A New Look on the
New Negroes

An Analysis of the "Garvey Must Go" Campaign, 1917-1923

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Introduction

When Marcus Mosiah Garvey arrived in the United States in 1916 to go on a year-long speaking tour for his Jamaican Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), no one expected that the young Jamaican boy was about to establish himself as one of the main figures of the Harlem Renaissance. Starting out on soapboxes in the Harlem neighborhood, Garvey gained enough attention to start a New York chapter of the UNIA in 1917. Because Garvey was bitter about the future of African Americans in the United States, he voiced an ideology of black nationalism that was focused on African redemption. This philosophy together with his views on race pride and black self-help spoke to many African Americans. As a result the association soon grew into a worldwide organization with estimates of five to eleven million members.[1] There were 836 chapters of the UNIA in the United States alone, of which the Harlem division became the most prominent.

At the end of the 1910s Garvey had developed himself into one of Harlem's most controversial figures. His monthly black pride parades, Black Star Line steamship undertaking, alliance with the Ku Klux Klan and emperor-like ruling of the UNIA were just a few of the many reasons why black radicals as well as white politicians watched Garvey closely. Among Garvey's bitterest critics were Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph, editors of the black socialist magazine the *Messenger*. Although their criticism was first focused on Garvey's nationalist ideology, the editors of the *Messenger* soon saw Garvey's persona as shameful for the black race. Moreover, Garvey had something that the editors wanted for their own organization: an extremely large following among the black population.[2]

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[1] Rupert Lewis, *Marcus Garvey* (Jamaica: The University of the West Indies Press, 2018), 35.
[2] Theodore Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair: Black Life and the Messenger, 1917-1928* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1975), 150.

When the Bureau of Investigation started a case against Marcus Garvey for charges of mail fraud in 1922, the Friends of Negro Freedom organization (FNF), established by Owen and Randolph, grabbed its chance. The group voiced its growing discontent with Garvey in the "Garvey Must Go" campaign and used the pages of the *Messenger* to articulate this criticism. Marcus Garvey was a menace to the African American people, the group argued, and should be deported to Jamaica. After months of campaigning by the FNF, Marcus Garvey was eventually tried and convicted in 1923. He was bailed out of prison a couple of months later, but a failed appeal in 1925 meant that he was incarcerated again. In 1927, after extensive lobbying by Garvey's followers, Garvey's sentence was commuted by president Coolidge. Garvey was released, but because of immigration laws, he was deported back to Jamaica.[3]

This thesis examines the role of the *Messenger* and the "Garvey Must Go" campaign in Garvey's incarceration and deportation. More in particular, it discusses the development of the campaign and its effect on the New Negro movement, the group of radical activists which Garvey, Randolph and Owen took part in. Whereas much is known about the ideological differences between these activists, less attention has been given to the role of interpersonal relationships during this period, which will be the key focus of this research.

The New Negro movement was active during the Harlem Renaissance. This period, beginning in the late 1910s and lasting until the early 1930s, was a culmination of artistic and intellectual creativity that gave Harlem the name "capital of the black world."[4] The neighborhood's transformation can be placed in the first waves of the Great Migration that happened from 1910 until 1930. While the agricultural crisis and the horrifying Jim Crow

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[3] E. David Cronon, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association,* rev. ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 142.

[4] Nathan Irvin Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance*, rev. ed. (1971; repr., New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 26.

system created push factors for African Americans to leave the South, U.S. involvement in the First World War created a labor-driven pull force towards the North. This mobilization meant that Harlem's population increased by 23,000 residents from 1914 to 1920.[5] The full tenements and the tight community that established as a result, created a fruitful environment for creativity and activism.

What, exactly, made this period so special? When discussing the Harlem Renaissance, Christopher Lebron writes that "what made the Renaissance distinctive and urgent is that for the first time in black history, it seemed to represent something of a collective epoch, an insurgent era, marked by the promise of a reinvigorated effort to redefine black creative life and to reassert black civic presence."[6] The spirit of the Harlem Renaissance was defined by the idea of the "New Negro," which developed in the wake of World War I. Black soldiers returned from the war with a new sense of self-confidence since they had experienced relative freedom and less racism during their time in Europe. They had protected democracy abroad and now demanded to live as full citizens in the United States.[7] The idea of the New Negro was further popularized by the work of Alain Locke, who tried to capture the spirit of the time in his 1925 essay "The New Negro." As Locke summarized the incentive of the movement, "the Negro today wishes to be known for what he is, even in his faults and shortcomings, and scorns a craven and precarious survival of seeming to be what he is not."[8]

Strictly taken, this New Negro movement can be divided in two different branches. Whereas culturalist New Negroes believed that black arts would provide the solution to racial oppression, political New Negroes, such as Garvey, Randolph and Owen, sought to achieve

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[5] Jeffrey B. Perry, *Hubert Harrison: The Voice of Harlem Radicalism, 1883-1918* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 282.

[6] Christopher J. Lebron, *The Making of Black Lives Matter: A Brief History of an Idea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 37.

[7] Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance*, 54.

[8] Alain Locke, "The New Negro," in *The New Negro, Voices of the Harlem Renaissance,* ed. Alain Locke (New York: Touchstone, 1922), 11, quoted in LeBron, *The Making of Black Lives Matter, 43*.

social equality through immediate reform of the existing political systems and were defined by their radicalism.[9] They were portrayed as "educated, radical, and fearless," "uncompromising," and their tactics were "not defensive but offensive."[10] Armed self-defense and active resistance against the military draft, as well as internationalism and economic self-help were some of the ideas that brought these political activists together. Moreover, the political New Negroes rebelled against what they described as the "Old Negro."[11] W.E.B. Du Bois, with his assimilationist beliefs, as well as Booker T. Washington, who became known for his accommodationism, were seen as the leading examples of this old ideology. The division between the Old Negro and the New Negro was one of the main factors that defined black activism and leadership during the end of the 1910s and the beginning of the 1920s.

Although they were bound by their radicalism, scholars agree that the New Negroes in general supported either nationalist or socialist ideology. The socialist group, also known as those who put "class first," believed that black oppression had a basis in economic inequality, with white capitalist employers using racism to divide the working class and exploit their black workers to the fullest.[12] Therefore, if the working class, both black and white, continued to struggle economically, racial animosities would never come to an end. Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph gained popularity as the most prominent New Negro socialists of the time. The black nationalist or "race first" ideology, on the other hand, was based on the idea that racial "prejudice exerted against a group makes no discrimination between the members of a group."[13] Although many black Americans did experience economic inequality, this was not

[9] Ernest Allen Jr., "The New Negro: Explorations in Identity and Social Consciousness, 1910-1922," in *1915: The Cultural Moment*, eds. Adele Heller and Lois Rudnick (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 52.
[10] A. Philip Randolph, "A New Crowd - A New Negro," *Messenger*, June 1919, 27.
[11] Perry, *Hubert Harrison*, 282.
[12] Allen Jr., "The New Negro," 52.
[13] Wilfred A. Domingo, "Race First Versus Class First," *Emancipator*, April 3, 1920, quoted in Clifton C. Hawkins, " 'Race First Versus Class First': An Intellectual History of African American Radicalism, 1911-1928" (PhD diss., University of California Davis, 2000), 277.

seen as the decisive cause of racism. Nationalists argued that African Americans in all layers of society were oppressed by the white majority in a cultural, political and social sense.[14] The development of a black racial identity, with racial self-help and Pan-Africanism as its core values, would serve to overcome white supremacy and achieve social equality. Marcus Garvey became the New Negroes' most famous black nationalist.

In addition to their different ideologies, New Negroes also had different views on the organizational structure of their associations. Tony Martin in *Race First* calls this the division between integrationism and separatism. The integrationists, such as Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph, sought racial cooperation and frequently accepted help from white philanthropists and activists. Separatist New Negroes, on the other hand, argued that black integration into predominantly white America would never be possible and aimed to keep their organizations "exclusively black."[15] These ideological and organizational differences fueled heated debates in the streets of Harlem. Moreover, the radicals did not hesitate to publicly criticize each other, often using their magazines, like the *Messenger* (Randolph and Owen) and the *Negro World* (Garvey), as a channel to do so.

Although the New Negro activists promised radical change and improvement for African Americans in the United States, many of their efforts failed. Garvey, after his deportation to Jamaica, unsuccessfully tried to regain leadership of the UNIA. Far away from U.S. territory, Garvey faced difficulties in both communicating with local chapters and receiving financial support from them.[16] Although the organization did not cease to exist until 1936, the UNIA as Garvey had founded it was gone. Meanwhile, the *Messenger* changed into a general-interest magazine shortly after Garvey's incarceration, lost its radical allure, and

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[14] Hawkins, " 'Race First Versus Class First,' " 239.

[15] Tony Martin, *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976), 274.

[16] Colin Grant, *Negro with a Hat: The Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey* (London: Vintage Publishing, 2009), 432.

ultimately became a journal for Randolph's organization the Brotherhood of the Sleeping Car Porters. Both the *Messenger* and the UNIA were affected by the aftermath of the "Garvey Must Go" campaign in this way and never regained their radical spirit.

Garvey, Randolph and Owen are just a few of the many activists of the New Negro movement who did not succeed in improving black life. Increasingly, scholars have focused on the reasons behind this. Some of the academic literature discusses the effectiveness of the separate ideologies of the movement for racial progression. In *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought,* for example, Dean E. Robinson places the New Negro activists in the larger history of black nationalism.[17] Robinson argues that nationalism, as an ideology, involuntarily contributes to racism since it highlights the differences between black and white people and advocates the need for separate economic and political development. In this way, New Negro nationalism only confirmed the existing beliefs of white Americans about black people, and consequently lacked the power to change American society. Although this book gives a detailed overview of the specific forms of black nationalism and its peculiarities, Robinson's theory does not clarify why integrationist activists, such as Randolph and Owen, also failed to be successful.

In a similar manner to Robinson, Barbara Foley in *Specters of 1919: Class and Nation in the Making of the New Negro* questions the effectiveness of black nationalism as a means to emancipation, and even calls it the "Achilles heel of twentieth century mass movements for liberation."[18] In her analysis Foley also includes the role of the socialists and argues that their failure to adequately criticize and oppose black nationalism frustrated the revolutionary effect of the New Negro Movement movement. However, Foley lacks to mention several instances

[17] Dean E. Robinson, *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
[18] Barbara Foley, *Spectres of 1919: Class and Nation in the Making of the New Negro* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), viii.

when socialists were very condemning of black nationalists. The feud between the *Messenger* and Garvey, for example, is barely mentioned in the book.

There are also some scholars who place the responsibility for the failure of the New Negro movement on white Americans. In *Harlem Renaissance,* Nathan Huggins provides a detailed and interdisciplinary overview of the existing black activism of that time, and tries to offer insight in how this period was of great importance for the cultural and political development of the United States as a whole. More specifically, Huggins aims to proof the interdependence of black and white American culture.[19] In this context, Huggins blames the failure of the movement mainly on the fact that white politicians could not be convinced of the necessity of the black vote.[20] This left black Americans, including radical leaders, without any political agency or opportunity to improve their circumstances on a larger scale. Additionally, Historian Clifton Hawkins has written an impressive dissertation on the New Negro movement as a whole. Acknowledging the limited effect of the movement, Hawkins blames the systematic oppression of African Americans by the white majority, which continued throughout the 1920s even in the more progressive Northern states, for the failure of interracial working class alliance or successful black nationalism.[21]

Lastly, Historian Theodore Kornweibel has written much about the influence of the federal government on black activism and radicalism. In '*Seeing Red': Federal Campaigns against Black Militancy, 1919-1925*, Kornweibel has compiled a large collection of federal documents that show how almost every black activist of the 1920s was under surveillance of the American government. Federal intelligence agencies, out of fear that these black activists were communist-inspired and aimed to overthrow the American government, not only

[19] Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance*, 12.
[20] Ibid., 31.
[21] Hawkins, " 'Race First Versus Class First,' " 5.

scrutinized these movements, but also infiltrated their meetings and headquarters. Kornweibel discusses the effect of this observance on various organizations, such as the Garvey movement, and concludes that the surveillance undermined the New Negro movement.[22]

The historiography shows that academic literature has mainly focused on the effect of external factors, such as white racism, on the New Negro Movement. Moreover, attention has been given to the influence and effectiveness of black nationalism and socialism. In this study, an alternative cause for the relative failure of the radical New Negro movement will be posed. By researching the fight between the *Messenger* and Marcus Garvey, this thesis will argue that personal affairs undermined the movement. This research will discuss the background of the fight and analyze the development of the conflict. What were the reasons behind the “Garvey Must Go” campaign and how did it contribute to the weakening of the New Negro movement? Although both parties started of respecting each other’s radicalism, including their differences in ideology, their conflict turned into a rivalry. Throughout the campaign, Garvey, Randolph and Owen tried to define the concept of New Negro, using notions of black manhood and black leadership. They all saw themselves as the most radical New Negro, showing a high degree of competition. As a result, language was extremely harsh and the parties even resulted to violence. What made this conflict unique is that, although great disagreements between different black leaders had existed in earlier days, never before had such conflicts led to the actual removal of a member out of the black community. Moreover, the personal matters in the conflict show how various leaders were willing to leave their own radical principles behind for the goal of deporting Garvey. As a result, some black leaders became disillusioned with the current leadership; counts of black nativism meant that

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[22] Theodore Kornweibel, *Seeing Red: Federal Campaigns Against Black Militancy, 1919-1925* (Indiana University Press, 1999).

several prominent race leaders distanced themselves from the "Garvey Must Go" campaign. This left the New Negro movement weakened, lacking its previous radical ideas and missing cooperation between various groups. This thesis, with its focus on the consequences of internal black dissent within the movement, will therefore provide "a new look on the New Negroes."

This thesis is divided in three chapters. The first chapter gives an overview of the ideologies and activities of both Marcus Garvey and the editors of the *Messenger.* What drove these activists, and how did they voice their ideologies? The second chapter will focus on the development and content of the "Garvey Must Go" campaign as published in the *Messenger.* Why did the *Messenger* disapprove of Garvey, and in what ways did this argumentation change over time? Moreover, the consequences of the *Messenger*'s campaign for the New Negro Movement will be discussed. The third chapter is built around Garvey's reactions toward the "Garvey Must Go" campaign. How did Garvey respond to the *Messenger*, and how did this affect the relationship between Garvey and the editors? Attention will be given to how Garvey's reactions influenced Harlem's radical society as a whole. In the conclusion, the *Messenger*'s criticism and Garvey's responses will be discussed together. This thesis will conclude that the feud between the three activists was mainly a private matter, instead of a clash of ideologies, which led to an irreparable division within the New Negro movement as a whole.

