. Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States, 1860-1925, (New York, 1927), p. 285.

cent in Michigan over the 1920 count to 51.5 per cent in Pennsylvania.[10] These increases represent far-reaching changes, since they indicated that almost two-thirds of the entire increase in the Negro population in the decade, 1920-1930 occurred in the North.

Tatum, a student of the Negro socio-political activity, asserted that the economic motive caused a greater number to migrate than any single motive.[11] There are others who believe that if economic motives were not the only ones, they were the primary ones.[12] The Negro came North for the same reason that has compelled human migratory movements since the time of Abraham--to better his condition. The low pay which the Southern Negro received had been a long-standing grievance. Early in the war food prices began to rise, but wages lagged. In 1915 Southern farm labor averaged around seventy-five cents a day, some counties paying as low as forty cents, and other reaching a maximum of one dollar.[13] In the towns,

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[10] Monthly Labor Review, XVIII (April, 1924), p. 764.

[11] Elbert Lee Tatum, The Changed Political Thought of the Negro, (New York, 1951), p. 51.

[12] Cf. Sterling D. Spero and A. L. Harris, The Black Worker, (New York, 1931), pp. 385-388.
Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy, They Seek A City, (New York, 1945), Intro; xii and xv.
Arnold Hill, The Negro and Economic Reconstruction, Washington, D.C., 1937), pp. 27-28.

[13] U.S. Dept. of Labor, Negro Migration in 1916-17, pp. 66-67, 103.
George E. Haynes, The Negro at Work During World War and During Reconstruction, (Washington, 1921), pp. 10,82.

saw-mills, cotton presses and cotton oil mills were paying from $1.00 to $1.50 a day, while the wages of the skilled laborers, such as carpenters and bricklayers, ranged from $2.00 to $2.50. Women in domestic service received from $1.50 to $3.00 a week, and men about $5.00 a week including board.[14] These figures demonstrated the superiority of city over country wages in the South, but in the Northern cities unskilled labor was receiving from $3 to $8 a day.

Added to this pull was a push from the Southern rural districts. In 1892 the cotton boll weevil crossed the Rio Grande from Mexico, spreading slowly northward and eastward. In 1915 the cotton crops of Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana were almost wiped out by the weevils, and there was considerable damage in Georgia, Florida and other cotton growing states.[15] The severe cotton depression drove many planters to turn from cotton to grain and livestock.

The depression worked great hardship on the Southern Negro. Cotton raising was his chief occupational trade. He had never been encouraged to raise anything else. Hence, as J. H. Franklin noted, the damage of the boll weevil to cotton crops in 1915 and 1916, "discouraged the many who depended on cotton for their substinence."[16]

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[14] U.S. Dept. of Labor, Negro Migration in 1916-17, pp. 66, 67, 103.

[15] John G. Van Deusen, The Black Man in White America, (Washington, 1944), p. 33.

[16] John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, 2nd Rev. ed., (New York, 1956), p. 464.

Knowing the past limitation of the Negro farmer, banks and merchants hesitated when there was no cotton to be used as security. These changes could have had no other effect than to create a labor surplus in the cities.

Those who remained to struggle with changed conditions met with further disaster. In the summer of 1916 destructive floods swept through the lower Mississippi Valley. Thousands of Negroes would have died of starvation had it not been for the aid given by the Federal Department of Agriculture and the Red Cross. Unemployment, depression, poverty and famine were the "Four Horsemen" who goaded the Negro into migration. Thousands needed no other inducement than the prospect of a job. And as Johnson noted:

> "The peaks of Negro migration, 1916-1918, and 1923 were years in which floods and crop failures coincided with boom periods outside the South, . . . with aggravated demands for workers from the North."[17]

Yet a considerable number of Negroes migrated from sections where there had been no weevil and no floods. Once the northern movement started, there was a good deal of discussion among the Negroes themselves. This discussion emphasized social grievances and these began to play a part in the migration. The treatment accorded the Negro often stood second, when not first, among the reasons given by Negroes for leaving the South.

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[17]Charles S. Johnson, "Some Economic Aspects of Negro Migrations," Opportunity, V (October, 1927), p. 297.

Lynching certainly caused an increased unrest among Negroes. Moton noted that in the thirty-year period from 1889 to 1918, there were according to count, 3,224 lynchings. Of that number 390 or 12.1 per cent had occurred in the North and West, while 2,834, or 87.9 per cent, occurred in the South.[18] He cited it as the chief cause of the Negroes' desire to migrate North.[19] Governor Hugh M. Dorsey was forced to conclude that:

> "Higher wages are undoubtedly enticing many away, but their feeling of insecurity for ther life and property is more largely responsible for this migration than the average Georgian would admit."[20]

Persecution by law officers was probably a greater factor in migration than lynching. After all, there were only a few Negroes, proportionately, whose lives were actually endangered by mobs. But persecution by policemen was much more constant and universal. Aside from matters involving arrest and the proneness of Southern juries to convict Negroes, the colored man felt that in civil cases he did not receive impartial justice when involved with white men in a dispute.[21]

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[18]Robert R. Moton, "The South and the Lynching Evil," South Atlantic Quarterly, XVIII (July, 1919), p. 191.

[19]Ibid., p. 192.

[20]Governor Dorsey's Statement as to the Negro in Georgia, (April 22, 1921), (unnumbered.)

[21]Thomas J. Woofter, Negro Migration, (New York, 1920), p. 144, Negro Year Book, 1925-26, p. 8.

Not the least of the causes involving the Negro's migration was the segregation of the Negro in definite portions of a Southern city. Segregation meant not only another section of the city for the Negro, but a section that was inferior: unpaved streets, no gas or electric lights, absence of water supply, no sewage system, bad sanitary conditions, and little police protection.

Social causes had much to do with the migration. This was shown by the fact that after migration got a good start, those plantations and industries which gave their Negroes satisfactory treatment and living conditions did not lose too many of their laborers. The American Cast-Iron Pipe Company of Birmingham, The Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company in Virginia, and the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company of St. Louis, all found their labor problems minimized during the northward migration.[22]

At the same time that boll weevil, floods, and the reorganization of agriculture were displacing many Negroes, the demands of Northern factories for unskilled and semi-skilled laborers were increasing. Tatum explained this need for unskilled workers and the Negroes' response through a "push-pull" theory:

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[22]U. S. Dept. of Labor, Negro Migration in 1916-17, pp. 42ff, p. 94;
Emmett J. Scott, Negro Migration During the War, (New York, 1920), p. 93.

[23]Elbert Lee Tatum, The Changed Political Thought of The Negro, 1915-1940, (New York, 1951), pp. 55-56.

> "The 'pull' of the North--the land of opportunity where financial, educational, and political status could be obtained--contrasted with the 'push' of the South--with its pattern of segregation, social ostracism, poor pay, and lack of justice in the courts, led an increasing number of Negroes to change their place of residence as well as their minds."[23]

World War I practically stopped foreign migration to the United States. The war called to the colors of the nations engaged in that conflict hundreds of thousands of aliens residing in this country. In April, 1917, the United States entered the war and eventually four million young men found their way to training camps. The labor shortage thus created coincided with a tremendous expansion of industry due to an unprecedented demand for war supplies. Railroad administrations, manufacturers, and mine-owners cast greedy eyes on the South where lived the largest single body of unskilled laborers in the country.

