

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: A BLACK NATIONALIST WORLD: THE RHETORIC OF LEADERS OF THE UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION FROM 1914 TO 1925

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Black people continue to struggle for freedom. This project examines the way that leaders of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) fought for the freedom of Black people from 1914 to 1925. UNIA leaders rhetorically fought for Black people's freedom by building on their belief in Black self-determination to practice world-making and envision a public. Turning back to UNIA leaders' espousal of evaluations of the present and expectations for the future illustrates how UNIA leaders developed a view of a public capable of including all Black people and left behind a roadmap for how to make a more equitable world now.

Chapter One investigates Marcus Garvey's "Address to the 2nd Universal Negro Improvement Association Convention." Garvey's evaluations and expectations, his world-making, and his *freedom dream*, provided the foundation for UNIA leaders' view of their public as one that included all Black people. Chapter Two examines the rhetoric of UNIA leaders Henrietta Vinton Davis, William Ferris, and Marcus Garvey during the "Africa for the Africans" campaign. The second chapter reveals how leaders' world-making rhetoric provided them with the opportunity to envision a *parallel public*—a public inclusive of all Black people and insulated from the negative views of the

“dominant” public. The third chapter examines how leaders articulated evaluations of the past and present and expectations for the future to develop a view of their public as one still capable of supporting Black self-determination despite the imprisoning of Marcus Garvey. UNIA leaders like Henrietta Vinton Davis, William Ferris, Amy Jacques Garvey, William Sherrill, T. Thomas Fortune, and Marcus Garvey exemplified a *rhetoric of champions* as they predicted the future success of their public. The fourth chapter investigates how the most indispensable women leaders of the UNIA reflected on the UNIA’s successes from 1914 to 1925 after the UNIA had passed its prime. Chapter Four turns to Amy Ashwood Garvey’s and Amy Jacques Garvey’s reminiscences of Marcus Garvey in their interviews for “The Ghost of Garvey” conducted by Lerone Bennett Jr. In their interviews, Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey produced a *rhetoric of falling forward* by evaluating the UNIA’s past and expecting that the efforts of the UNIA leaders would have purchase for Black people fighting for freedom in the future. Ashwood Garvey’s and Jacques Garvey’s rhetoric pushed a view of leaders’ public as strong and supportive of Black self-determination into perpetuity.

This project concludes by reflecting on what UNIA leaders’ world-making and envisioning of a public illuminate about Black Nationalism in the 1960s and world-making now. Leaders did not get to see their Black Nationalist world come to fruition, but UNIA leaders did bring millions of Black people together around the idea that if they believed in self-determination, the future was theirs for the making. Turning back to UNIA leaders’ rhetoric from 1914 to 1925 evinces how by believing in Black self-determination and articulating their own evaluations of the present and expectations for the future, UNIA leaders charted a path to a different world.

A BLACK NATIONALIST WORLD: THE RHETORIC OF LEADERS OF THE
UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION FROM 1914 TO 1925

by

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iv
Introduction: A Map to UNIA Leaders’ Black Nationalist World.....	1
Black Nationalism Before the UNIA.....	6
Leaders of the UNIA: Making Black Nationalism for All Black People.....	25
Making a Black Nationalist World.....	31
A Map of the Black Nationalist World.....	35
Chapter 1: Dreaming of Freedom: Marcus Garvey’s “Address to the 2 nd Universal Negro Improvement Association Convention.”.....	49
Marcus Garvey: President-General of the UNIA.....	53
Woodrow Wilson’s War and Racial Resistance in the Early 1900s United States.....	67
Marcus Garvey: Dreaming of Freedom.....	75
Conclusion: Dreaming of Freedom as a Foundation.....	83
Chapter 2: A Parallel Public: UNIA leader’s “Africa for the Africans” Campaign.....	94
Presenting: A Parallel Public.....	99
The UNIA: A Parallel Public.....	102
Conclusion: A Parallel Perspective.....	125
Chapter 3: UNIA Leaders’ Rhetoric of Champions.....	137
Garvey’s Bad Business Practices, Briggs’ Challenge, and the Decline of the UNIA.....	143
The Champ Is Here: UNIA Leaders Losing Marcus Garvey.....	158
Conclusion: Champions and Challengers.....	174
Chapter 4: A Rhetoric of Falling Forward: Amy Ashwood Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey Reminiscing on the Universal Negro Improvement Association.....	186
A Rhetoric of Falling Forward: Defined.....	190
The UNIA After Marcus Garvey.....	193
Falling Forward: Amy Ashwood and Amy Jacques.....	205
A Rhetoric of Falling Forward: Concluded.....	218
Conclusion: UNIA Leaders’ Black Nationalist World.....	233
Bibliography.....	250