This research is mainly based on primary sources. First, editions of the periodical the *Messenger* are discussed from its initial publication in 1917 until June 1923, the date of Garvey's incarceration. The *Messenger* is studied from its inception since this provides information on the events leading up to the campaign. The end date of June 1923 is used because many scholars have acknowledged that the "Garvey Must Go" campaign had lost

much of its momentum by the beginning of 1923. Moreover, the Friends of Negro Freedom group dissolved shortly after Garvey's incarceration. Whereas Randolph and Owen were the editors in chief of the *Messenger*, many of the published articles during the campaign were written by guest editors, including W.A. Domingo and William Pickens. These guest articles are included, since it gives the reader information about the influence of the campaign on the New Negro movement and ideology as a whole. Second, editions of the UNIA's newspaper the *Negro World* from 1921 to 1923 have been examined. Marcus Garvey used the *Negro World* mainly to publicize speeches he gave throughout the United States and the articles are therefore useful to determine Garvey's opinion on the *Messenger*. Similar to the *Messenger*, articles by guest editors are also included.

One of the problems of this research is the limited availability of the *Negro World.* The database of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture of the New York Public Library, which is the sole provider of public access to the magazine, holds editions of the magazine from 1921 onward. Compared to the *Messenger*, which can be studied from its inception in 1917, this means that there is a gap in the research. To compensate for the period before 1921, other books that hold primary information from Garvey are used. Instrumental in this regard has been *The Life and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, which contains speeches and articles written by Garvey and is compiled by his second wife Amy Jacques Garvey.[23] However, research of this book brings additional problems, since Amy Jacques Garvey was a political activist herself and her subjectivity might have influenced the compilation. Taking this into account, I have only included the fragments of *Life and Opinions* that are consistent with Garvey's ideas in later editions of the *Negro World* and those that are extensively discussed in secondary literature. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that the missing editions of the

[23] Amy Jacques Garvey, ed., *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* (Dover: The Majority Press, 1986).

newspaper and the possible subjectivity of *Life and Opinions* are limiting the extent of the current research.

Lastly, various secondary sources are used to support the primary material of both the *Messenger* and the *Negro World*. In this regard, the works of Tony Martin and Theodore Kornweibel, whose research mainly focuses on the New Negro movement, have been of importance. Their literature on the organizations of Marcus Garvey and the *Messenger* have mainly been used in chapter 1, which gives an overview of the activists' lives and ideologies.

It is important to note that both the *Messenger* and the *Negro World* repeatedly refer to "negro," "negroes," and sometimes "nigger." The sensitive historical context of these terms means that this thesis, when it is not quoting from one of the periodicals, uses either the wordings African Americans or black Americans to describe the black population of the United States. In contemporary scholarship, these expressions are the most used and preferred. In a similar fashion, this also relates to the use of the term "West Indian" to describe immigrants from the former West Indies, the British colonies in the Americas. This thesis will instead refer to African Caribbean.

By analyzing the interaction between Marcus Garvey and the *Messenger*, this thesis will fill a void in the academic debate. It will bring forward a different image of the Harlem Renaissance and reshape it as a period in which the relationships between the various radicals had a large part in determining the effectiveness of the New Negro movement. This thesis aims to give a well-rounded and complete overview of the battle between these African American activists.

1. Marcus Garvey and the Founders of the *Messenger*

Chandler Owen, A. Philip Randolph and Marcus Garvey started their careers as race leaders in Harlem, the densely populated neighborhood in New York that became known as the "microcosm of the black world of the World War I period."[24] They took their place among various other radicals, including Cyril Briggs and W.A. Domingo, and discussed their radical ideology at the soapboxes on the corner of 135th Street and Lenox Avenue, a place where many black leaders launched their careers. Hawkins argues that radicalism in Harlem bloomed during this period in particular because it was "stimulated by the migration of blacks north during World War I, Wilson's stirring slogans about democracy, and the general militancy sparked by war, inflation, and the war-induced labor shortage."[25] Moreover, Booker T. Washington's death in 1915 opened the possibility for new activists to compete with W.E.B. Du Bois for the unofficial title of race leader.[26] It was during this period that the UNIA and the *Messenger* tried to gain popularity among the African American population. To understand the conflict between Garvey and the editors of the *Messenger* that heightened in the 1920s, it is necessary to become familiar with their respective ideologies and the place of these organizations in Harlem's radical environment. What were the ideologies of both the UNIA and the *Messenger*, and how did they differ from each other? For this part of the research, attention will also be given to the interpersonal relationship between the editors of the *Messenger* and Garvey. With this background it is possible to analyze the nature of the conflict and understand its effect on the New Negro movement. This chapter will therefore provide an overview of both organizations and their principle actors.

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[24] Tony Martin, *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976), 9.
[25] Clifton C. Hawkins, " 'Race First Versus Class First': An Intellectual History of African American Radicalism, 1911-1928" (PhD diss., University of California Davis, 2000), 52-53.
[26] Martin, *Race First*, 280.

Marcus Garvey and the UNIA

As black activists, Owen, Randolph and Garvey were all deeply inspired by Hubert Harrison, who in contemporary history is referred to as "the father of Harlem radicalism."[27] Harrison was disillusioned with the elitist leadership of both Booker T. Washington and W.E.B Du Bois, and sought to reach the "urban masses" through an independent and critical outlook.[28] First working as one of America's most prominent members of the Socialist Party and later involved in the Industrial Workers of the World Party, Harrison increasingly moved towards a race-conscious, instead of a class-conscious, ideology during American involvement in World War I. Harrison founded the independent magazine the *Voice* and the political organization the Liberty League in 1917, which are considered the first intellectual outlets of the New Negro movement. With his endeavors in the Socialist Party and the formation of his race-conscious organization, Harrison showed the diversity of ideologies during the New Negro period: the difference between "class first" and "race first."[29]

Marcus Garvey was heavily influenced by Harrison and came to embody his "race first" philosophy. Garvey was born in 1887 in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica, into a working-class family. Growing up, Garvey gained work experience as a printer and later as a timekeeper on the banana plantations of the United States Fruit Company. Thereafter Garvey moved to London, where he worked for the Pan-African journal the *African Orient Times*.[30] During his time there Garvey discovered the works of Booker T. Washington, who, with his ideology of black self-help and race pride, inspired him to set up an independent organization. When Garvey returned to Jamaica in 1914, he started the Universal Negro Improvement and

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[27] Jeffrey B. Perry, *Hubert Harrison: The Voice of Harlem Radicalism, 1883-1918* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 5
[28] Ibid., 12.
[29] Hawkins, " 'Race First Versus Class First,' " 32-65.
[30] Martin, *Race First*, 6.

Conservation Association (which he later changed into Universal Negro Improvement Association, or UNIA). Garvey's time in Latin America, the Caribbean and London had made him realize that the black man was universally oppressed, and therefore the organization had the aim to "work for better conditions among Negroes everywhere."[31]

In 1916, Garvey went to the U.S. on what was supposed to be a fundraising tour for his Jamaican organization, but soon found himself attracted to the political atmosphere of Harlem. His Jamaican childhood friend W.A. Domingo introduced Garvey to Harrison, who offered him the opportunity to promote the Jamaican UNIA during one of the Liberty League meetings.[32] Garvey, impressed by Harrison's organization, consequently became a member of the League and, having found a new home and friends in the U.S., began to develop an American branch of the UNIA. Jeffrey Perry describes how Garvey was not only deeply influenced by Harrison's ideas, but eventually attracted part of the Liberty League's membership to the UNIA.[33] Harrison later described how the principles of the *Voice* and the Liberty League, "racialism, race-consciousness and racial solidarity," were appropriated by Garvey and used for his own movement.[34]

A significant moment for the start of Garvey's career in the U.S. was the publication of the pamphlet "The Conspiracy of the East St Louis Race Riots," in which he criticized the role of the federal government in the wake of the East St. Louis riots. The pamphlet tapped into the sympathies of many African Americans who were fed up with the racism and violence they encountered at home, while the government expected them to fight for

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[31] Ibid.
[32] Perry, *Hubert Harrison*, 294.
[33] Ibid., 332.
[34] Ibid., 9.

democracy overseas. The nationwide attention that followed after the publication, made the UNIA leader decide that "the improvement of Negro life in America would be his focus."[35]

Whereas the UNIA started off in the United States with just 13 members in the Harlem branch, the organization quickly grew. Within the first 18 months, the UNIA's membership in New York increased to 55,000, and branches of the organization were established in 25 states of the United States. Moreover, divisions in the West Indies, West Africa and Central America came into existence.[36] To support the organization the weekly periodical the *Negro World* was published in 1918, which served as a way to articulate Garvey's ideology and had an estimated circulation of around 50,000.[37]

The principle of "race first" was at the core of the UNIA's ideology. Garvey argued that the black man was universally oppressed, and advocated black pride to reverse the effects of this oppression. The UNIA's main objective was to install a new sense of self-esteem into the black population.[38] The *Negro World* publicized stories of heroic moments in black history, such as the slave revolts in Haiti, as a way to restore this pride. By "stressing the intellectual, political, and military achievements of the race," Garvey's ideology embodied a cultural form of black nationalism.[39]

The principal of racial pride was accompanied by the idea of black self-reliance. According to Garvey integration in American society would never be possible since whites saw black workers as their economic competitors. Therefore, much in the line of Booker T. Washington's ideology, real emancipation would come through economic independence,

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[35] Colin Grant, *Negro with a Hat: The Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey* (London: Vintage Publishing, 2009), 101- 02.
[36] Ibid., 164.
[37] E. David Cronon, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association,* rev. ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 45.
[38] Martin, *Race First,* 23.
[39] Theodore Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair: Black Life and the Messenger, 1917-1928* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1975), 161.

which would eventually open up possibilities for political involvement. To achieve this economic independence, the UNIA planned to establish several black-owned businesses. In 1918, the African Communities League (ACL) was filed to serve as the holding for all future UNIA ventures. In Harlem, a number of restaurants and laundry businesses were opened on behalf of the UNIA. All funds deriving from the businesses would be used for Garvey's program of African redemption.[40] Most of these ventures were cooperative, allowing UNIA members to buy shares.[41] According to Grant, this was one of the main reasons for Garvey's immense popularity: black Americans finally had the opportunity to pursue their own American dream.[42] Garvey's largest business venture was the Black Star Line (BSL), the first black-owned steamship company. The company was supposed to provide job opportunities for an all-black crew, and served both recreational and trading purposes. Although expectations were high, the BSL would eventually be one of the main reasons for Garvey's demise. Financial inexperience on the side of Garvey and his crew members, bad purchasing deals and charges of mail fraud in the sale of stock for the BLS, made the shipping company a notorious undertaking.

Initially, the Black Star Line was supposed to serve Garvey's foremost goal: African redemption, or as Garvey called it, his "Africa for the Africans" program. The plans for redemption were based on Pan-African ideology, which argued that people of African descent were universally oppressed and in need of an independent country to live as full citizens.[43] The UNIA would first attempt to build an independent colony in Liberia, and the organization made several field trips to the country to explore its possibilities. Meanwhile in the United

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[40] Amnifu R. Harvey, "A Black Community Development Model: The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League 1917-1940," *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare* 21, no. 1 (1994): 118.
[41] Martin, *Race First*, 34-35.
[42] Grant, *Negro with a Hat,* 185-86.
[43] Martin, *Race First*, 111.

States, Garvey experimented with an alternative form of nationhood at home. He established, among other things, the UNIA's own army (the Universal African Legion) and its own health organization (the Black Cross Nurses) to prepare his followers for their future overseas.[44] To discuss and promote his ideas of black nationhood the UNIA furthermore held yearly conventions, to which delegates from all over the world were invited. During these conventions street parades were held where Garvey did not only display his Legion and Nurses, but also portrayed himself as the "Provisional President of the African Republic." These yearly celebrations, as well as Garvey's tendency to depict himself as the ultimate savior and leader of the exodus back to Africa, gained him the name "Black Moses."[45]

The idea of black nationhood was part of Garvey's separatist philosophy. This philosophy meant that he insisted on shaping his organization apart from white society and without white philanthropy. However, the UNIA's focus on black separation did not mean that Garvey was fully appreciative of the black race. The black working class was suffering from an internalized slave mentality, Garvey argued. Moreover, he despised the black capitalist class for their greed and lack of morals.[46] Garvey also became notorious for keeping contacts with white segregationist and racists. One of his most dubious moments was a meeting with Edward Young, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. Garvey reasoned that the Ku Klux Klan was a trustworthy organization, which, like the UNIA, was straightforward about putting its own race first. In one of his articles Garvey even said: "between the Ku Klux Klan and the Moorfield Storey National Association for the Advancement of "Colored" People Group, give me the Klan for their honesty and purpose towards the Negro."[47] Shortly

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[44] Martin, *Race First*, 43.
[45] Grant, *Negro with a Hat,* 3.
[46] Robert Hill and Barbara Blair, eds., *Garvey: Life and Lessons*, *a Centennial Companion to the Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 94; Martin, *Race First,* 53.
[47] Marcus Garvey, "The Negro, Communism, Trade Unionism and His (?) Friend: 'Beware of Greeks Bearing Gifts'," in *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, ed. Amy Jacques Garvey (Dover: The Majority

after the controversial meeting the *Messenger* started their "Garvey Must Go" campaign, in July 1922.

From the beginning, the UNIA and Garvey were scrutinized by the American government. Garvey was vocal about the necessity of black self-defense and reportedly mentioned how "for every Negro lynched by whites in the South, Negroes should lynch a white in the North."[48] Given this radical language, Garvey was put under surveillance in light of the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918. After the war, the government considered Garvey and the UNIA a communist threat, based on, among other things, comments the UNIA leader expressed supporting the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. Garvey, however, argued that this statement was by no means an approval of communist ideology but only displayed sympathy for "the weaker peoples of the world."[49] The Director of the Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, later admitted that Garvey could not be considered a communist and stated that "unfortunately, however, he has not yet violated any federal law whereby he could be proceeded against on the grounds of being an inconsiderable alien."[50] Nevertheless, the Department of Justice continued its surveillance of the UNIA, at points even infiltrating its meetings.

Whereas Hoover expressed disappointment over the fact that he had not yet been able to charge Garvey, he did explicitly mention the possibility of trying him for mail fraud.[51] In 1922, Garvey was arrested for exactly this reason. According to federal investigations, supported by testimonies from Garvey's own employees and the "Garvey Must Go"

Press, 1986) 2:71. Garvey here refers to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the NAACP.

[48] Grant, *Negro with a Hat,* 104.

[49] "The U.NI.A. Pays its Tribute to Soviet Russia in the Death of its leader Lenin," *Negro World*, February 2, 1924, 3.

[50] J. E. Hoover, "Memorandum for Mr. Ridgley," October 11, 1919, RG 60, 198940, National Archives, quoted in Martin, *Race First,*155.