The labor agents, then, were a real factor in the migration. They were most active in the large cities where their presence was less easily detected.[24] Here they told the open-mouthed Negroes tales of wonderful Harlem, with its streets paved with golden opportunities,

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[23]Elbert Lee Tatum, The Changed Political Thought of the Negro, 1915-1940, (New York, 1951), pp. 55-56.

[24]For an examination of the role played by labor agents in Negro migration, see Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris, The Black Worker, (New York, 1931).

of social equality, free schools, opportunity to vote, and beautiful theaters where Negroes were seated among the whites.[25] A printed circular distributed by one agent enumerated the attractions of a town in southern Pennsylvania, consisting of five saloons, two dance halls and street cars without Jim Crow restrictions. On July 11, 1917, the following advertisement appeared in a Cincinnati newspaper:

> 1,000 colored men wanted to go to New York City to work for the Erie Railroad. $2.30 per day for track workers, $2.40 per day for freight handlers. Transportation absolutely free. Board and lodging $4.50 per week. Ship - Wednesday noon.[26]

The Southern Negro laborer was not an economist. He thought in terms of money wages, not real wages. When the labor agent offered him free transportation plus a wage from two to five times higher than he had ever earned in his life, he might be excused for feeling excited. He did not stop to think that the cost of food, shelter, and clothing might also be increased. Nor did he think about spending money for fuel, or to ask concerning housing conditions in the land "up No'th". A reporter of the northward trek noted:

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[25]Ralph W. Tyler, "Negro Migration," Pearsons Magazine, XXXVIII (November, 1917), p. 226.

[26]As quoted from Harry S. Stabler, "Draining the South of Labor," Country Gentleman, Sept. 8, 1917, pp. 1371-72.

> "It was a rare day that did not see on the forward end of the platform of any Southern station . . . a small group of big-muscled, white-toothed darkies (sic) clad in cheap store clothes or in brand new overalls and burdened with any bundle from a well-stuffed bandana handkerchief to a canvas trunk bound about with rotten rope."[27]

The Negro press was an active agent in the migration. It kept all the grievances of the colored man clearly before him, and pointed out the way to escape. W. E. B. Du Bois, militant editor of the Crisis editorially urged Negro migration as an escape from the attitude of white people and conditions in the South.[28] A periodical of great importance in this function was the Chicago Defender, which gave impetus to the migration. This paper is said to have increased its circulation from 10,000 to 93,000 during the war years.[29] Not only did it print direct appeals to come North, but it gave much space to news items tending to create the impression of a general mass movement. Its sale was forbidden in many Southern towns, but subscription copies delivered through the mails were passed

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[27]Kingsley Moses, "The Negro Comes North," Forum, LVIII (August, 1917), p. 181.

[28]W. E. B. Du Bois, "Brothers, Come North," Crisis, XIV (January, 1920), p. 105.

[29]John Van Dusen, The Black Man in White America, (Washington, D. C., 1944), p. 38.

from one family to another until the sheet was in tatters and the print illegible.[30]

The success of those Negro migrants who made good "up No'th" paved the way for further migration. Every Negro who went North and made good started a new group on the way. Word went back to a thousand colored communities along and below the Mason-Dixon Line of a greater racial tolerance, fabulous wages, and more work at the same wages. Frequently these letters contained money to be used for transportation of their families and friends to the North. Such letters were the best of all recruiting agents.[31] A still stronger influence was the migrant who returned to visit his friends, dressed in fine clothes, spending what seemed to be unlimited money, and telling wildly exaggerated tales of Northern "freedom."

In its earlier stages the migration excited little notice from the authorities. It was assumed that it was merely an expression of the Negroe's "love of travel", and that they would return. But when the exodus became general and it was realized that the plantations were being drained of labor, the South panicked.

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[30]John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York, 1956), p. 464. For an analysis of the Negro press' role in migration see Frederick G. Detweiler, The Negro Press in the United States, (Chicago University Press, 1922).

[31]"Letters of Negro Migrants," Journal of Negro History IV (July and October, 1919), pp. 291-340, 412-613.

On April 23, 1923, the Department of Agriculture released the reasons for the South's fear: 32,000 Negro farm hands had left Georgia within the preceding twelve months; 15,000 had left Arkansas and 22,750 had gone from South Carolina in the preceding seven months.[32] Surveys of states, or parts of states were even more startling. Reports to the Georgia Bankers' Association indicated a loss of 228,938 Negroes in that state during the years 1920, 1921, 1922, and the first half of 1923. The Association feared a loss of wealth to the state of 27 million dollars for the year 1923.[33] The South Carolina College of Agriculture concluded that the state had lost 50,000 Negroes during the six months following November, 1922.

For a time the agricultural program of certain sections of the South was completely upset. Thousands of acres of cotton, rice, and sugar went to waste. Strawberries rotted in the fields for want of pickers. As Davis observed:

> ". . . although 1922 was a much better year, it was not good enough for the all-cotton Negro tenant to come out very far ahead. And so the exodus goes on. . . ." [34]

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[32] "Negro Migration," Monthly Labor Review, XVI (June, 1923), pp. 186-187.

[33] American Bankers Association Journal, XVI (July, 1923), p. 51.

[34] P. O. Davis, "Negro Exodus and Southern Agriculture," American Review of Reviews, LXVIII (October, 1923), p. 403.

Industry in the South also felt the effect of the labor shortage. The head of a large Alabama steel works complained of difficulty in operating "without the Negroes who have gone North." He noted that some Southern industrial works had either closed down or were now working shorter hours.[35] A bulletin of the Southern Metal Trades Association declared:

> "The Negro belongs to the South, and he should stay there for his interests and for the interest of the Country at large. Shut the barn door before the horses all get out. Help us to stop further depridation on the supply of labor remaining in the South. We have none to spare."[36]

The severe labor shortage forced an advance of wages of from 10 to 25 per cent.[37]

To attempt to stem the flood tide of imigration by the black labor force, the South began prohibitive measures. Practically every Southern state required prohibitive licenses for agents soliciting labor. In Mississippi the fee was $1,000; in Georgia and Alabama, $500; and to this, counties and city councils added other licenses. However, laws aimed at the supression of labor agents did not stop the migration. Indeed, only one agent in Georgia paid the state license. Agents arrested at

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[35] A. J. Hain, "Our Immigrant, The Negro," Iron Trade Review, (Sept. 13, 1923), pp. 730-736.

[36] Ibid., p. 736.

[37] U. S. Dept. of Labor, Negro Migration in 1916-17, pp. 70-74.

Americus, Cuthbert, Thomasville, and Sylvester were given heavy fines and chain gang sentences.[38] Frequently force was used. Wholesale arrests of Negro "vagrants" occurred at the railhead stations at Savannah, Tampa, and other cities.[39] At Macon, Georgia, the police forcibly dispersed a thousand Negroes who were awaiting the arrival of a Chicago train.[40]

The South was slowly coming to a realization of the significance of the loss of its Negro population to the North. Its inability to stem the migration caused Southern leaders to turn to more subtle methods to return its dusky labor force to their Southern "customs".