Introduction: A Map to UNIA Leaders' Black Nationalist World

In a May 1, 1963, letter written to the “Coworkers in the Cause for Garveyism,” Amy Jacques Garvey noted, “this is the 23rd year since the death of Marcus Mozhiah Garvey, and there isn’t a text-book on his life and work the (U.N.I.A.) in circulation. ‘Black Moses’ written by Dr. Cronon portrays a whiteman’s viewpoint.”¹ Jacques Garvey’s lamentation laid out that there was a need for a Black perspective on the past of Garvey and the UNIA. In a 1971 letter to then president-general of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), Thomas Harvey, Jacques Garvey continued her advocacy for a return to studying Marcus Garvey and the UNIA. Jacques Garvey wrote, “It is too bad that those who are leading do not find the time to study the work of this great man [Marcus Garvey] and his organization [the UNIA]. Facts which have been suppressed are being made known by me to scholars, writers and students all over the world, that is why white America now regards Marcus Garvey as a Black American, who has contributed most to Black history in the 1920 and 1930s.”² Jacques Garvey’s remark exemplified the approach that made the UNIA from 1914-1925 so remarkable. Jacques Garvey demonstrated that if no one else would do it she would do it herself. Amy Jacques Garvey, an indispensable leader of the UNIA of the 1920s and Marcus Garvey’s second wife, offered new insights by publishing multiple book-length texts about the UNIA and Marcus Garvey from 1923 until her death in 1973.³ Building alongside the rich archive amassed by Amy Jacques Garvey, multiple other Black authors, including Ula Taylor, Tony Martin, Robert Hill, and Rupert Lewis, have returned to the history of Marcus Garvey and the UNIA.⁴ This project builds alongside Taylor, Martin, Hill, and Lewis by once again doing as Jacques Garvey asked and returning to Garvey and the UNIA, but this time paying particular attention to the words UNIA leaders used to represent and spread their belief in Black self-determination.

When Marcus Garvey arrived in the United States he brought with him a leadership logic based in Black self-determination.⁵ Garvey's leadership paradigm developed from his experiences of oppression, his collaborations with Black women leaders, like Amy Ashwood Garvey, and his study of Booker T. Washington's principles.⁶ Garvey and other leaders of the UNIA imagined a public in which Black people saw themselves not through the eyes of others but their own.⁷ By leaders, here and throughout this project, I mean the elected and appointed leaders of the national headquarters of the UNIA in New York between 1914 and 1925. Examining the rhetoric of the leaders of the UNIA, like Marcus Garvey, Amy Ashwood Garvey, Amy Jacques Garvey, Henrietta Vinton Davis, William Ferris, William Sherrill, and T. Thomas Fortune, provides a view of how UNIA leaders practiced world-making and envisioned a public. Previous studies have investigated the UNIA as a cult of personality devoted to Marcus Garvey, as a useful connection between nineteenth- and twentieth-century Black Nationalism, and as an anti-capitalist organization.⁸ This project builds on previous studies by reading the words of UNIA leaders as not just pieces of a peculiar political prism but as instructions for how to begin to develop a world in which Black people are respected and supported—a Black Nationalist world.⁹

Leaders of the UNIA's world-making rhetoric developed from their enunciation of Black self-determination. In "Towards Love as Life Praxis," Ashley Hall explains how "Afrofuturist feminist worldmaking" can "actively challenge Western white cisheteronormativity, its knowledge systems, and its origin stories that equate Black death" with "American progress."¹⁰ Building alongside Hall, when I refer to UNIA leaders' efforts as "world-making," I mean to capture their rhetorical constructions of evaluations and

expectations that departed from the institutionally-supported narratives of their time. At the turn of the twentieth century, UNIA leaders advocated for Black self-determination through a set of expectations and evaluations that evoked an alternative world.¹¹ Turning to UNIA leaders' world-making reveals how by espousing their own evaluations and expectations, leaders were able to begin to chart a path toward a different world on earth. As leaders continued to speak the world they wanted into existence, one of the steps on their path toward a Black Nationalist world was envisioning a public.

For a short, ephemeral, moment in time, leaders of the UNIA used their world-making words to envisage a public by Black folks for Black folks. In the *Public and It's Problems*, John Dewey contends that the constitution of a "public depends upon consequences of acts and the perception of consequences."¹² Building on Dewey, in *Publics and Counterpublics*, Michael Warner describes a public as a product of "poetic world making."¹³ What for Warner is called, "poetic world making" produces a public by using would-be participant's "perception of consequences" to persuade them to see themselves as part of the public. UNIA leaders instantiated their public by articulating evaluations of the past and expectations of the future that offered a perception of the consequences of practicing Black self-determination.¹⁴ This project elucidates how UNIA leaders rhetorically represented their belief in Black self-determination and how leaders described the public they hoped their world-making would make. Contemporaries to UNIA leaders, like C.L.R. James, doubted the efficacy and possibility of Black self-determination. In his role as an activist, well-respected anti-capitalist scholar, James, argued, "In Africa and in the West Indies we advocate self-determination because a large majority of the people want it. In Africa the, great masses of the people look upon self-