[51] Ibid.

campaign, Garvey had sold stock for ships that were not yet in possession of the Black Star Line. Garvey was tried in 1923 and sentenced to five years of prison and a thousand dollar fine. Although he appealed the verdict and was released on bail, the UNIA leader had to return to prison when he lost the appeal in 1925.[52] Garvey was eventually deported in 1928, since the federal government viewed him as a cause of racial unrest and consequently an undesirable alien.[53]

After his deportation to Jamaica, Garvey tried to continue his work with the UNIA. However, organizational issues and financial difficulties within the association prevented Garvey from access to his former leadership position. Garvey then entered Jamaican national politics and established the People's Political Party, a political party that focused on workers' rights. Unfortunately, successes like the UNIA were evasive.[54] Disillusioned, Garvey thereafter moved to London, where he eventually died in 1940. The events leading up to his death were as fascinating as his live. A fake obituary was sent out by lifelong enemy the *Chicago Defender*, causing a trail of memorials to be held throughout the world.[55] But Garvey, although in bad health, was still alive. He died a few weeks later on June 10, 1940, in London.

Randolph, Owen and the *Messenger*

Harrison, with his socialist background, would also immensely inspire A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen in their radical ideology. Owen and Randolph migrated from the South to Harlem in the early years of the 1900s. Chandler Owen was a talented scholar, studying at

[52] Grant*, Negro with a Hat,* 390.
[53] Martin, *Race First,* 200.
[54] Grant, *Negro with a Hat,* 428-32.
[55] Ibid., 494.

Columbia University, while Randolph was a part-time student at City College.[56] When they met in 1914, Owen was not yet familiar with socialist theory, and Randolph claimed to have "led Owen to Marx."[57] The duo took courses at the Socialist Party's Rand School in New York to deepen their knowledge of the ideology and joined the Socialist Party in 1916. Owen and Randolph argued that they were particularly attracted to the organization since it was the only political party at that time that incorporated the race problem in their political program.[58]

Apart from their formal education, Randolph and Owen were familiar faces at the soapboxes on 135th street and Lenox Avenue, both as speakers and listeners. During these early years, the duo became acquainted with Marcus Garvey. It is rumored that Randolph offered his place on the soapbox to Garvey, being highly impressed by the freshly arrived Jamaican.[59] After this initial meeting, Randolph furthermore addressed a UNIA conference and worked with Garvey on the International League for Darker People.[60] Lenox Avenue was also the place where the two men met Hubert Harrison, who saw potential in the young socialists and introduced them to the idea of starting a radical newspaper. Randolph and Owen, however, dismissed Harrison's plans in order to establish their own organizations.[61]

One of Owen and Randolph's first organizational efforts was the Independent Political Council, an intellectual group which aimed to discuss independent and progressive government. The two men then formed the first black Socialist Party club in the Twenty-first Assembly of Harlem, which they used to coordinate the mayoral campaign of Socialist Morris Hillquit in 1917.[62] Furthermore, Randolph and Owen started to publish their first periodical,

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[56] Jervis Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait* (New York: Harcout Barce Jonavich, 1972), 68, 73.
[57] Ibid., 75.
[58] Ibid., 76.
[59] Grant, *Negro with a Hat*, 89.
[60] Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair*, 134-35.
[61] Perry, *Hubert Harrison*, 268.
[62] Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, 81.

the *Hotel Messenger*, a monthly written in the name of the Headwaiters and Sidewaiters Society. Only eight months after its inception, the two were fired, which led them to start their own independent magazine, the *Messenger*, in November 1917.

According to the *Messenger*'s subtitle it was the "Only Radical Negro Magazine in America." Its first issue was published in 1917 and during the first three years of publication, the magazine indeed brought forward ideas that were viewed as radical for that time. Randolph and Owen considered themselves "New Crowd Negroes," a term which frequently reappeared in the periodical and aimed to "describe a militancy that demanded full political rights, economic opportunity, and complete social equality." This idea of the "New Crowd Negro" was a predecessor of what later came to be known as the New Negro movement.[63] The majority of the articles in the early years of the *Messenger* were focused on the editors' view of America's involvement in the First World War. In articles like "Who Shall Pay for the War," "Making the World Safe for Democracy" and "Business and War," Randolph and Owen were extremely outspoken against engagement in the battle overseas.[64] While other black leaders like W.E.B. Du Bois pleaded that blacks should "close ranks" with white citizens and put their racial grievances aside, the editors refused to fight for democracy abroad when the black population was being lynched at home.[65]

One of the *Messenger*'s main objections against the war was that it economically benefited the upper class. This argument can be understood in the context of the socialist ideology of the magazine. The *Messenger* saw socialism as the solution to the oppression of the African American man in white society. More specific, arguing that racial inequality derived from economic inequality, the *Messenger* supported interracial socialism, which

[63] Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair*, 107.
[64] Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph,* 88.
[65] Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair*, 21.

"systematically traced the manifold grievances of Afro-Americans to their sources in capitalism and explained the relationship between racial oppression and the injustices afflicting their fellow white workers."[66] Hubert Harrison served as the main inspiration for the editors, since he had been among the first black activists to emphasize the importance of African American involvement in the Socialist Party. Since white employers would use black workers to their benefit, for instance as strikebreakers, ignoring this group would only be a "menace" to the Socialists, Harrison argued.[67] A class revolution, with the help of working-class whites, would therefore be the only solution to racial oppression.[68] Although the *Messenger* acknowledged that African Americans suffered more hardship because of their history of enslavement, this exploitation was only "incidentally" based on race: black people had acquired such a low place in society that it was simply easy to exploit them.[69]

Although Randolph's and Owen's ideology was rooted in socialism, they nevertheless upheld elitist ideas about the black working class. Black workers in general needed to improve their efficiency, but black Southern workers, with their backward ideas and bad tastes, were particularly troublesome. Moreover, most of the Southern blacks suffered from "slave psychology," and posed themselves as inferior to the ruling class, the *Messenger* argued. Upon migration to the North it would be the plight of black intellectuals to help these workers assimilate to their new surroundings. The Friends of Negro Freedom group (FNF) would play a role in achieving this goal.[70] The Friends of Negro Freedom group was established in 1920 by Owen and Randolph to offer an alternative to the established "Old Crowd Negro" leadership, such as the NAACP and the National Urban League, who were considered too bourgeois, white-led, and compromising. Ironically, many NAACP members

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[66] Hawkins, " 'Race First Versus Class First,' " 98.
[67] Perry, *Hubert Harrison*, 180.
[68] Hawkins, " 'Race First Versus Class First,' " 97.
[69] Ibid.,114.
[70] Ibid., 186-87.

joined the FNF in leadership positions, hoping to find more radical ideas in the movement. The FNF had a strong economic program, and organized forums to educate its membership. However, in 1922, its biggest goal became the "Garvey Must Go" campaign, which focused on the criminal prosecution and eventual deportation of Marcus Garvey. A few months after Garvey's verdict in 1923, the Friends of Negro Freedom dissolved. Kornweibel argues that the FNF's elitist focus and consequently its inability to attract the working-class, was one of the reasons for its demise.[71]

The *Messenger*'s socialist ideology and particularly its critique of the war meant that the magazine was under scrutiny from the Department of Justice, a fate they shared with Marcus Garvey. During a speech in Cleveland in 1918, Randolph and Owen were arrested on charges of obstructing the war conscription, an act that was criminalized under the Espionage Act of 1917.[72] They were released by the judge, but their arrest marked the beginning of intense government surveillance. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer qualified the *Messenger* as the most dangerous publication of all African American papers.[73] On a state level, the New York Lusk Committee, charged with the investigation of seditious activities, saw the magazine as black socialist propaganda and feared possible ties with the Bolshevik movement. As a result of these listings the *Messenger* lost its second-class mailing permit in 1918, which was not returned until 1921, making it financially difficult for the magazine to publish regularly.[74] Nevertheless, Randolph and Owen received funds from the Socialist Party and white labor unions to keep the magazine solvent.[75]

Whereas Garvey could be classified as a separatist, the *Messenger* sought integration within white society and labor unions, and it was therefore open to white philanthropy.

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[71] Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair,* 260.
[72] Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, 105.
[73] Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair*, 70.
[74] Ibid., 87.
[75] Hawkins, " 'Race First Versus Class First,' " 100.

Randolph claimed that the *Messenger* held a radical position without any prejudices to one particular race.[76] The magazine had a diverse membership, and about one-third of its readers were white. Hawkins even claimed that the magazine changed its subtitle from "Only Radical Negro Magazine" to "A Journal of Scientific Radicalism" in order to be more inclusive to its readership.[77]

Although the *Messenger* was published until 1928, the magazine had already lost much of its radical appeal by 1923. With a maximum monthly circulation of 26,000 in its peak period, the magazine had always been smaller than the *Negro World*. In the early twenties, however, its readership declined and thereafter never exceeded 5,000.[78] In the mid-twenties, the magazine tried to refocus on the African American readership, changing its subtitle twice more, to "The World's Greatest Negro Monthly" and "The New Opinion of the Negro."[79] Moreover, its content became less political and there was an increasing focus on literature and theatre in the trend of the Harlem Renaissance and the cultural New Negro movement. Simultaneously, the magazine displayed ideas that seemed to contrast its previous radicalism, such as support for black capitalism and objection against immigration.[80] Much of this had to do with the fact that Randolph resigned from the Socialist Party in 1924. Moreover, Chandler Owen swapped Harlem for Chicago at the end of 1923, and although he continued to write for the magazine for over a year, his engagement with the *Messenger* dissolved after that period. During the last years, A. Philip Randolph founded the labor organization the Brotherhood of the Sleeping Car Porters in 1925 and used the *Messenger* as a news bulletin for this organization.[81] The magazine was eventually discontinued in 1928.[82]

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[76] Ibid., 98.
[77] Ibid., 98.
[78] Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair*, 54.
[79] Hawkins, " 'Race First Versus Class First,' " 420.
[80] Ibid., 421.
[81] Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair*, 34, 57.
[82] Ibid., 271.

Garvey and the editors of the *Messenger* both came of age in Harlem's radical environment. Their ideologies are examples of the different sides of the New Negro spectrum: while Garvey and his UNIA upheld black nationalist ideas, the *Messenger* followed an ideology of interracial socialism. Moreover, whereas Garvey despised white help and could be classified as a separatist, the *Messenger* sought integration in white society and thrived on white philanthropy. There are, however, several similarities to be found between the two groups. First of all, Hubert Harrison provided major inspiration to all. Second, both the editors of the *Messenger* and Garvey despised the "slave psychology" of the majority of the black population and aimed to install a new sense of pride in these people. Moreover, because of their radical ideas, the three came under the surveillance of the Department of Justice. On top of that, the editors and Garvey cooperated on various occasions in the early years of the movement. However, these similarities did not provide enough common ground, as we will see in the "Garvey Must Go" campaign, which started in 1922.

2. The *Messenger* on Marcus Garvey, 1917-1923

The *Messenger* was first printed in 1917 and was supposed to be a weekly periodical. For the first four years, however, the magazine was irregularly published. One of the main reasons for this was that the *Messenger* lost it second-class mail privileges by 1919 for charges of treason, which made publishing extremely expensive. Although the magazine claimed editorial independency, it was supported and partly funded by the Socialist Party. Its content was both political and cultural, and with its subtitle "The Most Radical Negro Magazine," the *Messenger* aimed to educate the masses on the ideas of the New Crowd Negro. From 1919 on, Marcus Garvey became the magazine's main focus. Whereas the editors first aimed to discuss Garvey's ideology in an objective manner, the *Messenger*'s articles developed into a series of personal attacks against the UNIA leader, which resulted in the "Garvey Must Go" campaign starting in 1921.

This chapter will analyze the *Messenger*'s articles on Garvey from 1917-1923. What was the content of the *Messenger*'s criticism, how did it develop over time and what was its effect on the black community? Using the *Messenger*'s articles and support from various secondary sources, I will argue that the *Messenger*'s attacks on Garvey changed from ideological to personal over the months and years, which consequently created division within the black radical world. While Garvey appealed his case and did not receive his unconditional sentence until 1925, this research will be limited to the period before his June 1923 conviction, mostly because the "Garvey Must Go" campaign had lost much of its momentum by the beginning of 1923.

Although Owen and Randolph were the editors in chief, not all articles in the *Messenger* were written by them. Members of the Friends of Negro Freedom group frequently

wrote editorials for the magazine and therefore contributed to the "Garvey Must Go" campaign as a whole. For that reason, they are included in the analysis. Where the author is known, this is mentioned. If not, this can be seen as a joint editorial article from Owen and Randolph.

"A Promise or a Menace"

The *Messenger's* first article on Garvey appeared in the October 1920 edition. "The Garvey Movement: A Promise or a Menace to Negroes" promised to be the first article in a series on Garvey's ideology. The editors claimed to "critically, calmly, and dispassionately examine into the body of principles which the said Movement sets out to achieve," and they would do so by comparing the needs of the black population to the political, economic, social and international program of the Garvey movement.[83]

A follow-up article appeared in the December 1920 edition and aimed to discuss the political aspects of the UNIA. The article mainly criticized Garvey's ideology of black nationalism and dismissed his idea of starting a black political party. Black domination and separatism would only provoke anger from the white majority, according to the editors. "Therefore," the editors argued, "if it is impossible for a Negro Party ever to win; it will be impossible for it to secure legislation for the benefit of Negroes; and if it is impossible for the Negro party to achieve legislation which will benefit Negroes, then, there is no earthly reason for its existence."[84] In the article, Randolph and Owen, proposed their own ideology of integrationism and interracial socialism as an alternative: "(...) from the foregoing analysis it is apparent that a political party, in order to be an effective and useful instrument, must be

[83] "The Garvey Movement: A Promise or a Menace to Negroes," *Messenger*, October 1920, 114.
[84] "The Garvey Movement: A Promise or a Menace," *Messenger*, December 1920, 171.

built along other than purely racial lines."[85] Economic cooperation, instead of racial separation, would be the solution, an idea that revealed the socialist background of the editors.

The editors of the *Messenger* also used these first articles on Garvey to deny any affiliation between the UNIA and the *Messenger.* Although at the time Randolph and Owen had introduced Garvey to Harlem's radical scene and had served as guest speakers on a UNIA conference, the editors now renounced their earlier partnership with the organization.[86] This cooperation had only served to inform Garvey's followers about "the class-struggle nature of the Negro problem" and furthermore aimed to preserve "the sympathetic attitude of the movement toward Socialism."[87] Moreover, the editors emphasized that during the time of their partnership, Garvey had not yet developed his "extreme" program of black nationalism, as well as his Black Star Line venture.[88] The editors of the *Messenger*, in conclusion, voiced their concern about how Garvey had developed his ideology.

These first "Promise or a Menace" articles by the *Messenger* were marked by a rational analysis of Garvey's ideas. It can be seen as an introduction to the largest differences in ideology within the New Negro movement: the difference between interracial socialism and black nationalism. The editors were critical of Garvey's "race first" philosophy and used their "class first" theory to dismiss his ideas. It was also on the basis of this contrasting ideology, that the editors seemingly did not want to be associated with Garvey.