The race riots of 1919 gave ample opportunity to show that the North was not free from race prejudice. Several Southern organizations sent agents northward to stimulate a return movement with offers of free transportation. Such efforts centered in Chicago, but were far from successful. According to T. Arnold Hill,

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[38] Ibid., p. 86.

[39] Monroe N. Work, "The Negro Migration," Southern Workman, LXII (May, 1924), pp. 202-212;
Herbert Wetherwill, "A Negro Exodus," Contemporary Review, CXIV (September, 1918), pp. 299-305;
Scott, Negro Migration During the War, p. 75.

[40] Negro Migration in 1916-17, p. 110;
Martha B. Bruere, "The Black Folk Are Comin' On," Survey L (July 15, 1923), pp. 432-435.

Secretary of the Chicago Urban League, in the week following the riot in that city, 261 Negroes arrived and 219 departed. Of the latter, only 83 gave a Southern state as their destination.[41] Perhaps the published statements of certain Southern political leaders made them doubtful of their future. In answer to a telegram from the Chicago Examiner, Governor Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi stated:

> "Your telegram asking how many Negroes Mississippi can absorb received. In reply I desire to state that we have all the room in the world for what we know as 'n-i-g-g-e-r-s', but none whatever for 'colored ladies and gentlemen'. If these Negroes have been contaminated with Northern social and political dreams of equality, we cannot use them, nor do we want them. The Negro who understands his proper relation to the white man in this country will be gladly received by the people of Mississippi, as we are very much in need of labor."[42]

Though Bilbo was an extreme example of Southern opinion, clearly the sentimental ties of the Southern Negro to his traditional moorings had been loosened. As the Negro moved North and settled in new areas, there was a good deal of talk about "going into Canaan" and the "flight out of Egypt." Believing that God had opened this way of escape from their oppressions, going North became an expression of faith. Led by their ministers

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[41] T. Arnold Hill, "Why Southern Negroes Don't Go South?" Survey, XLIII (Nov. 29, 1919), p. 183.

[42] Crisis, (editorial) X, January, 1920.

and the hope of political and economic freedom, the Negro moved into the urban North. Behind him he left crops unharvested and had sacrificed livestock and other property for whatever it would bring. Ahead of him lay the dangers and delights of a new start, and hopefully, a new life.

CHAPTER III

THE COMING OF GARVEYISM

The increased mobility of the Negro population during the war years brought with it a marked rise in friction between Negroes and whites. Some of this tension was traceable to the forced mingling of the two races in the armed forces, though this was kept to a minimum by the use of segregated units and contingents. The hostility of Southern whites to the presence of Negro troops was of grave concern to the War Department, and was one reason for the appointment of Emmett J. Scott, former private secretary to Booker T. Washington, as Special Assistant to Secretary of War Newton D. Baker.[1]

Race friction was not limited merely to the armed services. The influx of Southern Negroes into the North brought serious problems of assimilation during a period when officials of northern cities had little time to cope with them adequately. The Negro migrant of the World War era was plunged suddenly from the simple life of the plantation into the complex life of the city; many had difficulty in adjusting to this change.

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[1]Emmett J. Scott, Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War, (Chicago, 1919), p. 40ff.

The segregation imposed on crowded Negro residential areas produced undue amounts of crime. In some localities vice centers were located within, or bordered on the Black Belt. This was true of East St. Louis, prior to the race riot of 1919. The Chicago Commission on Race Relations found that:

> ". . . the borderland of a colored residential district is the haven for disorderly resorts. Protests of colored residents against the painted women in their neighborhood and the loud profanity and vulgarity are usually ignored by the police."[2]

The dislocation of the war years proved that mob violence was not merely a Southern phenomenon. In 1917, the city of East St. Louis, Illinois, was the scene of a violent race riot growing out of the employment of Negroes in a factory holding government war contracts. Over forty Negroes lost their lives in a bloody struggle lasting several days.[3] Lynching also took an upward turn during the war years with thirty-eight Negro victims in 1917 and half again that many more the following year. But the riots of the war period were only a grim overture to the bloody months in 1919 that have been called the "Red Summer," for from June to the end of the year there were twenty-six race riots in American cities.[4] Conflicts

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[2]Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The Negro in Chicago, p. 202.

[3]John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, (New York, 1956), p. 467.

[4]James Weldon Johnson, Black Manhattan, (New York, 1930), p. 246.
William E.B. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, (New York, 1940), p. 264.

were not localized in any one section of the country, but developed wherever the two races were living in close proximity and were competing for scarce housing and employment. Negroes now showed a new willingness to defend themselves and their rights, a fact that added to the ferocity of some of the struggles.

In July, 1919, a race riot broke out in Longview, Texas, over the sending of a dispatch to the Chicago Defender concerning a lynching the previous month. When Negroes showed some resistance the infuriated white rioters burned much of the Negro section of the town. The following week there was a more violent outbreak in the nation's capital, partly as a result of irresponsible newspaper reports of Negro assaults on white women. White servicemen played a large part in the three-day riot in Washington, and the casualty lists were lengthy due to Negro retaliation.[5] More serious was the rioting in Chicago beginning on July 27,1919, over the drowning of a Negro boy in a white section of a Lake Michigan beach. Rumors of his supposed murder fanned the flames of an intense racial hatred that had been building up over the months of heavy Negro migration into the city. For thirteen days the city was largely without law and order,

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[5]Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, pp. 473-75.

despite the presence of the state militia after the fourth day of trouble. At the end of the human holocaust at least thirty-eight persons were dead and hundreds more were injured. More than a thousand families, mainly Negroes, were homeless as a result of the worst outbreak of racial strife in the history of the nation.[6]

The pattern of violence evidenced in the great increase of lynching and race riots demonstrated that American Negroes were now determined to adopt more militant measures in defense of their rights. One Negro, a veteran of the Chicago rioting, spoke the determination of countless others of his race when he warned: "It is the duty of every man here to provide himself with guns and ammunition. I, myself, have at least one gun and at least enough ammunition to make it useful."[7] Another Chicago Negro explained the attitude of the new Negro. "We are only defending ourselves against American prejudice."[8] This new element of forceful protest indicated not only a deep dissatisfaction with the workings of American democracy but implied as well a fierce determination to improve the status of the colored citizen.

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[6]Chicago Commission, Negro in Chicago, p. 1.

[7]Quoted in Chicago Commission, Negro in Chicago, p.47.

[8]Ibid.

The growth of bigotry and intolerance in America was stimulated by the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan. From beneath their burning crosses the hooded leaders of the Klan encouraged all true Americans to unite against Negroes, Roman Catholics, Jews, Orientals and all foreigners. The reaction against wartime internationalism soon enabled the Klan to thrive in areas where there had been little previous manifestation of racial bigotry. The Ku Klux Klan acted in such a way as to leave little doubt in Negro minds as to its determination to make the United States a white man's country. "We would not rob the colored population of their rights," announced a Klansman at one Konklave, "but we demand that they respect the rights of the white race in whose country they are permitted to reside."[9]

The war ended. The promised equality was not forthcoming even in the North, and certainly not in the South. Residential segregation and social ostracism characterized the Northern cities. With the government in control of the railroads, the Negro soldiers returned to find themselves herded into Jim Crow cars. Lynchers grew bolder, advertised their purposes in advance and had their photographs taken around the burning bodies of their victims.