Although the *Messenger* intended to discuss Garvey's ideology in a set amount of articles, it was not until September 1921 that Garvey was featured in the magazine again. Throughout 1921 and the beginning of 1922, the *Messenger*'s articles on Garvey displayed deep contempt for his economic scheme and "Back to Africa" program on the one hand, but

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[85] Ibid., 172.
[86] "The Garvey Movement: A Promise or a Menace to Negroes," 115.
[87] "The Garvey Movement, A Promise or a Menace," 170.
[88] Ibid.

also sympathy for the more spiritual side of the UNIA's black nationalist ideology. Randolph argued that the UNIA had been "highly useful in awakening Negro consciousness to the demand of the times" and applauded Garvey for stimulating "the pride of Negroes in Negro history and traditions, therebye [sic] helping to break down the slave psychology which throttles and strangles Negro initiative, self-assertiveness, ambition, courage, independence, etc."[89] Moreover, Garvey was praised by the editors for criticizing "the hat-in-hand Negro leadership," his attempt to boost black art, and for his Pan-Africanism, mentioning how Garvey had "*stressed the international aspect of the Negro problem* [emphasis in original]"[90]

Although Randolph saw the importance of Garvey's black pride and black internationalism, he despised the UNIA's program of African redemption. Referring to his own ideology of interracial socialism, Randolph argued that oppression throughout the world was caused by capitalist motives.[91] The weakest people would always be exploited for economic benefits, even if they had the same race as the oppressor. Consequently, even African redemption by Garvey's UNIA would ultimately lead to an imperialist regime. Therefore, Randolph argued, "liberation of Africa can only come by allying the Negro liberation movement with the movements for the liberation of all of the world's enslaved of all races, creeds and colors."[92] In this statement, Randolph combined interracial socialism with Pan-African ideology. Furthermore, Randolph emphasized the practical difficulties of Garvey's African program: "(…) the redemption of Africa by Negroes who are unarmed, unorganized, uneducated, a minority in numbers to their oppressors, divided, both in and out of Africa by languages, custom, history and habits, is a will-o' wisp, an iridescent dream which could only be born in the head of an irresponsible enthusiast." For these reasons,

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[89] A. Philip Randolph, "Garveyism," *Messenger*, September 1921, 250-51.
[90] "Garvey Unfairly Attacked," *Messenger*, April 1922, 387.
[91] A. Philip Randolph, "Black Zionism," *Messenger*, January 1922, 334.
[92] Randolph, "Black Zionism," 334.

Randolph argued, "the project of Negroes' [sic] building an African Empire smacks of the romantic and infantile excursions of Don Quixote."[93]

Randolph's socialist and integrationist background also laid the basis for his critique of Garvey's Black Star Line. He was especially critical of the economic feasibility of the steamship company. Black companies would always be overpowered by large white enterprises, Randolph argued, warning his readership of the potential insolvency of the Black Star Line. He emphasized Garvey's naivety by writing how "certainly, an intelligent person would not advocate an admittedly unscientific and inefficient plan of action in industry business or finance, on the highly questionable grounds, that Negroes should have such an enterprise of their own and for their own."[94] Since the African American problem was a laboring problem and not a race problem, a separate black economy would not offer a long-term solution. Randolph even argued that the policy of a separate black economy widened "the chasm between the black and white workers" and would lead to even more race hatred.[95] Garvey's economic plan, therefore, would not be feasible.

In the above mentioned articles the *Messenger* clearly opposed Garvey and the UNIA from an ideological perspective. The socialist ideology of the magazine offered a different approach to both Pan-Africanism and Garvey's business model. Nevertheless, the *Messenger* showed appreciation for the spiritual value of the Garvey movement - installing race pride and dismantling slave psychology could count on approval by the editors. However, language in most of the articles was no longer "calm and objective" as the editors claimed their analysis of Garvey would be in 1921. Garvey was called a "Don Quixote," an "irresponsible enthusiast,"

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[93] Ibid.
[94] Randolph, "Garveyism," 249.
[95] Ibid., 252.

and his followers “uneducated”. The tension between the *Messenger* and the UNIA had clearly started to rise.

“The White Ku Klux Kleagle’s Black Ku Klux Eagle”

In May 1922, Marcus Garvey was summoned to court for charges of fraud regarding the Black Star Line. Garvey was sued by many small investors, who saw their money disappear into everything but the steamship company. Of course, the *Messenger* took the opportunity to report on the case. The editors renounced Garvey’s actions, writing that “what has happened here is not so bad from the point of view of Marcus Garvey as it is from the damage done to the confidence of colored people. The editors of the *Messenger* warned Garvey and the people that what has happened would surely come to pass.”[96] The editors made a point of emphasizing the righteousness of their distrust of Garvey. For the Black Star Line, Garvey’s trial meant that it had to suspend its activities, much to the *Messenger*’s contentment, of course.

For Garvey, that same year turned out to be critical in different ways. Throughout 1922, Garvey gave several speeches in which he appeared to support white supremacy, and for which he received extensive opposition from within the African American community. During a talk in June 1922, Garvey mentioned that the white American man could not be blamed for wanting to keep the United States white.[97] Garvey here indirectly advocated the Jim Crow system in the South, arguing that social equality was not worth fighting for in the United States, but would eventually arrive in the black man’s own country. Moreover, a couple of days after that speech, Garvey met with Edward Young Clarke, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. After the meeting, Garvey stated that he appreciated Clarke for his honesty

[96] “Marcus Garvey,” *Messenger*, June 1922, 417.
[97] Judith Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey: Race and Class in Modern Society* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 154.

towards the black race, and argued that there were many similarities between the UNIA's and the Klan's ideologies: "I was speaking to a man who was brutally a white man and I was speaking to him as a man who was brutally a Negro," Garvey said after the meeting, emphasizing the shared "race first" principle of the two organizations.[98]

The *Messenger,* of course, was furious. The articles in the magazine following the meeting were no longer ideological, but personal attacks on the UNIA leader. Central in these articles was a focus on Garvey's Jamaican nationality. Garvey was a "blustering West Indian demagogue," who preyed "upon the ignorant unsuspecting poor West Indian working men and women who believe Garvey is some sort of Moses," the editors wrote bluntly in the *Messenger*'s July 1922 issue.[99] The *Messenger*'s fixation on the nationality of Garvey and his membership was striking considering the fact that the magazine, in an article in April 1922, had disapproved of any critique based on Garvey's foreignness. The editors had called such arguments "petty, cheap, vapid, effete," and had even condemned the *Chicago Defender*, one of the leading African American magazines of the time, for their focus on Garvey's nationality.[100] The editors of the *Messenger* were clearly breaking with the so-called fairness of their own criticism only two months later.

Apart from his nationality, the *Messenger* made a mockery of Garvey's character and leadership. Calling him a "self-styled, courageous, so-called 'new Negro' leader" and referring to his speech as "sinister, loose talk," the *Messenger* promised that it would show the black population "the emptiness of all this Garvey flapdoodle."[101] Moreover, the editors argued that Garvey's "impossible and conscienceless" ideas were "calculated not only to redeem but to enslave Africa and the Negro everywhere." The article's harsh language

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[98] "Hon. Marcus Garvey Tells of Interview with Ku Klux Klan," *Negro World*, July 15, 1922, 12.
[99] "Marcus Garvey! The Black Imperial Wizard Becomes Messenger Boy of the White Ku Klux Kleagle," *Messenger*, July 1922, 437.
[100] "Garvey Unfairly Attacked," 387.
[101] "Marcus Garvey!," 437.

revealed the *Messenger*'s outrage and was a clear departure from the magazine's promise, made in October 1920, to objectively evaluate the UNIA. Moreover, the article can be seen as the start of the "Garvey Must Go" campaign: "*here's notice that the Messenger is firing the opening gun in a campaign to drive Garvey and Garveyism in all its sinister viciousness from the American soil* [emphasis in original]."[102] No longer did the editors solemnly want to convince their readership of Garvey's maliciousness; they now promised to actively destroy the Garvey movement, taking the next step in their opposition.

Whereas in 1920 Garvey was praised for criticizing the black establishment and its "hat-in-hand leadership," the *Messenger* now, conversely, accused Garvey of subservient behavior. Garvey had "become the worst type of *me-too-boss* and *hat-in-hand* [emphasis in original] good 'nigger' the race has ever been bedeviled by," the editors argued.[103] These terms, which refer to black inferiority during the period of enslavement, were especially applicable to Garvey now that he had tried to become acquainted with the Klan. The editors, by using these specific phrases, qualified Garvey's behavior as the accommodationist manners of the Old Negro. Furthermore, Randolph and Owen in this way undermined the UNIA as a militant New Negro movement. "I assure you that the aroused and awakened, militant, intelligent Negro masses will see to it that you and all that you stand for will be driven from the American soil," Randolph wrote, contrasting the radicalness of his own organization with the UNIA's lack thereof.[104] In this way, the feud between the organizations was no longer based on ideological differences, but transformed into a competition that was centered around the question of who was radical enough to be a New Negro.

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[102] Ibid.
[103] "Time to Go," *Messenger*, August 1922, 457.
[104] A. Philip Randolph, "Reply to Marcus Garvey," *Messenger,* August 1922, 471.

In addition to minimizing Garvey's radicalness, the editors felt the constant need to emphasize their own success. Owen and Randolph had "done more to make the Negro problem national and international than any group in America," they argued, while Garvey's views had increasingly left the black population "disillusioned."[105] Ironically, Garvey's behavior in the South which the editors so criticized, allowed him to build up a large membership base in that area.[106] Accommodationist behavior, scholar Judith Stein argues, was just a "tactical retreat" by Garvey.[107] The Southern Jim Crow system and its white supremacists would only allow Garvey to roam freely through the area when he would not be seen as a threat to the existing system. The UNIA leader, in this way, deemed it necessary to make amends and temper his black pride. The *Messenger* did not seem to realize that Garvey's "hat-in-hand" behavior provided him with the mass base that the magazine wanted for itself. Theodore Kornweibel argues that Garvey's high membership numbers could have led to jealousy on the side of the *Messenger.*[108] At some point, the editors even accused Garvey of making up his membership numbers, calling it "bogus membership."[109] In this way, success, popularity and membership numbers determined the relationship between the New Negroes.

This competition between the *Messenger* and Garvey was repeatedly articulated in the magazine. When Garvey, responding to the editors' attacks for the first time, published an article in which he called Randolph and Owen "malicious negroes" and furthermore questioned their ability as radical race leaders, Randolph responded with a four-page-long

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[105] "The Friends of Negro Freedom: Economic Organization in Interest of the Negro," *Messenger*, May 1922, 411.

[106] For more on this topic, see Mary G. Rolinson, *Grassroots Garveyism: The Universal Negro Improvement Association in the Rural South, 1920-1927* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

[107] Stein, 153-54.

[108] Theodore Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair: Black Life and the Messenger, 1917-1928* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1975), 150.

[109] A. Philip Randolph, "The Only Way to Redeem Africa," *Messenger,* January 1923, 569.

editorial. Randolph agitatedly affirmed the successes of the *Messenger*, while stating that Garvey, on the other hand, had only "*failed to succeed in anything except failures!* [emphasis in original]"[110] Randolph furthermore referred to the earlier cooperation between Garvey and the editors, arguing that Garvey had used the editors' good name to establish his own organization and enterprises. The Black Star Line, of course, was a disaster, and the other ventures of the UNIA nothing more than "rat holes in which to dump money."[111] Apart from this criticism on Garvey's ventures, the article again contained many personal insults. Describing Garvey's speaking manners, Randolph wrote: "on his erratic rampage of mendacity and bigoted, groundless braggadocio, he beats the air, waving his big, fat hands furiously."[112] Moreover, there were many references to Garvey's association with the Ku Klux Klan, calling him an "honorable black kluxer," and "the white Ku Klux Kleagle's Black Ku Klux Eagle."[113] Clearly, Randolph was anxious to convince his readership of Garvey's false pretenses.

It is clear that Garvey's meeting with the Klan and his expeditions in the South resulted in a sharp departure from the *Messenger*'s earlier pledge to analyze Garvey's organization "critically, calmly and dispassionately." In the August edition, the critique was given mainly in the form of personal attacks on Garvey. While in earlier editorials the enterprises of the UNIA were described as not financially feasible, this description changed to "rat holes" in the August issue. There was a great emphasis not only on jailing Garvey, but deporting him from the United States. Moreover, the number of articles relating to Garvey in one edition increased: in the August edition only, there were five pieces discussing Garvey whereas before this was limited to one per month.

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[110] "Reply to Marcus Garvey," 469.
[111] Ibid., 469.
[112] Ibid., 468.
[113] Ibid.

The Friends of Negro Freedom

From 1922 onwards, the articles in the *Messenger* were supported by the Friends of Negro Freedom (FNF), a group of black activists brought together by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen. The FNF started in 1920 as a civil rights organization with a socialist focus, but became one of Garvey's biggest adversaries by 1922. The *Messenger* was mainly used to promote the group and inform the readers about its upcoming talks. Moreover, some of the members of the FNF became editors of the magazine and used their articles to criticize Garvey under their own name.

The FNF created momentum for the "Garvey Must Go" campaign in August 1922, when the four main leaders of the group planned to hold conferences meant to attack the UNIA and discuss if Garvey, on top of being "a tool and a traitor," could also be seen as "the white man's spy."[114] Professor William Pickens, Field Secretary for the NAACP, and Robert W. Bagnall, serving as the National Director of Branches within the NAACP, held prominent positions within the FNF and would discuss respectively "what to do when negro leaders league with negro lynchers" and how to handle "the madness of Marcus Garvey."[115] Of course, Randolph and Owen would also each participate in a talk to convince the audience of Garvey's illegitimacy.The meetings of the Friends of Negro Freedom were purposely held in the same month as the UNIA's Annual International Conference of the Negro Peoples of the World, which set the tone for the rivalry between the two organizations. Ironically, Garvey had invited William Pickens for an award ceremony during his own conference, where Pickens would be gifted with a distinguished title in honor of the UNIA as a token of

[114] "How Marcus Garvey Betrayed the Negroes to a Georgia Negro Hater," *Messenger*, July 1922, 454.
[115] "Marcus Garvey Must Go!," *Messenger,* August 1922, 474.

appreciation for his "exemplary work in the cause of Africa."[116] Pickens strongly rejected the letter, by writing in the *Messenger* that he "WOULD RATHER BE A PLAIN BLACK AMERICAN FIGHTING IN THE RANKS AGAINST THE KLAN AND ALL ITS BROOD THAN TO BE THE IMPERIAL WIZARD OF THE KU KLUX KLAN OR THE ALLIED IMPERIAL BLIZZARD OF THE U.N.I.A. [emphasis in original]."[117] Pickens clearly did not want to be associated with the Garvey movement.

The subject of deportation continued throughout 1922 and was the main focus of the Friends of Negro Freedom. Chandler Owen found legitimacy in the law for Garvey's deportation by arguing that the UNIA leader was an anarchist.[118] According to the *Messenger,* Garveyites were increasingly using violence against their opponents. These criminal deeds evidenced the insurgent nature of the movement, and they made "*Garvey's organization exactly on par with the Ku Klux Klan following Reconstruction* [emphasis in original]," the editors argued.[119] The *Messenger* promised its readership to bring these alleged anarchistic crimes to the attention of the police. This is a clear turning point in the "Garvey Must Go" campaign; whereas the feud between Garvey and the *Messenger* had been limited to the pages of their own magazines and the boundaries of Harlem's black community, the editors were now prepared to involve the government in their crusade.

Charges of anarchism intensified when A. Philip Randolph received a curious package through the mails. In "The Human Hand Threat," Randolph described how, as the title suggests, he received a human hand by mail, accompanied by a letter urging the editors to sign up for the "nigger improvement association," Garvey's UNIA.[120] The message was

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[116] Marcus Garvey, "Marcus Garvey to William Pickens and William Pickens to Marcus Garvey," *Messenger,* August 1922, 471.
[117] William Pickens, "Marcus Garvey to William Pickens and William Pickens to Marcus Garvey," *Messenger*, August 1922, 472.
[118] Chandler Owen, "Should Marcus Garvey Be Deported?," *Messenger*, September 1922, 479.
[119] "Garveyism and Anarchism," *Messenger,* October 1922, 501.
[120] A. Philip Randolph, "The Human Hand Threat," *Messenger*, October 1922, 499.

signed by the Ku Klux Klan. Randolph, in his article, accused the Klan of sending the hand to scare the *Messenger* away, since "Negroes" were historically "frightened by anything that suggests 'the dead.' "[121] Randolph, however, stated that the editors of *Messenger* were the New Negroes, not as easily scared as the "Uncle Toms." Randolph argued that the Klan had chosen Garvey as its spokesperson because he embodied "the so-called 'good nigger,' *the banjo darky, the me-too-boss, hat-in-hand, good-mornin-massa species* [emphasis in original]." Randolph in this article again tried to define the *Messenger*'s position in the Harlem Renaissance and the New Negro movement.[122] The editors were the real New Negroes, radical and not afraid of anything that might come to them. Garvey, on the other hand, was portrayed as the typical Southern "darky," the Old Negro. Randolph's response to the package therefore showed the rivalry within the New Negro movement and the need of the *Messenger* to portray itself as the most radical organization.

Despite the focus on Garvey's deportation, the insults and comparisons with the Ku Klux Klan, the *Messenger* would still occasionally give attention to Garvey's ideology. The impossibility of African redemption continued to be one of the main topics, with the *Messenger* now arguing that the white elite would never accept the loss of black labor that would follow from such a plan.[123] Furthermore, Randolph doubted the intention of Garvey's "Back to Africa" program. According to Randolph, Garvey was simply "erploiting [sic] it as a grand slogan with which to fire the imagination of the unthinking to lure them to pour their sweat and blood dollars into the Black Star Line 'Sea.' "[124] Nevertheless, the hatred of the *Messenger* toward Garvey had grown to such heights at that time, that even the most objective

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[121] Ibid., 500.
[122] Ibid.
[123] "Can Negroes Leave United States?," *Messenger,* September 1922, 478.
[124] A. Philip Randolph, "The Only Way to Redeem Africa," *Messenger,* November 1922, 523.

analysis of the UNIA's ideology included a personal attack in some way, damaging any pretense of a critical analysis of the organization.

As the months passed, the Friends of Negro Freedom group prided itself on the progress of dismantling Garvey's organization. The attacks on Garvey had "dealt this unmitigated prevaricator a body blow," the group claimed, emphasizing the success of their campaign. The FNF argued that their efforts were largely supported by Harlem's black society: "the anti-Garvey campaign of the Friends of Negro Freedom has left on the lips of every sensible Negro in New York the slogan, and in his mind the determination, that "Marcus 'Garvey Must Go!' "[125] Nevertheless, both inside and outside Harlem, most black race leaders disagreed with the campaign. A questionnaire regarding the issue of Garvey's deportation, put out by the *Messenger* itself, showed that although most activists disagreed with Garvey's ideology, they considered deportation a step too far. Examples are Carl Murphy of the *Baltimore Afro-American* and Archibald Grimke of the NAACP, who both argued that the law provided sufficient opportunities besides deportation.[126] Clearly, this was in contrast with the FNF's articles: whereas the group claimed widespread success of and support for the campaign their anti-Garvey crusade in fact created much disagreement and division within the black community.

"Supreme Negro Jamaican Jackass"

The negative results of the questionnaire did not stop the *Messenger*, and particularly Chandler Owen, from chasing Garvey with full force. In January 1923 the *Messenger*'s threats to involve the authorities were actualized when eight prominent African Americans sent a letter to U.S Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty with a request to try Garvey as soon

[125] "The Friends of Negro Freedom: Marcus 'Garvey Must Go!," *Messenger,* October 1922, 508.
[126] Chandler Owen, "A Symposium on Garvey by Negro Leaders," *Messenger,* December 1922, 550.

as possible for mail fraud. The letter accused Garvey and his followers of creating "friction between Negroes and Whites," as well as increasing "hostility between American and West Indian Negroes."[127] Garvey was nothing more than a charlatan, who used his unintelligent "West Indian" UNIA followers for his own fraudulent goals. On top of that, the signatories accused Garvey and the UNIA members of using violence to achieve their aims. The letter closed with an appeal "in the interest of justice" to "disband and extirpate this vicious movement."[128] Behind the letter were not only Owen, Pickens and Bagnall, but also three frequent advertisers in the *Messenger* and representatives of the *Chicago Defender* and the *New York News.* Moreover, the NAACP was deeply involved in the draft of the letter, mostly by letting its legal counsellor review the implications and possible consequences of the document.[129]

The letter to the attorney general was the most peculiar move of the *Messenger* against Garvey so far. Indeed, the magazine's criticism had been coarse and damaging to Garvey's reputation; involving the authorities, however, was of a different level. The federal government had been following the New Negro movement since World War I, and Randolph and Owen had been arrested for their radical ideas on various occasions. Moreover, in 1919 Attorney General Palmer had labeled the *Messenger* as the most dangerous of all black publications, and his Department of Justice frequently undertook raids at the offices of the *Messenger,* to secure evidence of alleged seditious activities.[130] On top of that, Palmer had tried to pass a peacetime sedition act in order to attack and scrutinize black radical groups, including the *Messenger.*[131] It was clear that the Department of Justice and the *Messenger* had

[127] "Letter to the Attorney General," quoted in Marcus Garvey, "Eight "Uncle Tom" Negroes Try to "Tell" on the Man," *Negro World*, February 10, 1923, 1.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair,* 142.
[130] Ibid., 77-79.
[131] Ibid., 87.

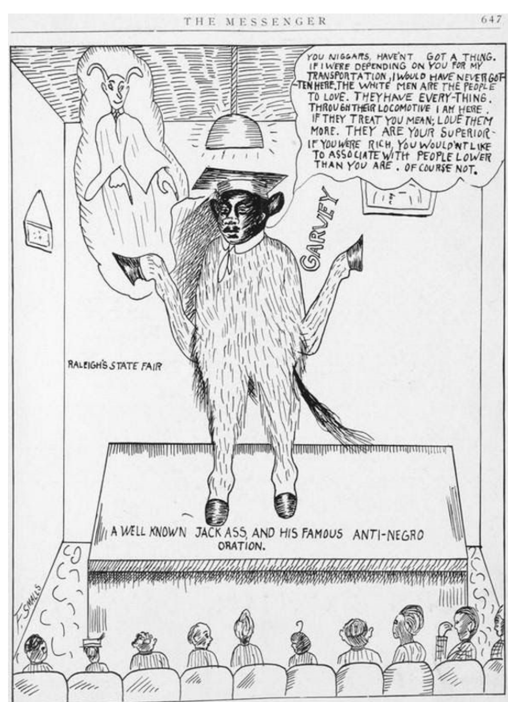
a tense relationship. Bringing Garvey to the attention of the federal government therefore seemed to be completely in contrast with both the radical nature and the history of magazine. Even more, it contradicted the spirit of the New Negro movement that the *Messenger* had always claimed to embody.

Furthermore, the *Messenger*'s affiliation with the NAACP in this matter left a mark on the radicalness of the magazine. Over the years, the *Messenger* had always been extremely outspoken against both the NAACP and its leader W.E.B. Du Bois. The NAACP epitomized the spirit of the Old Negro and had no sincere interest in the African American population, the magazine claimed.[132] The Friends of Negro Freedom group was established to offer an alternative to the NAACP, even attracting many of its members from those who sought more radical ideas. It is highly peculiar then that the *Messenger* claimed to protect the black population against "hat-in-hand nigger" Garvey, while at the same it cooperated with an organization that embodied such Old Negro ideas. Therefore, both the *Messenger*'s involvement with the NAACP and the letter to the attorney general show how the editors were willing to dismiss their own radical ideology in order to prosecute and deport Garvey.

Remarkably, the letter was never published or discussed in the *Messenger.* Scholars have never discovered the reasons behind this, but there are speculations of Owen's embarrassment about the break with the magazine's radicalness.[133] Moreover, although A. Philip Randolph actively worked on the draft, he was not one of the signatories, for unknown reasons. W.E.B Domingo, who was active in the Friends of Negro Freedom group, did not participate in the draft of the letter, either. Domingo, Jamaican himself, worked as an editor of the magazine, but over time he became disturbed by the *Messenger*'s tendency to point out Garvey's nationality in a derogatory way and accused the *Messenger* of nativism in its March

[132] Ibid., 256.
[133] Ibid., 143.

1923 issue.[134] Throughout the campaign there had indeed been many articles in which the editors negatively referred to Garvey's foreignness. "That a group of foreigners should come into our country and fight, *not for free speech for themselves – but to deny free speech to the citizens of this country* [emphasis in original] – is the most unmitigated effrontery, the most ungirdled gizzard of a nefarious Negro wizard, what we in the South call the cheek of a brass monkey," Owen wrote in a 1922 article.[135] Moreover, the campaign reached its height when the editors called Garvey "a supreme Negro Jamaican jackass" in the *Messenger*'s January 1923 issue, accompanied by a cartoon in which Garvey was portrayed as a donkey.[136]



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[134] W.A. Domingo, "The Policy of the *Messenger* on West Indian and American Negroes: W.A. Domingo Vs. Chandler Owen," *Messenger,* March 1923, 639.

[135] Chandler Owen, "Should Marcus Garvey Be Deported?," *Messenger,* September 1922, 480.

[136] "A Supreme Negro Jamaican Jackass," *Messenger*, January 1923, 547; "A Well Known Jackass and His Famous Anti-Negro Oration," cartoon, *Messenger*, January 1923, 561.

[137] "The Messenger, March 1923," accessed November 21, 2019, http://realhistoryww.com/world_history/ancient/Misc/True_Negros/Assorted/The_History_of_Slavery_2.htm. Cartoon published in the *Messenger* of January 1923, 561. The speech balloon says: "You niggars have'nt [sic]got a thing. If I were depending on you for my transportation, I would have never gotten here. The white men are the people to love. They have every-thing. Through their locomotive I am here. If they treat you mean; love them more. They are you superior – if you were rich, you wouldn't like to associate with people lower than you are. Of course not."

Domingo stated the *Messenger*'s articles on Garvey created hatred and racism towards African Caribbean immigrants. Furthermore, he argued that the *Messenger* had repudiated its own radicalism by advocating deportation and betrayed their internationalist principles by criticizing black aliens. Chandler Owen, in an almost five-page-long response, of course denied all charges of nativism on the side of the *Messenger*.[138] As a result of their disagreement, Domingo was fired from the *Messenger* a couple of weeks later, leading to a definite break between the radicals. The incident with Domingo shows the internal dissent of the New Negro movement; even though Domingo and the *Messenger* had shared their radical ideology for years, the "Garvey Must Go" campaign led to irreparable disagreements between the two parties.

Ironically, although Owen denied all charges of nativism, the *Messenger* again published a derogatory article in March 1923, this time written by FNF member Robert W. Bagnall. Garvey was described as "a Jamaican Negro of unmixed stock, squat, stocky, fat and sleek, with protruding jaws, and heavy jowls, small bright pig-like eyes and a rather bull-dog-like face."[139] Bagnall furthermore questioned Garvey's sanity, arguing that he was a paranoiac. The article was one of the last in a row to attack Garvey on a deeply personal level, which started after Garvey's meeting with the leader of the KKK in 1922 and developed over the months into a campaign that left the black world fractured.

Garvey was tried in 1923. Of course, according to the editors, this was largely due to their campaign. In the days leading up to the verdict, the editors wrote: "in an epochal series of mass meetings, devastating and withering in criticism, exposing the fallacy of his program,

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[138] Chandler Owen, "The Policy of the *Messenger* on West Indian and American Negroes: W.A. Domingo vs. Chandler Owen," *Messenger*, March 1923, 645.
[139] Robert W. Bagnall, "The Madness of Marcus Garvey," *Messenger*, March 1923, 638.

the stupidity of his projects, the dishonesty of his schemes, the ignorance of his policies, and the utter baseness of his betrayal of the race in his forming an alliance with the Ku Klux Klan, the drive was launched."[140] Although one might think that the *Messenger* would widely report on its victory, the announcement of Garvey's conviction was only five lines long, with a celebratory "Garvey's [sic] gone!" as the headline.[141]

The *Messenger*'s articles on Garvey developed from an objective assessment of his organization to a personal inquisition. Although the magazine cooperated with Garvey in its early days and praised the UNIA for its spiritual meaning, there were clear differences in ideology. The *Messenger*'s interracial socialism was in sharp contrast with Garvey's black nationalism. These differences were the basis of the *Messenger*'s critique of Garvey's program of African redemption. On top of that, the editors disapproved of Garvey's business ventures, seeing it as another form of capitalism, and argued that black owned businesses would never be able to surpass their white counterparts.

This objective analysis changed after Garvey's meeting with the Ku Klux Klan. Although the articles in the *Messenger* still provided occasional ideological critique, from this point on the majority of the articles were personal attacks on Garvey. The magazine did everything to convince its readers of Garvey's fallacy: Garvey was insane, "a blustering demagogue," and his appearance was often ridiculed. Reading the articles, it furthermore seems like the editors were trying to compete with the UNIA. The *Messenger* felt a constant need to reassure its readers of its high membership numbers, business successes, and radicalness. This was done within the context of the New Negro movement; while Garvey was portrayed as the Old Negro, the editors were constantly trying to redefine themselves as

[140] "Garvey about Gone," *Messenger,* June 1923, 748.
[141] "Garvey's Gone!," *Messenger,* July 1923, 759.

the only radical New Negroes. Questions of what it meant to be a New Negro, membership numbers and radicalism therefore marked this period. It shows how the editors of the *Messenger* were defining what in meant to be a black activist in the 1920s and tried to find their space within the New Negro movement as whole.