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[9]Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 471.

It is not that hope died and the Negro fought back. The Crisis, the N.A.A.C.P. organ, lamented:

> "For three centuries we have suffered and cowered. No race ever gave passive resistance and submission to evil longer, more piteous trial. Today we raise the terrible weapon of self-defense. When the armed lynchers gather, we too must gather armed. When the mob moves, we propose to meet it with bricks and clubs and guns. . . ."[10]

Just as the race riots after the war helped to shake the faith of Negroes in their future as American citizens, so also the nocturnal activities of the Ku Klux Klan and its allies caused many colored citizens to doubt whether the Negro could ever hope to achieve equality of opportunity and treatment in the United States. The great hopes of the war years dissolved into bitter cynicism in the fact of the brutal realities of the post war situation.

The increased unrest among Negroes reflected itself in the Negro press. The Chicago Defender, Washington Bee, and Amsterdam News made the black man fully conscious of the inconsistency between American war aims to "make the world safe for democracy" and her treatment of this minority at home. It was also the

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[10] Crisis V (September, 1919), p. 231.

Negro press that made the northward migration into a Negro protest movement.[11]

The new militancy of the Negro press reflected a more immediate interest in its contents by the readers. Such young Negro socialists as Chandler Owen and A. Phillip Randolph started left-wing organs, among which were the Messenger, the Emancipator, the Challenge, and the Crusader. They preached labor solidarity across the race line, through alliance with radical white labor. Such periodicals were thought sufficiently dangerous to be cited in a 1919 Department of Justice report on Negro radicalism and sedition.[12]

By 1919 American Negroes were ready for any program that would tend to restore even a measure of their lost dignity and self-respect. Discontent with existing conditions was widespread, and the old "Uncle Tom" race leader was being replaced by more vigorous spokesmen, who spoke of equality in general rather than limited terms.

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[11]Gunnar Myrdal and al., An American Dilemma, (New York, 1944, 1962), p. 914. For further exposition on the role of the Negro press, cf., Frederick Detweiler, The Negro Press in the United States, (Chicago, 1922), and John G. Van Deusen, The Black Man in White America, (Washington, 1944), pp. 223-40.

[12]A. Mitchell Palmer, "Radicalism and Sedition Among the Negroes as Reflected in Their Publications," Exhibit 10 of Investigation Activities of Department of Justice, (Vol. XII of Senate Data) no. 153, 66th Cong., 1st sess., (1919), pp. 161-82.

prejudices, aspirations, and limited intellectual attainments of the black masses. The new belligerency did not necessarily mean that Negroes were ready to abandon their stake in American society, but it did call for a serious re-examination of the varied paths to race salvation and social justice.

In a new Northern environment, all of the clashing social philosophies and schools of thought which had agitated the Negro people since Emancipation took on new and re-vitalized meaning. These tendencies were divided into four classes: First, inter-racial conciliation, which attempted cultivation of the good-will of the white upper classes; second, civil libertarianism, which sought to remove all discrimination against Negroes and to guarantee them full social and political equality through legislation, court action and a propaganda of enlightenment; third, class consciousness and class unity, which postulated an identity of interest between the two races and through united action on the part of both, to overthrow the capitalist system; fourth, militant race consciousness, which held the interests of the two races were inevitably separate.[14]

However, the suspicious Negro lower class quickly rejected all but the latter tendency toward separation.[15]

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[14]Abram L. Harris and Sterline D. Spero, "Negro Problem," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, XI (1933), p. 346; Myrdal, American Dilemma, p. 778.

[15]Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 481.

Increased disillusionment led to increased isolation from the white community and inter-racial associations.

There was thus a mutual and inter-active causal relationship between segregated communities and ideologies and attitudes of withdrawal from the white world. On the one hand, white hostility led Negroes to regard the creation of their own institutions as either necessary or wise; on the other hand, these communities reinforced and perpetuated thinking favorable to group separation. As Meier noted, segregated institutions have appeared most desirable in the periods of greatest oppression and discouragement. It has been in such periods that this became the core of a dominant ideological orientation.[16] Thus the decade after the war served as an incubating period for the Negro group consciousness. For white Americans the 1920's were a period of low group morale as seen in the high rates of personal and social disorganization. For Negroes, however, group feeling and morale continued to rise. A leading sociologist noted white Ameria's reaction to the post-war era as that of isolationism and cynicism; Negro Americans reacted with radicalism and nationalism.[17]

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[16]August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915, (Ann Arbor, 1963), pp. 13-14.

[17]Arnold M. Rose, The Negro's Morale: Group Identification and Protest, (Minneapolis, 1949), p. 40.

The stress and strain of living in hostile urban communities created a state of mind psychologically prepared for Garvey. Marcus Moziah Garvey was born in northern Jamaica on August 17, 1887, of "black parents," as Garvey later proudly asserted.[18] While neither parent had much formal learning, Garvey's father was locally well-known for his private library and wide knowledge of current affairs. Young Marcus quickly adopted this paternal trait and sought education eagerly.[19]

During his teen years and early adulthood, Garvey held successive positions as a printer, small-town editor, and fledgling political organizer. Finally, in 1910, obtaining a job as a timekeeper with the United Fruit Company through the influence of his uncle, Garvey promptly lost it through agitation and concern for the plight of his fellow workers. The plight of the Negro field workers, many of them fellow-Jamaicans, only increased Garvey's determination to improve the lot of Negroes everywhere. After viewing conditions of Negro workers in Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela, he returned home to Jamaica, sick with fever and disillusionment over the treatment of the Negro peasant.[20]

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[18]Marcus Garvey, "The Negro's Greatest Enemy," Current History, XVIII (September, 1923), p. 951.

[19]E. David Cronon, Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, (Madison, 1955), p. 7.

[20]Ibid., pp. 13-15.

In 1912, Garvey visited London to learn what he could about the condition of Negroes in other parts of the far-flung British empire. Here he met the Egyptian author, Duse Mohammed Ali, publisher of the Africa Times and Orient Review. Through this association, meeting with African and West Indian students, African nationalists, sailors, and dock workers, and reading, he delved deeply into the conditions of Africans under colonial rule. In addition, he developed an interest in the United States. He was profoundly influenced through Booker T. Washington's autobiography, Up From Slavery in London:

> "I read Up From Slavery by Booker T. Washington, and then . . . . 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 make them'."[21]

In the summer of 1914, Garvey returned to Jamaica with a vision of uniting all the Negro peoples of the world into one great body to establish a country and a Government absolutely their own. He envisioned the coming of a new world of black men, not peons, serfs, dogs, or slaves, but "a nation of sturdy men making their impress upon civilization and causing a new light to dawn upon the human race."[22]

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[21] Marcus Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, (New York, 1923, 1926), II, p. 126.

[22] Ibid., p. 126.