Although they portrayed themselves as the leaders of the New Negro movement, the editors were in fact renouncing their own radical ideals. While trying to deport Garvey, the editors worked together with the NAACP, used Garvey's nationality against him and reported Garvey to the attorney general, the ultimate betrayal in the radical world. Moreover, the campaign created dissent within the black community, with the most forceful disapproval coming from W.A. Domingo, who left his position as editor of the *Messenger* shortly after he voiced his criticism in the magazine. Other black leaders, unaffiliated with the *Messenger,* also disagreed with Garvey's potential deportation, even though they denounced his ideology in general. The *Messenger*'s campaign against Garvey therefore shows the internal division within the black world, both inside and outside the realm of interracial socialism. This lack of radicalism and division within the black community made the New Negro movement less powerful and effective.

Shortly after Garvey was tried, the Friends of Negro Freedom group dissolved. Scholar Theodore Kornweibel argues that after Garvey's trial, the group lacked a common goal. Moreover, the FNF membership numbers had never been high: the elitist character of the group did not attract the working class.[142] Most of these black Americans were on Garvey's side. It might have been exactly these followers that could have tied the FNF together to achieve more of its goals. However, Garvey's followers came to despise the *Messenger* as much as he did.

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[142] Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair*, 170.

3. Marcus Garvey on the *Messenger*, 1917-1923

From his arrival in the United States, Marcus Garvey was considered a controversial person. Garvey was unapologetically black and, with race pride in mind, carried out many other things African Americans had never dreamt of doing, as is clear from his Black Star Line venture and his parades in Harlem. Moreover, Garvey gained a reputation for his critical views not only on white Americans, but also on other black leaders. This brought him in conflict with many famous Harlemites, including W.E.B. Du Bois.

In the previous chapter, we have already seen that the *Messenger* led a campaign against Garvey from mid-1922. In order to get a complete view of the reasons for this campaign, this chapter will consider Garvey's reactions to the magazine. How did Garvey respond to the *Messenger*, and how did this influence the relationship between Garvey and the editors? When this question is answered it is possible to place the campaign and its effects in the larger context of the New Negro movement. I will argue that Garvey's criticism on the *Messenger* was provoked by the magazine, since Garvey initially respected the radical nature of the editors and saw opportunity for cooperation. Moreover, Garvey's reactions to the *Messenger* show that the rivalry between the two parties was less about ideology than it was about personal matters: many of Garvey's responses concerned notions on what it meant to be a New Negro and a radical race leader and therefore touched upon his place in the movement as a whole.

Most of the research in this chapter is based on primary sources, including Garvey's periodical the *Negro World.* Unfortunately, not all issues of the *Negro World* are well preserved and easily accessible, which makes it impossible to research the *Negro World* from its inception in 1918. Nevertheless, the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in

New York has digitized most issues from February 12, 1921, until October 17, 1933. The articles through June 1923, the month of Garvey's incarceration, are used for this research. Most of the articles in the *Negro World* are transcribed speeches that Garvey gave at UNIA meetings. However, some articles are written by various, sometimes unknown, editors. This will be mentioned in the discussion of each article. Additionally, many of Garvey's speeches and letters are contained in *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, compiled by Garvey's second wife Amy Jacques Garvey. This book is mainly used to compensate for the years before 1921. Lastly, this chapter is supported by various secondary sources to place Garvey's movement and his responses to the *Messenger* in the larger picture of the New Negro movement.

Garvey and Black Activists

Marcus Mosiah Garvey had always been critical of black race leaders and the so-called "Negro press," and he used the UNIA's newspaper the *Negro World* as an outlet to articulate this criticism on an almost weekly basis. The black press was "the most venal, ignorant and corrupt of our time," and its editors "unprincipled, unscrupulous and characterless individuals, whose highest aims are to enrich themselves and to find political berths for themselves and their friends, or rather, confederates," Garvey argued.[143] Moreover, Garvey accused black leaders of indifference towards race issues and despised them for their inability to attract the black masses. In the February 1921 issue, for example, Garvey called black race leaders, "(…) a curse to the race. They criticize and condemn everything, and of themselves can do nothing to help when the crisis comes."[144] Garvey specifically despised W.E.B. Du Bois, who, with his ideology of integrationism and alliance with whites, was an example of the

[143] Marcus Garvey, "The 'Colored' or Negro Press," in *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, ed. Amy Jacques Garvey (Dover: The Majority Press, 1986), 2:77.
[144] "Unemployment Among Negroes and Whom Should We Blame?," *Negro World*, February 19, 1921.

"ante-bellum Negro."[145] Garvey used every opportunity he had to call attention to the shortcomings of these leaders and simultaneously tried to convince his readership of the value of his UNIA.

Although Garvey detested most race leaders, Garvey seemed to appreciate the editors of the *Messenger* in the UNIA's early years. In the *Negro World* of February 12, 1921, Randolph and Owen were described as "radical spokesmen" and "intelligent, class conscious workers."[146] Garvey and the editors found common ground in the radical nature of the New Negro, which Garvey articulated in various speeches. "Today the New Negro is here and he is going to play a man's part throughout the entire world. I come, therefore, to the city of Cincinnati not to apologize for anything, not to compromise anything: I come to tell you straightforwardly what the New Negro expects from the world. The New Negro desires a place in the political sun of the world," Garvey wrote in his newspaper.[147] Moreover, the *Messenger* and Garvey shared a mutual appreciation for the radical nature of Lenin and Trotsky.[148] Although Garvey admired the *Messenger*'s similar insurgent nature, he was skeptical about their ideology of socialism and trade unionism. Garvey argued that the white capitalist was "the only convenient friend" for black workers since he would at least provide employment, although for a lower wage than their white counterparts.[149] The racism that was inherent in unionizing would only disadvantage the black man, Garvey stated, which made it necessary to organize within the race until the black worker could become independent. Nevertheless, these ideological differences between the *Messenger* and Garvey did not lead to

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[145] Tony Martin, *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976), 287.
[146] "Black and White Labor Fights the Ku Klux Klan," *Negro World*, February 12, 1921, 5.
[147] "Provisional President of Africa Moves Cincinnati with His Great Eloquence," *Negro World*, February 26, 1921, 5.
[148] "Man - As We Know Him," *Negro World*, April 29, 1922, 1.
[149] Marcus Garvey, "The Negro, Communism, Trade Unionism and His (?) Friend: 'Beware of Greeks Bearing Gifts,' " in *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, ed. Amy Jacques Garvey (Dover: The Majority Press, 1986), 2:69.

animosity in these beginning years; as discussed earlier, Garvey and the editors worked together on several instances.

When Garvey was arrested in January 1922 on charges of mail fraud, he blamed the black establishment for his detention. “Others of my race oppose me because they fear my influence among the people, and they judge me from their own corrupt, selfish consciences,” Garvey argued.[150] According to the UNIA leader, the black establishment feared that his leadership would make the black masses too educated to believe in the fallacies of these old leaders. Garvey had no positive words left for these individuals, comparing them to “gamblers, thieves, rogues and vagabonds.”[151] However, it is unclear if this message was already focused on the editors of the *Messenger.* During the early months of 1922, the editors were still mainly analyzing Garvey’s ideology, and the “Garvey Must Go” campaign had not yet officially started. Moreover, in his statement of arrest, Garvey again referred to the idea of the New Negro: “(...) the New Negro likes a good fight - a fight like the fight of Needham Roberts - two taking twenty - and I want to say to them and to the white world that if they trifle with this Universal Negro Improvement Association, they are going to get what they are looking for.”[152] Since the *Messenger* and Garvey still had a similar idea of the radical spirit of the New Negro at this time, it seems that Garvey mainly focused his critique on W.E.B. Du Bois and his NAACP in these previous statements.

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[150] Marcus Garvey, “Statement of Arrest, January 1922,” in *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, ed. Amy Jacques Garvey (Dover: The Majority Press, 1986), 1:100.
[151] Ibid.
[152] “Marcus Garvey Tells Big Audience His Arrest is Culmination of Secret Efforts of Enemies to Emcompass [sic] Destruction of Universal Negro Improvement Association and Personally Discredit Him,” *Negro World*, January 21, 1922, 3.

Jealousy and the *Messenger*

It was not until July 1, 1922, that the editors of the *Messenger* were explicitly mentioned in the *Negro World.* This first article specifically focused on the *Messenger*'s critique of the UNIA's business ventures and tried to counter these charges. "The editors of the *Messenger* know a great deal about psychology, sociology and economics, but very little about real business," the (unknown) author wrote.[153] The author blamed Randolph's and Owen's ignorance on their young age and expressed the hope that they would mature over time, since "at present they lack the years which bring the philosophic mind."[154] Owen and Randolph were portrayed as simply being too young to be taken seriously; any criticism of the UNIA would be deriving from mere inexperience on their side.

This notion of inexperience was further advanced when Garvey himself responded to Randolph and Owen, in the July 8, 1922, edition of the *Negro World.* This first reaction toward the editors was relatively late, since the *Messenger* had already started writing about Garvey in 1920. Garvey later claimed that he had been unaware of the *Messenger's* campaign until one of his own editors alerted him, almost suggesting the insignificance of the *Messenger*.[155] In his article, Garvey argued that the *Messenger*'s commentary on the UNIA ventures was completely irrelevant since the editors had never successfully pursued any business projects themselves. "These two men belong to a group of 'Negro-do-nothings' who cannot tolerate the success of others of their own race," Garvey wrote, arguing that their criticism of the Black Star Line, and more particularly accusations of fraudulent acts in the company, were only motivated by jealousy.[156] In the article, Garvey furthermore qualified the

[153] "The Messenger on Garvey," *Negro World*, July 1, 1922, 4.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Marcus Garvey, "Garvey Asks Malicious Negroes Who Criticize Him to Prove Their Ability," *Negro World*, July 8, 1922, 1.
[156] Ibid.

behavior of Randolph and Owen as the same as that of Du Bois. Whereas Garvey earlier respected the editors for their New Negro mentality, he now clearly degraded them to the same level as the other Old Negroes.

Another point of criticism in these early articles was the editors' dependency on white beneficiaries. The UNIA leader made it very clear that he had been able to build up his organization without any financial support, while the *Messenger* was dependent on "the Socialist bank" and "the Soviet Government."[157] Garvey's criticism here mainly showed the differences in ideology between the two parties: whereas Garvey despised white help and qualified as a separatist, the *Messenger* collaborated with white organizations and could be seen as integrationist. This focus on the *Messenger*'s finances reappeared in various articles. In the September 30, 1922, issue of the *Negro* World, the (unknown) author argued that the "Garvey Must Go" campaign was just another way to make money for the *Messenger*, mentioning how "he's the best meal tickets you brats have had since the Socialist Party went into innocuous innoculty [sic]."[158] In these early articles, Garvey clearly prided himself on his success, while he disregarded the importance of the *Messenger*. The editors suffered from jealousy, and their criticism should not be taken too seriously.

A "Waterloo" for the "Traitors"

Although Garvey pretended to be unaffected by the criticism of the editors, over the months he increasingly viewed Randolph and Owen as his dearest enemies. Garvey saw Johnson, Du Bois, Owen and Randolph as the "quintette" of "traitors to the cause of liberty," and argued that the four were nothing more than "irresponsible shallow-brained" men.[159] According to

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[157] Ibid.
[158] "Should Garvey Be Deported?," *Negro World,* September 30, 1922, 4.
[159] "Hon. Marcus Garvey Flays His Critics – Taking Them to Task, One by One, Deals Them with Severe Body Blows – Tremendous Sunday Night Audience at Liberty Hall Hears Great Leader Excoriate His Opponents," *Negro World*, Aug 19, 1922, 2.

Garvey, the interracial socialism that the *Messenger* so supported was just another trick to involve the white man in the black man's business.[160] Furthermore, the *Messenger*'s objection against African redemption was "cowardly" and could be seen as the mindset of the "oldtime darkey" who did not desire freedom.[161] The UNIA, on the other hand, not only brought the race together, but was also making progress for economic, material, and industrial advancement. The criticism of the "Randolphs, and the Owens, and the Harrisons, and the Grays, and the Harris' and the Domingos" therefore was useless, according to the *Negro World.* The publicity would only make Garvey more popular with black Americans and would cause him to be regarded as "the greatest genius of the Negro race today."[162] Although Garvey constantly claimed to be unimpressed by his enemies, their attacks bothered him enough to write about it in the majority of his editorials in the *Negro World.*

Furthermore, Garvey made it clear that he would not shy away from using violence in the case that his enemies continued to attack him. In "A Warning to the Enemy," Garvey called the UNIA members to arms against his critics. "We are ready for you," Garvey wrote, "and before the 31st of August comes we are going to give you your Waterloo. (…) Let me tell you somebody is going to be smashed in New York between the first and the 31st of August." [163] Although Garvey mentioned that his warning was directed to all enemies of the UNIA, he specifically called out the NAACP, the "Negro Socialists," Pickens, Randolph and Owen. This threat of violence became more concrete in 1922 when A. Philip Randolph received a human hand in the mail. Although the Harlem streets buzzed with rumors that Garvey was responsible for the horrific package, he denied every charge of involvement in the action. The

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[160] Ibid., 11.
[161] Ibid., 2.
[162] "Marcus Garvey Acclaimed the Acknowledged Leader of the Negro Race - The Cynosure of All Eyes at the Third Annual Parade of the Negro Improvement Association," *Negro World*, August 5, 1922, 4.
[163] "Universal Negro Improvement Assn. Impregnable as the Rock of Gibraltar," *Negro World*, August 5, 1922, 10.

hand was nothing more than a publicity stunt by the *Messenger*, Garvey claimed, since the editors had "been trying to steal my publicity for quite some time."[164]

Indeed, in September 1922, at the height of the "Garvey Must Go" campaign, there were signs that the *Messenger* could use the extra attention. By February 1920, the magazine removed its subtitle "The Only Radical Magazine Published By Negroes," and changed it into "A Journal of Scientific Radicalism."[165] Comparing the popularity of the UNIA and the *Messenger*, scholar Colin Grant argues that by 1922, "the journal-reading black proletariat opted for the Negro World."[166] Both the *Messenger* and its organization the Friends of Negro Freedom were considered too intellectual, with their private forums and highly educated leaders, while Garvey was able to speak to the masses with his emotional rhetoric.[167] Garvey's program, which was focused on economic self-help and provided many African Americans with business and job opportunities, finally gave black Americans the possibility to pursue their "American dream."[168] On the contrary, the *Messenger*'s interracial socialism did not provide for economic uplift in such a way.[169] Therefore, Garvey's confidence about his popularity seemed to be righteous.

Although Garvey denied the criminal charges, his track record was bad. First and foremost, Garvey had promised a "Waterloo" in his August speech. Moreover, Garveyites actually began to use force to attack their enemies. There were several accounts of intimidation and violence, one of them being Friends of Negro Freedom member William Pickens. After Pickens had given a speech in a church in Toronto, Canada, he was met outside

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[164] *New York Age*, 9 September 1922, quoted in Colin Grant, *Negro with a Hat: The Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey* (London: Vintage Publishing, 2009), 350.
[165] Jervic Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical portrait* (New York: Harcout Barce Jonavich, 1972), 139.
[166] Colin Grant, *Negro with a Hat* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 350.
[167] Ibid, 351; Theodore Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair: Black Life and the Messenger, 1917-1928* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1975), 170.
[168] Grant, *Negro with a Hat,* 185-86.
[169] Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair*, 226.

by various UNIA members who intimidated Pickens and warned him to stop criticizing Garvey.[170] Moreover, Garvey continued his threats in the *Negro World* and promised to personally deal with his enemies if the law failed. "Let me say to Bagnall, to Pickens, to Randolph, and to Owen that Marcus Garvey is the last man to play the fool with," Garvey conspicuously wrote in the October 14, 1922, edition.[171] Consequently, this violence made Chandler Owen refer to the UNIA as an anarchistic organization in the letter to the attorney general.[172]

However, the *Messenger* was not completely innocent, either. An (unknown) editor of the *Negro World* reported that during one of the Friends of Negro Freedom forums, an attendee had called to murder Garvey.[173] Moreover, Robert L. Poston, Assistant Secretary General of the UNIA, in an earlier edition of the *Negro World* had described how A. Philip Randolph, during one of his speeches, had lied about Garvey's supposed alliance with the Ku Klux Klan and that "without facts Randolph proceeded to deliver one of the most anti-Garvey, anti-foreign, and anti-anything else that meant success for the Negro species imaginable" as a way to ignite the opposition against Garvey.[174] Animosity and violence clearly had begun to take over Harlem's radical environment.

"Good Old Darkies"

Although there were several articles that specifically focused on the *Messenger*, over time most of the criticism in the *Negro World* was stated in more general terms, considering the "wicked and malicious attempt" that was made by the "usual group of Negro opportunists" to

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[170] Ibid., 358.
[171] "The Universal Negro Improvement Association Has Raised Status of the Negro," *Negro* World, October 14, 1922, 2.
[172] Chandler Owen, "Should Marcus Garvey Be Deported?," *Messenger*, September 1922, 479.
[173] "Enemies Plot to Do Away with Hon. Garvey," *Negro World*, August 19, 1922, 2.
[174] Robert L. Poston, "A Doctor Please, for A. Philip Randolph! He's Off," *Negro World*, July 29, 1922, 2.

charge Garvey.[175] This was largely because Garvey had so much opponents, both inside and outside his organization, that he was simply not able to keep up with all of these "traitors."[176] Moreover, although Randolph and Owen were Garvey's biggest critics, he did not actually consider the two editors as his main enemies. Garvey viewed Du Bois as the worst of all black leaders, and argued that he was the instigator of the Friends of Negro Freedom group. Randolph and Owen were only part of the "small group of man led by Du Bois" and Garvey continuously referred to the group as "the gang."[177] Therefore, articles by Garvey that were focused on his enemies in more general terms should also be considered as responses to the editors.

Garvey moreover continued to focus his attacks on the Negro press as a whole, not solely on the *Messenger*. "The more they talk, the more we accomplish, and now that the venomous Negro Press has been criticising [sic] and endeavoring us to slaughter us, we will the more strengthen our journalistic output until we have put all our enemies to flight," Garvey mentioned in one of his editorials.[178] Garvey and the UNIA even came up with the idea to boycott the Negro press, since much of their journalism was based on false presumptions and accusations. Among this "venomous" press also was the *Chicago Defender*, which attacked the UNIA almost as much as the *Messenger* and was even involved in a libel suit with Garvey.[179]

Garvey's reaction to the letter to the attorney general, however, was certainly meant for Randolph and Owen. Whereas the letter was never published in the *Messenger,* Garvey

[175] Marcus Garvey, "George Harris, New York Negro, Looking for Notoriety Misrepresents Garvey in Columns of White New York World, *Negro World,* July 22, 1922, 1.
[176] Marcus Garvey, "Another War in Europe and the Negro," *Negro World*, January 13, 1923, 1.
[177] Marcus Garvey, "Eight 'Uncle Tom' Negroes Try to 'Tell' on the Man Who Is Exposing Negro Crooks as Leaders," *Negro World*, February 10, 1923, 2.
[178] Marcus Garvey, "Great Convention Accomplishing Much in Interest of Race," *Negro World*, August 19, 1922, 1.
[179] Tony Martin, *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976), 166.

was more than willing to do so on the front page of his magazine. Garvey viewed the letter as nothing less than racial betrayal. The misrepresentation of the UNIA and its followers would have a negative effect on the reputation of black people in general and would make it "harder for us to survive in the country of our common adoption," Garvey stated.[180] Referring to the signatories of the letter as "good old darkies," Garvey argued that the letter and opposition against the UNIA were examples of the black men's self-hatred.[181] Whereas the *Messenger* had argued that Garvey was "preying upon the most ignorant folks," Garvey in turn accused the eight authors of being "selfish grafters who have been living off the blood of the race."[182] On top of that, Randolph and Owen were described as anarchists who received money from Moscow and worked with the Soviet Union to overthrow the American government.[183]

The racial betrayal of which Garvey accused the authors mainly had to do with their skin color. The authors of the letter were almost all octoroons or quadroons, and could be seen as "miscegenationist."[184] They hated "everything Negro" and were building a "colored social cast as different from the Negro, which they claim to be primitive and ignorant," Garvey argued.[185] The differences in skin color, in this way, became an important factor in the conflict between Garvey and the editors of the *Messenger*. Garvey's view on this matter was caused by his Jamaican background. Jamaica's colonial system had created the existence of three separate racial groups. Whereas "negroes" were part of the working class, "mulattos," also called mixed-race or colored, occupied a middle-class status. The "mulatto" group worked as a barrier between the lowest class and the upper class (colonial whites) and were often

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[180] Marcus Garvey, "Eight "Uncle Tom" Negroes Try to "Tell" on the Man," *Negro World*, February 10, 1923, 1.
[181] Ibid., 2.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Marcus Garvey, "Enemy Organizations That Fight Underhand against Great Movement," *Negro World,* January 27, 1923, 1.
[184] "Eight Negroes vs. Marcus Garvey," in *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, ed. Amy Jacques Garvey (Dover: The Majority Press, 1986), 2:398.
[185] Marcus Garvey, "Eight 'Uncle Tom' Negroes Try to 'Tell' on the Man," *Negro World*, February 10, 1923, 2.

employed in functions that, although considered unsuitable for whites, held some sort of autonomy. Jamaican "negroes," on the other hand, held a low economic and social position and were subject to racism from the mulatto group. It was for this reason, Edmund Cronon argues, that Garvey developed "antipathy and distrust for any but the dark-skinned Negroes." [186] The acts of Randolph and Owen, therefore, only confirmed Garvey's deep animosity toward light-skinned activists. Furthermore, this argument gave a new dimension to the conflict; in Garvey's eyes, not only ideology, but skin color determined the legitimacy of one's activism and radicalism.

The Old versus the New Negro

When analyzing the articles in the *Negro World*, it becomes apparent that Garvey and the editors of the *Messenger* increasingly used the same arguments in their fight. Describing their opposition as the Old Negro, while simultaneously posing themselves as the New Negro, was one of the main similarities. For example, whereas Garvey was considered a "hat-in-hand nigger" by the *Messenger,* the UNIA leader similarly qualified the *Messenger*'s editors as "Uncle Tom Negroes."[187] Although Garvey initially appreciated the radical nature of the *Messenger*, with their campaign the editors now misinterpreted "the spirit of the New Negro." [188] Moreover, the UNIA leader argued that the failure of the Black Star could mainly be blamed on the "undermining influences" of his enemies who were "counting upon the old psychology of the Old Negro."[189] Apart from Garvey, there were various other editors in the *Negro World* who voiced disappointment over the *Messenger*'s departure from its earlier

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[186] E. David Cronon, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association,* rev. ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 11.
[187] "Now of the Press: The Pamphlet 'Eight "Uncle Tom" Negroes'," *Negro World*, March 24, 1923, 7.
[188] "Africa Is Organized for the Universal Negro Improvement Assn.," *Negro World*, April 28, 1923, 2.
[189] Marcus Garvey, "Organized Force of Negroes Will Bring Liberty, Freedom and Justice, *Negro World*, May 12, 1923, 1.

radicalism, mentioning how "an inconsistent and perplexing feature of the *Messenger* is that while it claims devotion to radicalism and the New Negro, it actually utilizes more space to critical and cynical comments and strictures of Negro characters of what it calls the old crowd."[190]

According to Garvey, the *Messenger*'s continuous dependency on white beneficiaries qualified them as Old Negroes, and he therefore prided himself on creating a self-sustaining environment. As an example, Garvey asked his membership in the *Negro World* to contribute to the defense fund for his upcoming trial. "The fight for African freedom is eternal and you must support it now by supporting the greatest leader of the race," Garvey wrote in the February issue of the magazine. [191] This independence was especially important for Garvey since both Du Bois and the Friends of Negro Freedom had repeatedly commented on his poor background. Garvey used this commentary to his own power and took pride in the fact that he had managed to set up an independent organization despite his upbringing.[192] Garvey was well aware of the differences in class between the UNIA's membership and his enemies, and connected it to the fight within the New Negro movement. "It is now the two different classes fighting for the preservation of the Negro on the one hand and the extermination of the Negro on the other hand," he wrote in the February 10, 1923, edition.[193] Garvey, in this way, used his self-dependence to promote his own movement and damage the *Messenger.*

Although his "enemies of Negro freedom" might have been from a higher class than Garvey, he disregarded their qualities as race leaders and, moreover, as men. "Smart, brilliant, great and intellectual though you enemies believe yourselves to be, you are yet school boy in

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[190] Hodge Kirnon, "Some Impression of the *Messenger* Magazine," *Negro World,* February 17, 1923, 5, Black New Yorkers Exhibition.
[191] "Marcus Garvey's Defense Fund," *Negro World*, February 10, 1923, 8.
[192] Marcus Garvey, "W.E. Burghardt Du Bois as a Hater of Dark People," *Negro World*, February 17, 1923, 1.
[193] "U.N.I.A. Going into Politics to Fight the N.A.A.C.P. – Enthusiasm at its Highest Point Throughout Country for U.N.I.A.," *Negro World,* February 10, 1923, 5.

your conceptions. Real men laugh at opposition, real men smile when enemies appear," Garvey wrote in the May 26 issue.[194] Garvey continuously portrayed his enemies as lazy, since they considered his "Africa for the Africans" program as logistically too difficult.[195] Moreover, Garvey questioned the organizational structure of the New Negro organizations, which, with their petitions and mass-meetings, took the easy way out, and he simultaneously prided himself on building a solid, hands-on organization.[196] According to Garvey, only "brave men, and brave men alone, will change the political forces of the twentieth century."[197] Garvey's commentary on the ability of his enemies touches upon concepts of black masculinity. In *The Making of the New Negro*, Anna Pochmara emphasizes the role that gender narratives and definitions of black manhood played during this period, which served "to celebrate or to repudiate rival black leaders."[198] In this way, claiming black masculinity was an important part of black radicalism. Pochmara describes how in the years leading up to the New Negro movement, Du Bois had also tried to define black manhood in his speeches and articles to prove his militant masculinity against his opponent Booker T. Washington. Likewise, by contrasting his own virtues against the lazy and childish nature of his enemies, Garvey seemed to assert "his own masculine agency" while "rhetorically emasculating" his opponents in the *Negro World.*[199]

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[194] Marcus Garvey, "The Fight for Negro Rights and Liberty Begun in Real Earnest," *Negro World,* May 26, 1923, 1.
[195] "U.N.I.A. Leaders Expose the Fallacies of Other Supposed Race Leaders," *Negro World*, February 17, 1923, 8.
[196] "Universal Negro Improvement Association Fills Carnegie Hall at Historic Meeting," *Negro* World, March 3, 1923, 8.
[197] "Greatest Negro Movement in the World Now on Trial," *Negro World*, June 2, 1923, 2.
[198] Anna Pochmara, *The Making of the New Negro: Black Authorship, Masculinity and Sexuality in the Harlem Renaissance* (Amsterdam University Press, 2011), 9.
[199] Ibid., 38.

"A Spiritual Force that Can Not Be Stopped"

One of Garvey's returning arguments was the spiritual and evangelical importance of his movement. Whereas Garvey considered himself a messiah and others saw him as the "black Moses," he also referred to his enemies in biblical terms. "Judas Reincarnated in Traitorous Negroes of Today," was one of the headlines of the May 26, 1923, issue.[200] In another article, Garvey compared his enemies to the Jews in the Bible: "(...) the Jews when they crucified Christ and rated him lower than a common thief did not humiliate Him as they thought, and so of the greatest leaders and reformers of all times."[201] In a similar manner, Garvey argued that his enemies were not just fighting an everyday movement, but "opposing a spiritual force that cannot be stopped."[202] Jail would not harm Garvey and the movement, men of likewise abilities would stand up to take the lead. In general, opposition and criticism would only continue to strengthen the movement and lead to higher membership numbers. Especially in the months before Garvey's trial, there was a constant affirmation of those numbers.[203] This can be seen as a reaction to the editors of the *Messenger,* who often claimed that the UNIA's popularity was declining as the scandals surrounding Garvey increased.