On August 1, 1914, he established the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities' League with the motto: "One God! One Aim! One Destiny!" The preamble to the constitution of the new organization contained a strong appeal for universal brotherhood, but it indicated that the achievement of this goal must come through the concerted action of the Negro people of the world. In addition to its general program of race redemption, the U.N.I.A. had a definite plan of action for Negro betterment in Jamaica. The keystone of the local program was the establishment of educational and industrial colleges for Jamaican Negroes. This idea was borrowed from Booker T. Washington, whose Tuskegee Institute in Alabama had been the inspiration for so many ventures of this type.[23]

In the spring of 1915, Garvey decided to enlist the aid of American Negroes in support of his Jamaican program. Accordingly, he wrote to Washington in April, 1915, requesting permission to visit Washington and solicit his personal and financial aid. The Tuskegee educator agreed to meet Garvey. As Garvey made ready his travel plans in late 1915, Washington died suddenly, leaving Garvey no means of support when he arrived in New York on March 23, 1916.[24] The cold hand of Death also

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[23] Cronon, Black Moses, p. 18.

[24] Ibid., pp. 19-20.

deprived Garvey of his strongest hope for a favorable American reception.

At first disinterested Harlem Negroes laughed at the stocky black Jamaican whose big ideas on race redemption sounded strange midst the strident sounds of the teeming ghetto. Shunning the indifference of his as-yet unredeemed flock, Garvey visited thirty-eight states in 1916-1917 to study the condition of Negroes in America. After contact with the established Negro leaders, he was stunned "that they had no program, but were mere opportunists who were living off their so-called leadership while the poor people were groping in the dark."[25]

Back in Harlem Garvey found not only a mass of Negroes overshadowed by a hostile white world, but also a large number of West Indians isolated from the native American Negro population. Garvey, being a West Indian himself, turned to this group as a focal point for the establishment of his group. Accordingly in 1917, Garvey went ahead with his organizational plans and established the New York division of the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

After initial failure Garvey made a new start and by December, 1917, claimed to have an organization counting 1,500 members.[26] One of the important reasons for Garvey's

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[25] Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 128.

[26] Ibid.

amazing success in the rapid organization of the Negro masses was his establishment in January, 1918, of the Negro World, the literary organ of the U.N.I.A. Bold in conception, and remarkable for a Negro, it was one of the "best edited colored weeklies in New York," according to Claude McKay, a frequent Garvey critic.[27] Within a year the Negro World became one of the leading Negro weeklies, and thus became an effective instrument of Garvey's propaganda. The paper was priced within the low-income range of Garvey's followers and generally sold for five cents in New York, seven cents elsewhere in the United States, and ten cents in foreign countries. Certain sections of the Negro World were printed in French and Spanish for the benefit of those West Indian and Central American Negroes who could not read the English language.[28] The circulation of the paper has been variously estimated at from 60,000 to 200,000 during its most prosperous years.[29] In its fifteen year publication life, from 1918 through 1933, the paper was a potent force among Negroes in America and its influence extended far beyond American shores.

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[27]Claude McKay, Harlem: Negro Metropolis, (New York, 1930), pp. 140-141.

[28]Cronon, op.cit., pp. 46-49.

[29]Arna M. Bontemps and Jack Conroy, They Seek a City, (New York, 1945), p. 168.

During 1919 and 1920 the Universal Negro Improvement Association enjoyed a remarkable growth. Garvey traveled extensively throughout the United States and established branches of the association in the most urban centers of Negro population. Attempting to broaden the appeal of the movement, Garvey made every effort to interest Negroes in the West Indies and Central America in his ideas. By the middle of 1919, Garvey was making exorbitant claim to more than two million members and thirty branches.[30] Granting the dubiety of Garvey's figures, there was no doubt that large numbers of Negroes were listening to the fat, little black man whose persuasive words seemed to show the way to race deliverance.

The New York Times' account of a typical Garvey meeting showed his special knack for the dramatic. At a meeting of the Garvey legions, the Negroes

> ". . . for two hours were worked up to a high pitch of enthusiasm by a quartet, soloist, and a band. Then Marcus Garvey, President-General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and leader in the movement to free Africa, stepped to the platform, clad in cap and gown of purple, green, and gold. Five minutes passed before he could raise his voice. . ."[31]

By 1921, the Times reported him as "a leader of American Negroes."[32] For the first time in the long bitter centuries

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[30]Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 129.

[31]New York Times, August 3, 1920.

[32]New York Times, March 27, 1921.

since their ancestors had left Africa in chains, masses of Negroes in the United States and elsewhere in the New World were glorifying in their color. Garveyism had suddenly emerged as a movement of world significance, with a spiritual power that reached down into the colored peoples of the world and swept them along on the currents of a potent racism. "Up you mighty race," Garvey commanded, "you can accomplish what you will," and the Negro people responded with an enthusiasm born of centuries of frustration and despair.[33]

The arrogant black man from Jamaica had risen rapidly in five short years. Garvey had risen from an ignored foreigner with greater debts than hopes in 1916, to the leadership of a far-flung empire in 1921. Garveyism as a social movement reflecting as it did, the hopes and aspirations of a substantial section of the Negro world, is best seen through a consideration of the ideas of its founder and leader. These ideas contain the key to Garvey's remarkable success.

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[33]Claude McKay, Harlem: Negro Metropolis, (New York, 1940), p. 154.

CHAPTER IV

GARVEYISM: PHILOSOPHY AND SIGNIFICANCE

The basis of Marcus Garvey's racial philosophy was Africa, the Negro homeland. In spite of the substantial but largely unrecognized contribution of African slaves in the building of a New World civilization, their life of slavery under white masters had erased their African culture and torn down their traditional and personal self respect. "God Almighty created us all to be free," noted Garvey. "That the Negro race became a race of slaves was not the fault of God Almighty, . . . it was the fault of the white race. . ."[1]

To Garvey it seemed that a redemption of the Negroes of the world must come only through the Negro's shattered racial pride and the restoration of a truly Negro culture. Negroes

> ". . . .were determined to solve their own problem by redeeming our Motherland Africa from the hands of alien exploiters and found there a government, a nation of our own, strong enough to lend protection to members of our own race scattered all over the world, and to compel the respect of the nations and races of the earth. . . ."[2]

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[1]Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, I, p. 37.

[2]Op. cit., p. 52.

Race pride and African nationalism were inextricably woven together in the Garvey philosophy. Therefore the program of the Universal Negro Improvement Association centered around these two complementary objectives.

Garvey's success lay in the kinetic appeal of these twin goals for millions of Negroes throughout the world. Garvey told his followers what they most wanted to hear. E. Franklin Frazier has said he made them "feel like somebody among white people who have said they were nobody."[3] Because of this direct, non-intellectual appeal to personal worth, Frazier, a fierce opponant of Garvey, was forced to conclude that Garvey had "the distinction of inaugurating the first real mass movement among Negroes."[4]

Coming at a time when Negroes generally had so little of which to be proud, Garvey's appeal to race pride quite naturally stirred a powerful response in the hearts of his eager black listeners. A generation after Garvey's fall Powell noted how Garvey combined all of the lower-class Negroe's former attitudes--escape from reality, religious fervor, and sorrow songs, and wove them together into a dazzling pattern, crying out to the submerged blacks, "Any Negro is better than every white."[5] "I am

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[4]B. Franklin Frazier, "Garvey, A Mass Leader," Nation CXXXIII (August 18, 1926), p. 148.