Garvey did not only defend the numbers, but also the composition of the UNIA's membership. One of the *Messenger*'s biggest arguments was that the UNIA mostly had poor and uneducated "West Indian" members, which would make the movement irrelevant to the "American Negroes."[204] According to the American leader of the UNIA William Sherill,

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[200] Garvey, "The Fight for Negro Rights and Liberty Begun in Real Earnest," 1.
[201] Marcus Garvey, "Fighting for a Place for Black Men and Women in a World of Racial Selfishness," *Negro World*, June 30, 1923, 1.
[202] "Africa Is Organized for the Universal Negro Improvement Assn.," 2.
[203] "Membership of the U.N.I.A. Standing Solidly behind the Movement and Marcus Garvey," *Negro World*, June 2, 1923, 2.
[204] See, for example, "Marcus Garvey! The Black Imperial Wizard Becomes Messenger Boy of the White Ku Klux Kleagle," *Messenger*, July 1922, 437. The editors of the *Messenger* there stated that Garvey "preys upon the ignorant unsuspecting poor West Indian working men and women."

however, 95% of the membership consisted of American born-members, which were "the better half" and not of little means.[205] Garvey argued that all the resentment for his nationality was useless, since slavery meant that almost none of the black people in the Western world had chosen to be born there. "We were brought here, and so the question of birth does not enter into the question of the Negro," Garvey stated in his final address during his trial. "Will you blame me for the accident of being a Jamaican Negro and not an American Negro?"[206] Garvey's statements here exemplified the relationship between African Caribbean immigrants and African Americans during the 1920s, which was marked by animosity. The African Caribbean immigrant was often ridiculed for his exotic dress and accent. Moreover, Philip Kasinitz points out that many African Americans saw African Caribbean immigrants as economic competitors, a view that corresponded with white anti-immigrant sentiments during the 1920s.[207] These African Caribbean immigrants often tried to find common ground between themselves and the African American community by referencing their shared history of slavery, similar to what Garvey tried to do in his articles. In conclusion, Garvey wanted to proof that the UNIA was significant for American society despite its African Caribbean origins.

Regardless of all the opposition against Du Bois, Owen and Randolph, Garvey argued that he had not wanted to be involved in any division within the race. His critique of the editors of the *Messenger* and his other enemies was purely reactionary. "It has always been the policy of the Universal Negro Improvement Association not to antagonize any Negro individual because our desire is to unite the race, but it is forced upon us now to clean house to save this race of ours," Garvey wrote in the February 10, 1923, edition.[208] Moreover,

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[205] "U.N.I.A. Going into Politics to Fight N.A.A.C.P," 3.
[206] "Garvey's Eloquent, Stirring, Brilliant Address," *Negro World,* June 23, 1923, 9.
[207] Philip Kasinitz, *Caribbean New York: Black Immigrants and the Politics of Race* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 45.
[208] "U.N.I.A. Going into Politics to Fight N.A.A.C.P," 5.

Garvey emphasized the stupidity of his enemies fighting within the race, since they were "trying to find judgment upon us at a time when we are supposed to be fighting a common enemy."[209] Garvey's statement seemed a bit ironic, considering that he had consistently used the pages of the *Negro World* to display his anger. Nevertheless, Garvey appears to have had a point here; over the years, the New Negro movement had busied itself fighting internal battles, instead of focusing on its common goal of fighting white racism.

In the months leading up to his verdict, Garvey used the trial to convince his enemies of the righteousness of his organization. His enemies would eventually come to see that the UNIA would be their only salvation, he argued in the *Negro World.*[210] While still attacking the *Messenger,* Garvey used his magazine to dismiss any signs of fear on his part. "Garvey counted on traitors from within and without," the *Negro World* of May 26, 1923, read.[211] Even when Garvey was eventually tried on June 23, he used this conviction to his own advantage. He prided himself on going to jail and argued that real leaders would die for the purpose of their organization; "so when the selfish, self-seeking, Du Boises, Pickenses and Weldon Johnsons and the rest glory over my imprisonment, which is but the result of a 'frame-up,' they show gross ignorance of the course pursued by real leaders in the cause of human liberty."[212] Clearly, Garvey was not one to easily give up the fight.

Garvey's response to the editors of the *Messenger* began quite late. While Garvey despised Du Bois and other so-called Old Negro leaders, he considered the editors of the *Messenger* "radical activists" and "intelligent workers," even promoting them in the *Negro World.* This is

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[209] Garvey, "The Fight for Negro Rights and Liberty Begun in Real Earnest," 1.
[210] "Garvey Restates the Aims and Objects of the Universal Negro Improvement Assn.," *Negro World,* May 19, 1923, 2.
[211] "Biggest Case in the History of the Negro Race," *Negro World,* May 26, 1923, 3.
[212] Marcus Garvey, "Fighting for a Place for Black Man and Women in a World of Racial Selfishness," *Negro World,* June 30, 1923, 1.

remarkable given that Garvey and the editors supported entirely different ideologies; Garvey's black nationalism was in sharp contrast with the *Messenger*'s interracial socialism. Nevertheless, in the early years of the movement, Garvey seemed to share with the editors of the *Messenger* the spirit of the New Negro; therefore he appreciated both Randolph and Owen.

Garvey's opinion about the editors changed when the "Garvey Must Go" campaign intensified. After repeatedly being mentioned in the *Messenger*, Garvey felt called to answer; in this way, Garvey's response was reactionary. Some of Garvey's articles can be seen as ideological critique of the *Messenger*. Firstly, Garvey despised socialism because of white involvement and the persistent racism in worker's organizations. Moreover, Garvey condemned Randolph's and Owen's dependency on white philanthropy, which concerned the integrationist ideology of the *Messenger*. Lastly, Garvey actively propagated African redemption and dismissed the editors' arguments that his "Back to Africa" program was impracticable.

However, most of Garvey's criticism on the *Messenger* seemed to go beyond ideology. At the core of Garvey's articles on the *Messenger* was competition. Garvey accused the FNF of jealousy and argued that they started their campaign to obtain more funds and publicity. Moreover, Garvey repeatedly claimed that the UNIA was achieving much for the benefit of the race, while his enemies had never been of purpose and did nothing but complain about the current state of affairs. Finally, membership numbers seemed to play a large role in the conflict. While the UNIA in fact was more popular, Garvey constantly felt the need to reaffirm this in his magazine.

Furthermore, there was an ongoing debate between the two parties on what it meant to be a New Negro and a black leader. The editors of the *Messenger* were counting upon the old

slave psychology of the Old Negro and were considered "Uncle Tom Negroes." Ironically, the *Messenger* argued the same about Garvey, calling him a "hat-in-hand nigger." Moreover, Garvey linked the concept of the Old Negro to notions concerning black masculinity. The selfish leaders of the *Messenger* could not be seen as real men and were described as lazy race leaders. On top of that, Garvey used his enemies' skin color to determine their radicalness. The editors could not be considered legitimate activists, Garvey argued, since they hated everything that had to do with being black. Therefore, the conflict between Garvey and the *Messenger* became a debate that revolved around New Negro identity.

Garvey's incarceration, and later his deportation, meant the end of the UNIA heyday and of its influence on the New Negro Movement as a whole. During his prison days, Garvey was still able to bring his ideology into the world with the help of his wife, Amy Jacques Garvey, who bundled Garvey's outlooks in *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey.* However, when he was deported back to Jamaica, Garvey quickly lost touch with the UNIA because of leadership changes and financial difficulties within the movement; the UNIA had also clearly suffered under the absence of its leader. Disillusioned, Garvey put his attention to new political organizations, but he never again experienced successes like the UNIA. Ultimately, its seemed like the *Messenger* and its companions succeeded in their goal of dismantling Garvey's organization.

Conclusion

On October 17, 1933, the last edition of the *Negro World* was published. It seemed like the magazine was not yet prepared for its end: on page 7, its readers were asked to send in their "subscriptions today!"[213] But Marcus Garvey, during his time in exile, must have seen the *Negro World*'s demise coming. Financial and organizational difficulties had left the UNIA and its membership fractured. Unfortunately, these problems were all beyond Garvey's reach since the new leaders of the UNIA refused contact, most of them done with Garvey's unpredictable personality. Garvey's despair led him to publish a new weekly newspaper in 1929, the *Blackman*, which was changed in 1933 into a monthly periodical and renamed the *Black Man: A Monthly Magazine of Negro Thought and Opinion*.[214] Garvey used the papers to regain popularity among his old membership in the U.S. and to advocate for his readmission to the country. Although he tried to rebuild his organization in Jamaica, Garvey increasingly had to deal with newer political movements that seemed more attuned to the Caribbean environment and therefore hindered him from achieving successes like the UNIA.[215] It is apparent that the *Messenger*'s campaign had a disastrous effect on both the UNIA and Garvey's life thereafter.

With its demise in 1928, the *Messenger* stopped publishing earlier than the *Negro World*, but the magazine had already lost its radical spirit years before that. The end of the "Garvey Must Go" campaign and the separation of the Friends of Negro Freedom group appeared to have damaged the insurgent goal of the *Messenger*, since the magazine changed

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[213] *Negro World,* October 17, 1933, 7.
[214] Robert Hill, ed., *Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol. X: Africa for the Africans, 1923–1945* (University of California Press, 2006), 600.
[215] Everett Jenkins Jr., *Pan-African Chronology III: A Comprehensive Reference to the Black Quest for Freedom in Africa, the Americas, Europe and Asia ,1914-1929* (Jefferson: MacFarland & Company, 2011), 509.

into a general-interest periodical shortly after Garvey's imprisonment. Later, as a part of the Brotherhood of the Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), the *Messenger* essentially served as a worker's magazine and consequently no longer attracted the average black reader. Moreover, shortly after the campaign Owen and Randolph parted ways; while the former left for Chicago and immersed himself in Republican politics, the latter became the leader of the BSCP. Although these men each found a new way to engage in black activism, their shared radical spirit, which was so prevalent in the early 1920s, never returned.

The demise of the *Messenger* and the *Negro World* can be placed in the larger context of the New Negro movement. While the cultural New Negroes continued their activism until 1935, the political New Negro movement lost its momentum around ten years earlier.[216] A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen with their *Messenger* and Garvey as a leader of the UNIA became symbols of the radical time by embodying the two different sides of the New Negro ideology. Their ideologies of interracial socialism and black nationalism, respectively, led them into Harlem's radical scene. Although these views were in sharp contrast to each other, in the early years of the movement the three radicals were bound by their ambition to fight the Old Negro as well as white racism, which led to cooperation between the two parties on various occasions.

This appreciation diminished as the *Messenger*'s criticism on Garvey intensified over the years. Although the *Messenger* first tried to analyze the UNIA from an objective perspective, the tone of the articles changed after Garvey's meeting with the Ku Klux Klan. The editors of the *Messenger* began to write in an emotional and personal manner, scolding Garvey for his appearance, leadership, and Jamaican nationality. More importantly, the editors tried to define their own position as radical New Negroes in their attacks on Garvey.

[216] Clifton C. Hawkins, " 'Race First Versus Class First': An Intellectual History of African American Radicalism, 1911-1928" (PhD diss., University of California Davis, 2000), 4.

Whereas Garvey was a “hat-in-hand good nigger,” a “messenger boy of the Klan,” and an overall menace to the black population, the *Messenger*, and consequently the Friends of Negro Freedom Group prided themselves on their radicalism and achievements for racial advancement.

While Randolph and Owen saw Garvey as an Old Negro, he described the editors in the same manner as “Uncle Tom Negroes.” Likewise to the editors’ attacks in the *Messenger,* Garvey used the *Negro World* to convince his members of the UNIA’s militant ideology and achievements. Garvey tried to define the concept of New Negro radicalism and included critical views on skin color, racism, and black masculinity in his analysis. Moreover, the UNIA’s membership numbers, which were much higher than those of the *Messenger,* took a central place in the debate. This may have led to jealousy on the side of Randolph and Owen. The feud between the *Messenger* and Garvey consequently came to embody more than just differences on the New Negro ideological spectrum; the activists wanted to ensure their own place in Harlem’s radical society at the expense of each other.

The editors of the *Messenger* were so personally involved in their feud with Garvey that they did not seem to realize they were simultaneously breaking some of their own radical principles, with the letter to the attorney general as the main example. Moreover, their campaign caused division within the black community. Many black leaders disagreed with Garvey’s deportation and the *Messenger* was deeply criticized by one of its own editors, W.A. Domingo, which eventually resulted in his resignation. The campaign therefore not only affected Marcus Garvey, but many others in the New Negro movement. Of course, there had been bad blood in the black world before, mainly between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. However, never before had such disagreements led to the actual removal of a member out of the black community. In this way, the conflict between the *Messenger* and

Garvey is a striking moment in black history. The *Messenger* had done to Garvey what the federal government had tried to achieve for years — disband a radical organization and persecute its leader. Moreover, even before Garvey's deportation, the tensions between the *Messenger* and the UNIA had been so high that it led to violent incidents on multiple occasions. This left the New Negro movement damaged, lacking its previous radical ideas and missing cooperation between various groups. In this way, this thesis shows that the "Garvey Must Go Campaign," by developing into a personal fight between Garvey and the editors of the *Messenger*, weakened the New Negro movement from within, which limited its capacity to have a lasting effect on American society.

The aftermath of the campaign has already been discussed. The New Negro movement lost much of its momentum, which eventually led to both the *Messenger*'s and the *Negro World*'s demise. What could have happened if the *Messenger*'s criticism had been more objective? Continuous cooperation between Randolph, Owen and Garvey certainly could have been feasible, since despite their differences in ideology, they had worked together in the early years of the New Negro movement. Hubert Harrison, in this case, provided for a great example of how to integrate different ideologies. Although his own theory was closest to that of Garvey, Harrison also shaped Randolph's and Owen's radicalism and provided them opportunities to develop their activism. For Harrison, partnership was inherent to the collective, radical spirit of the New Negro movement.[217] By cooperating in a consistent manner, these New Negroes probably could have offered greater resistance to white racism, since their shared goal was to elevate their subordinate position in society. Instead, these activists were fighting each other and damaged the movement.

[217] Jeffrey B. Perry, *Hubert Harrison: The Voice of Harlem Radicalism, 1883-1918* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 266.

Most literature has focused on how external factors influenced the effect of the New Negro movement on American society. Continuous white racism, federal intervention, as well as a lack of political agency are some of the causes that are offered by scholars to explain the relative failure of the movement. Moreover, several scholars have pointed out the weaknesses of black nationalism and socialism. It is not the goal of this thesis to undermine these factors and question their legitimacy. However, this research points out the important role that internal division had on the effectiveness of the New Negroes and, by this means, adds a perspective to the period that is missing in the historiography on this subject. Therefore, this thesis provides "a new look on the New Negroes."

Although the interpersonal disputes in the New Negro movement seemed to overshadow everything else at some moments, it is not the aim of this thesis to argue that the New Negro movement was completely without effect. On the contrary, the radical ideas that developed during the 1920s continued to inspire future movements. A. Philip Randolph, after his leadership position in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, played a major role in (the threat of) the March on Washington in 1941, and later in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963. Although Garvey died in 1940 and therefore was not a part of the activism during and after World War II, his ideas on black nationalism spoke to many subsequent black leaders. It is a well-known fact that Malcolm X was greatly inspired by Garvey, mainly because his father had served as a UNIA division president. When Malcolm X described his connection with Garvey's ideology in his famous autobiography, this led to nationwide renewed enthusiasm for Garvey's ideas in the 1960s.[218] In this way, despite the struggles that had come to define the New Negro movement, its legacy continued.

[218] Mary Rolinson, *Grassroots Garveyism: The Universal Negro Improvement Association in the Rural South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 193.

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