[5]Adam Clayton Powell, Marching Blacks, (New York, 1945), p. 50.

[6]Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, I, p. 9.

the equal of any white man," Garvey told his followers, "I want you to feel the same way." "We have come now to the turning point of the Negro," he declared with calm reserve, "where we have changed from the old cringing weakling and transformed into full grown men, demanding our portion as MEN."[6]

Garvey felt strongly that only through concerted action could the Negro achieve any betterment of his lowly status. Thus he advocated economic cooperation through racial solidarity. The redemption of Africa first required economic strength for America's Negroes. Between 1920 and 1924, he established a Black Star Steamship Company, (which included four ill-fated ships) and the Negro Factory Corporation. Garvey sent to the Republic of Liberia a commercial and industrial mission which consisted of fifteen technicians. These enterprises were complete failures because of incompetence, complete mismanagement, and other difficulties.[7]

In order to indicate how his philosophy differed from that of previous race leaders, Garvey noted that:

> "If Washington had lived he would have had to change his program. No leader can successfully lead this race of ours without giving an interpretation of the awakened spirit of the New Negro, who does not seek industrial opportunity alone, but a political voice. . . ."[8]

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[6]Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, I, p. 9.

[7]For detailed explanation of the Garvey business ventures, see Cronon, Black Moses, pp. 73-137.

[8]Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, I, p. 57.

Create a strong Negro nation, Garvey said in essence, and never more will you fear oppression at the hands of other races. Garvey sought to weld the Negro people into a racially conscious, united group for effective mass action. Outsiders might joke or scoff at some of the antics of the various Garvey organizations, their serious members ludicrous with high-toned titles and elaborate uniforms, but the importance of this aspect of the movement in restoring the all but shattered Negro self-confidence should not be overlooked.

Garvey exalted everything black and urged Negroes to be proud of their distinctive features and color. Negroid characteristics were not shameful marks of inferiority to be camouflaged and altered; they were rather symbols of beauty and grace. "Everybody knows that there is absolutely no difference between the native African and the American and West Indian Negroes in that we descended from one common family stock," observed the Jamaican leader.[9] Uniting this racial chauvinism with appeals to the Deity gave strong emotional support to his argument. In an Easter morning address Garvey reminded his flock ". . . . that the God we know, the God we love . . . . never created an inferior man. The God that you worship is a God that expects you to be the equal of other men. . . ."[10]

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[9]Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, I, pp. 70-71.

[10]Ibid., I, p. 89.

One of the methods used by Garvey to build up a sense of pride in the Negro heritage was his constant reference to the exploits of Negro heroes and to the land from which the race had come. He angrily accused white scholars of distorting Negro history to make it unfavorable to colored people. "Every student of history, of impartial mind," Garvey taught, "knows the Negro once ruled the world, when white men were savages and barbarians living in caves; that thousands of Negro professors . . . taught in the universities in Alexandria." The inspired Negro audiences sat in Liberty Hall, Garvey's Harlem headquarters, and delighted while Garvey retold tales of a creative black civilization at a time when white men were nothing:

> "When Europe was inhabited by a race of cannibals, a race of savages, . . . Africa was peopled with a race of cultured black men who were masters in art, literature, and science; men who were cultured and refined; men who, it was said, like the gods. . . . . Why, then, should we lose hope? Black men, you were once great; you shall be great again. Lose not courage, lose not faith, go forward. The thing to do is to get organized. . . ."[12]

This type of appeal was rightly characterized by a contemporary observer as a "mental relaxation for the long-submerged Negro peasantry."[13] In the Garvey system, not only were white men of a low breed, far below their

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[12] Ibid., I, p. 77.

[13] Charles S. Johnson, "After Garvey: What?", Opportunity, I, (August, 1923), p. 232.

darker brothers, but the time had come to tell the world about the great heroes of Negro history. "Negroes, teach your children that they are the direct descendants of the greatest and proudest race who ever peopled the earth," pleaded the intense little Jamaican.[14] The history of the Negro people had produced eminent men who had accomplished notable achievements:

> "Sojourner Truth is worthy of the place of sainthood alongside of Joan of Arc; Crispus Attucks and George William Gordon are entitled to the habit of martyrdom with no less glory than that of the martyrs of any other race. Toussaint L'Ouvertures' brilliance as a soldier and statesman outshone that of a Cromwell, Napoleon, and Washington, hence he is entitled to the highest place as a hero among men."[15]

The Garvey historical examination might not be as critical as more objective scholars would seek, but it did act as a massive dose of helium to the nationalism now beginning to throb in Negro hearts.

Along with the emphasis on the reborn Negro pride in the glorious past and distinctive color of the race went a re-orientation in religion as well. Garvey associated Negro inferiority to the white man with the Negro's worship of a white God. Garvey's extreme racial nationalism demanded fulfillment in a truly Negro religion. The new Negro religion would seek to be true to the

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[14] Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 82.

[15] Ibid., p. 415.

principles of Christianity without the shameful hypocrisy of the white churches.[16] The new religion was to be modelled on the traditionally ritualistic Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church. To implement the black religion, Garvey called upon the Reverend George Alexander McGuire, a former Episcopalian priest. McGuire left his pulpit in 1920 and became Chaplain General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Probably because Garvey had been brought up a Roman Catholic and McGuire had been formerly associated with the Episcopalian Church, the ritual of the new black religion followed much the same pattern as the liturgy of these two churches.[17]

The new Negro religion would seek to be true to the principles of Christianity without having to accept the shameful hypocrisy of the white churches. Garvey himself urged Negroes to adopt their own religion that would show Christ "with God as a Being, not as a Creature, made in our own image--black."[18] McGuire later became the first Primate of Garvey's African Orthodox Church. He also served to justify Garvey's acts when the Jamaican leader fell upon evil days.

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[16]Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, I, p. 27.

[17]Cronon, Black Moses, p. 178.

[18]Quoted in Truman H. Talley, "Marcus Garvey: The Negro Moses?" World's Work, XLI, p. 165; "A Black Moses and His Dream of a Promised Land," Current Opinion, LXX, p. 330.

By 1924, the leaders of the black religion openly demanded that Negroes worship a Negro Christ. During a parade of U.N.I.A. members, the Garveyites marched under a large portrait of a black Madonna and Child.[19] The white press' attention was aroused when Bishop McGuire advised Negroes to name the day when all members of the race would tear down and burn any pictures of the white Madonna and the white Christ found in their homes. "Then let us start our Negro painters getting busy," cried the Bishop, "and supply a black Madonna and a black Christ for the training of our children."[20] Bishop McGuire gave added weight to his speech by addressing the crowd beneath an oil painting that clearly portrayed the type of Madonna and Child he had envisioned.[21]

Bishop McGuire told of an aged Negro woman who had gratefully offered her African Orthodox pastor five dollars for telling her of the black Christ, because she knew "that no white man would ever die on the cross for me." Taking his cue from the old woman's statement, McGuire declared that Christ had actually been a reddish brown in color; he further predicted that if the Saviour were to visit New York, he would have to go to Harlem, "because all the darker people live here in Harlem."[22]

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[19]Cronon, op.cit., p. 178.

[20]"Garvey", Opportunity, II, (Sept. 1924), pp. 284-285.

[21]New York Times, August 6, 1924.

[22]Ibid.

The response to a call for an all-black religion was mostly negative. Except for an insignificant handful of converts to the African Orthodox Church, the regular Negro clergy firmly rejected the new black religion, and it has been estimated that as many as four out of five American Negro preachers were opposed to the concept of a black God.[23] A. Phillip Randolph's explanation that Negro preachers opposed the new African Orthodox Church out of fear that they would lose their following was generally believed. He also stated that since Negro congregations had grown up conditioned to belief in a white God, they had accepted a Christian religion fashioned and proselytized by white men.[24]

Unwittingly Garvey demonstrated a keen awareness of social psychology when he used a black God of Israel to stimulate racial nationalism among the Negro masses. An eminent Negro sociologist has summed up perhaps better than anyone else Garvey's shrewd awareness of the spiritual needs of his followers. "The intellectual can laugh, if he will," wrote E. Franklin Frazier of the black God, "but let him not forget the pragmatic value of such a

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[23]Truman H. Talley, "Marcus Garvey: The Negro Moses?" World's Work, XLI, (December, 1920), p. 165; "Black Moses and His Dream," Current Opinion, LXX (March, 1921), p. 330.

[24]Quoted from Cronon, Black Moses, p. 182.

symbol among the type of people Garvey was dealing with."[25]

Much more important in the stimulation of black nationalism was the U.N.I.A. program to lead Negroes back to their African homeland. A great independent African nation was the essential ingredient in the Garvey recipe for race redemption and he was earnestly convinced that Negroes needed the dark continent to achieve their destiny as a great people. The concept of a "back-to-Africa" move by Negroes had long been of interest. Negro emigration from the United States was first sponsored in 1815 by Paul Cuffee, a New England Negro sailor who had attained some wealth. In that year he had sent thirty-eight Negro colonists to Africa. His action is believed to have inspired the formation of the American Colonization Society in 1816.[26]

After the Civil War, as before, the "Back-to-Africa" movement was strenuously opposed by leading Negro politicians, but it never lost its attractions. Up to the

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[25]Frazier in Opportunity, IV, p. 347.
E. U. Essien-Udom, Black Nationalism: A Search for an Identity in America, (Chicago, 1962), p. 32.

[26]For an account of the leadership of the American Colonization Society, see P. J. Staudenraus, The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1868, (New York, Columbia University Press), p. 1961.

time of Garvey, emigration schemes to Africa had at least some support. Dr. Albert Thorne, a free Negro and Barbadian by birth, attempted from 1897 to the 1920's to launch a movement in America for the Negro colonization of Central Africa. A contemporary of Thorne, African Methodist Episcopal Church Bishop Henry M. Turner, also passionately urged Negro Americans that African emigration was their only way to salvation.[27] Garvey's recurrent call for such a return fell on ears already accustomed to such pleas.

Garvey's passionate interest in Africa was a logical development of his firm conviction that Negroes could expect no lasting progress in a land dominated by a different race.[28] When Garvey spoke of discrimination, he touched a subject painfully familiar to every Negro:

> "If you cannot live alongside the white man in peace, if you cannot get the same chance and opportunity alongside the white man, even though you are a fellow citizen; if he claims that you are not entitled to this chance or opportunity because the country is his by force of numbers, then find a country of your own and rise to the highest position within that country."[29]

Only when Negroes could compel respect and justice through this connection with a strong Negro government would the opinion of the race be secure.

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[27]George Shepperson,"Notes on Negro American Influences in the Emergence of African Nationalism," Journal of African History, I (1960), pp. 300, 302.

[28]Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 3,40,46,49,97.

[29]Rollin Lynde Hartt, "The Negro Moses and His Campaign to Lead the Black Millions Into Their Promised Land," Independent, CY (February 26, 1921), p. 206.

Garvey's plain abdication of Negro rights in America quickly brought him the public support of such white supremacy groups as the Ku Klux Klan and the Anglo-Saxon Clubs, both of which flourished in the post-war years. Garvey's second volume of Philosophy and Opinions carried advertised support for Major Earnest Sexier-Cox's White America, a racist work favoring race separation. Garvey expressed admiration for men like Cox because of "their honesty and lack of hypocrisy" in openly working to maintain the power of the white race.[30]

"Lynching and race riots," said Garvey, with reference to the racial blood baths of the post-war era, "all work to our advantage by teaching the Negro that he must build a civilization of his own or forever remain the white man's victim."[31] In 1922 Garvey announced his public support of the Ku Klux Klan; an alliance suggested by his stated beliefs. "The Ku Klux Klan is going to make this a white man's country," he asserted in acknowledging their rising influence. "They are perfectly honest and frank about it. Fighting them is not going to get you anywhere."[32]

The main reason that Garvey and his organization were acceptable to the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacy

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[30]Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 338.

[31]Quoted by Hartt in Independent, CV, p. 219.

[32]New York Times, July 10, 1922.

groups was that the U.N.I.A. leader preached race purity to his followers. He commanded that race amalgamation must cease forthwith, warning that any member of the Universal Negro Improvement Association who married a white would be ejected from the group.[33] Not only did he advocate race purity, but as a Jamaican black he attempted to transfer the West Indian three-way color caste system to the United States by attacking mulatto leaders.

Jamaican white leaders had successfully used the mulatto class in that country as a political and social buffer against the majority which were black in color. Hence, Garvey, being of the latter shade, attacked lighter-skinned Negroes, who, he said, were always seeking "excuses to get out of the Negro race,"[34] and castigated the Negro leadership class of the time as:

> ". . . . a group that hates the Negro blood in its veins, and that has been working subtly to build up a caste aristocracy that would socially divide the race into two groups: one the superior, because of color caste, and the other, the inferior."[35]

The average Negro leader, Garvey said, sought to establish himself as "the pet of some philanthropist of another race,

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[33]Hart in Independent, CV, p. 219.

[34]Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, I, p. 6.

[35]Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, I, p. 57.

"thereby selling out the interests of his own people."[36]

In Garvey's vocabulary, as in that of most southern whites, social equality meant "the social intermingling of both races, intermarriages, and general co-relationship."[37] Believing that such intermingling would inevitably lead to destruction of race purity, Garvey directed a constant stream of abuse against Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois of the N.A.A.C.P, for his efforts on behalf of Negro social and political equality.[38] At least part of the animosity between the two men was the fact that the urbane editor of the Crisis possessed an excellent formal education of the sort Garvey had desired but had never obtained.

E. Franklin Frazier suggested that Garvey "constantly directed the animosity of his followers against Negro intellectuals because of his own lack of formal learning," an assertion concurred in E. David Cronon, Garvey's lone biographer. Cronon observed that throughout his life Garvey yearned to be considered a learned man. He cited Garvey's florid style of writing, his fondness for appearing in academic apparel, and his use of the initials "D. C. L." as crude attempts to

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[36] Ibid., pp. 29-30.

[37] Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 3.

[38] See ibid., pp. 39, 57, 86, and 324-25.

compensate for his educational disadvantages.[39]

So intent was Garvey on the goal of complete racial compartmentalization that he went so far as to warn individual whites of the danger of allowing Negroes to become elected officials, artisans, or skilled laborers while white workers were unemployed. Such ill-advised opportunities for Negroes, he believed, would only lead to "bloody . . . wholesale mob violence."[40] Garvey thus preferred that Negroes should create their own economic opportunities through such enterprises as the Black Star Line and the Negro Factories Corporation. These two Negro owned business ventures, established between 1920 and 1924 were set up expressly to prevent Negroes begging for employment from whites.

Rather than seek an alliance with white workers, Garvey told Negroes that the white employer was their best friend until such time when the race had escaped economic dependence.[41] Garvey's solution for the black worker, therefore, was to "keep his scale of wage a little lower than the whites, and thereby keeping the good-will of the white employer," all the while hoarding Negro resources so that the race could become economically free later.[42]

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[39]Frazier in Opportunity, IV, p. 346.
E. David Cronon, Black Moses, (Madison, 1955), p.8.

[40]Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 413.

[41]Ralph J. Bunche, "Programs, Ideologies, Tactics, and Achievements," p. 412.

[42]Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, II, pp. 69-70.

Similarly, Garvey refused to have any connection with socialism and communism. He felt that these leftist movements, although pretending aid to the Negro, were inherently evil because of their white domination. The U.N.I.A. suspected that for all his fine talk the Communist would just as quickly join a lynch mob as would the less radical white citizen, and consequently he believed that communism must first prove itself as a new reform movement before the Negro could safely accept it.[43]

The Universal Negro Improvement Association, far from being oriented to the left, may be classified as a movement of the far right. Its intense nationalism and narrow racial outlook had little association with interracial groups seeking to destroy the barriers between men and nations. Certainly the U.N.I.A. of Marcus Garvey had fascist tendencies. Garvey repeatedly spoke of a democratic African republic, but it strains the imagination to picture him in such a government. Much more likely would have been a black empire with Garvey at its head. Garvey once said, "Liberty and true Democracy means that if one man can be the President, King, Premier, or Chancellor of a country, then the other fellow can be the same also."[44]

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[43]Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, II, p. 70.

[44]As Quoted from Cronon, Black Moses, p. 199.

Arnold Rose in his study, The Negro Morale, has pointed out the similarity of the Jewish Zionism of Theodor Herzl and the black nationalism of Marcus Garvey. Both adopted a chauvinistic, even religious nationalism, and both sought support from those groups most hostile to their own minority group.[45]

Marcus Garvey's philosophy of race relations was completely colored by his firm belief that it was hopeless for the Negro to seek to better his condition in a country controlled by an alien, hostile race. Garvey willingly relinquished Negro rights in America for the right to erect a black kingdom in Africa. His enthusiasm for the projected black state drove him to cooperate with the most reactionary and anti-Negro groups in the United States.

Demagogue he most certainly was, but his motives were much more complex than this. Garvey was determined to help his suffering people, and his devotion often led him to act in a way incomprehensible to American-born Negroes.

Marcus Garvey's success in capturing the imagination of the black masses cannot be ignored by the thoughtful student of Negro history. Certainly few would disagree with the U.N.I.A. member who once exclaimed, "Marcus Garvey opened windows in the minds of Negroes!"[46] Yet it

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[45]Arnold Rose, The Negro's Morale, (Minneapolis, 1949), pp. 43-44.

[46]Roi Ottley, "New World A' Coming", Inside Black America, (Boston, 1943), p. 81.

is just as true, unhappily, as Ralph Bunche has noted, that "when the curtain dropped on the Garvey theatricals, the black man of America was exactly where Garvey had found him, though a little sadder, perhaps a little bit poorer--if not wiser."[47]

Although the years 1920-1921 marked the peak of the Garvey movement, the seeds of decline were already being sown. To inaugurate his Black Star Line, Garvey, in 1920 and 1921, had invested several million dollars in collected revenues for the purchase of four steamship lines. The ships were later found to be old and unseaworthy. There was then plausible evidence to the effect that Garvey had used the mails to defraud his followers. Therefore, through exposure of this evidence to the national Attorney General, Marcus Garvey was indicted and brought to trial in May, 1923.[48] With the collapse of the Black Star Lines' credit, Du Bois, Garvey's old enemy, wrote sympathetically, ". . . Here then is the final collapse of the only thing in the Garvey movement which was original or promising."[49]

The trial lasted from May to July, 1923, and resulted in Garvey's conviction and sentence to five years in

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[47]Bunche "Programs, Ideologies, Tactics, and Achievements," p. 412; also quoted in Myrdal, p. 748.

[48]Cronon, Black Moses, p. 118.

[49]Quoted from Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p.482.

Atlanta Penitentiary. After an unsuccessful appeal to the United States Supreme Court, Garvey commenced his prison sentence in 1925. President Calvin Coolidge, under heavy pressure from Garveyites, pardoned Garvey in December, 1927. Cronon suggests the the U.N.I.A.'s political support of the Republican ticket may have been influential in the President's decision.[50]

Garvey's freedom was brief, however. Since he was not an American citizen and had been convicted of a felony, United States immigration laws required his immediate deportation. Garvey was deported back to Kingston, Jamaica, in early December, 1927. The dark "Elijah" had left his place of labor by a different conveyance than his spiritual counterpart.

Garvey spent his later years attempting to revive his faltering movement. The years 1928-1929 were spent opening branch offices of the U.N.I.A. in Paris and London. The pudgy little Jamaican's appeals fell on deaf ears. In London, for example, Garvey rented the sprawling Royal Albert Hall, a building which seated ten thousand people. Only a few score listeners, half of them Negroes, turned up on the evening of June 6, 1928, to listen to the U.N.I.A. founder expound his racial philosophy.[51]

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[50] Cronon, Black Moses, p. 142.

[51] Ibid., p. 146.

The decade of the thirties was an era of obscurity for the pudgy black man whose bold dreams had once captured the attention of millions and whose activities had excited the anxious interests of governments. Garvey worked tirelessly to maintain and rebuild the membership in the scattered divisions of the U.N.I.A., but cut off as he was from direct contact with his greatest source of support, the American Negroes, he found his once mighty organization disintegrating into impotency. On June 10, 1940, after successive attacks of pneumonia, asthma, and two heart attacks, the U.N.I.A. chief breathed his last in London.

In 1919, the year Garvey had first begun to attract notice in the United States, Walter Lippmann concluded that Americans would have to work out a civilization where "no Negro need dream of a white heaven and of bleached angels." "Pride of race will come to the Negro when a dark skin is no longer associated with poverty, ignorance, misery, terror and insult," Lippmann declared. "When this pride arises every white man in America will be happier for it. He will be able, then, as he is not now, to enjoy the finest quality of civilized living--the fellowship of different men."[52]

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[52]Walter Lippmann's Introduction in Carl Sandburg, The Chicago Race Riots, (New York, 1919), p. iv.

The creation of a powerful feeling of race pride was perhaps Garvey's greatest and most lasting contribution to the American race scene. Garvey's work and with it, many of the more spectacular yet ephemeral aspects of his colorful movement, have passed into history's judgment, but the awakened spirit of Negro pride he so actively espoused remains an important legacy to the millions he led.

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