determination as a restoration of their independence . . . In America the situation is different. The Negro desperately wants to be an American citizen.”¹⁵ James’ argument advanced a view that arguing for self-determination was worthwhile for some populations but not Black Americans. In the World War I moment, when some believed that the best path for American Black people was to put their ability to determine their future in the hands of either the anti-capitalists or the institutional colonizers, leaders of the UNIA charted a different path.¹⁶ UNIA leaders argued from and for a world in which Black people were unified by their previous oppression and possessed the ability to determine their future for themselves. Leaders’ world-making extends scholarly understandings of what kinds of publics we can imagine and reveals how to keep a positive view of one’s public while dealing with problems. From 1914-1925, UNIA leaders evoked a world and imagined a public that connected everyday Black people and Black Nationalism by developing an ensemble of concerns that in their minds included *all* Black people.

This introduction lays the foundation for how this project unveils UNIA leaders’ world-making words and vision of their public. First, I rehearse the historical development of Black Nationalism to explicate the classist and sexist foundations UNIA leaders were hampered by and partially departed from. Second, I provide a brief sketch of the development of the UNIA to provide a primer for this project’s engagement with a period in UNIA leaders’ activism that spanned 10 years and multiple continents. Third, I preview how leaders of the UNIA’s rhetoric reflected a set of evaluations and expectations that fit within and add to contemporary conceptions of world-making and publics. Finally, I provide a blueprint of how this project illuminates the world-making and envisioning of a public practiced by leaders of the UNIA.

Black Nationalism Before the UNIA

Black Nationalism is an ideology that has been a part of the fabric of American identity since before there was an American identity.¹⁷ Returning to the rhetoric of UNIA leaders opens space to emphasize the influence that women have enacted on the development of Black Nationalism and bring to greater relief the class position of some of the most historically-recognized Black nationalists.¹⁸ From the moment of what can be called proto Black Nationalism until the 1920s, Black nationalist ideology saw peaks and valleys in popularity but many of the most well-known Black nationalists consistently advocated for Black self-determination.

The designation of which beliefs make up Black Nationalism has been and continues to be contested. In 1970, John Bracey, August Meir, and Elliott Rudwick, in their co-edited volume on Black Nationalism, opined that “the simplest expression of racial feeling that can be called a form of black nationalism is racial solidarity . . . the desire that black people organize themselves on the basis of their common color and oppressed condition to move in some way to alleviate their situation.”¹⁹ Writing contemporarily with Bracey, Meir, and Rudwick, Rodney Carlisle argued, “American Black Nationalism is . . . a group of ideas which had a continuous development, a tradition.”²⁰ Taken together, the perspectives of these scholars illuminate a tradition of Black Nationalism that at its core is focused on Black unity. Also writing in the 1970s, Alphonso Pinkney contended that, “While it is not always possible to specify the precise genesis of nationalist sentiment, in many cases it probably results from a combination of historical factors and social conditions existing in any given time.”²¹ Pinkney’s addition affirmed the existence of a Black Nationalist tradition, but added that the manifestation of Black nationalist principles often presents differently based on contextual factors. These early examples of scholarly

engagement with Black Nationalism catalyzed a canon both limited and lavish enough to include central figures like David Walker, Henry Highland Garnett, and Martin Delany.

Conversely, Wilson Jeremiah Moses reconceptualized Black Nationalism in a way that excluded Walker from the Black nationalist canon. In his 1978, *Golden Age of Black Nationalism*, Moses defines Black Nationalism as a willingness to uphold and advocate for four tenets: “Black Separatism, African Civilizationism, Authoritarian Collectivism, and Ethiopian Mysticism.”²² In his 1978 work, Moses includes Walker in the Black nationalist canon but notes that Walker was not a separatist. In his 1996 *Classical Black Nationalism*, Moses explicitly excludes Walker and Maria Stewart from the Black nationalist canon when he argues that the fundamental assumption of Black Nationalism is Black separatism.²³

Contemporary scholars have decentered Black separatism and instead centered the idea of a varied tradition when conceptualizing Black Nationalism. In his collected volume of speeches meant to represent the contours of Black Nationalism, William L. Van Deburg asserted that the Black nationalist tradition has gone through much transformation and reformulation. Van Deburg noted, “originality and continuity, malleability and conviction are not considered polar opposites. Rather, they are viewed as complementary attributes that have contributed to black nationalism’s longevity and serve to enhance its relevance for the twenty-first century.”²⁴ For Van Deburg, Black Nationalism is a tradition, yet it is and has always been in flux. Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar has been more specific about what ideas tie the tradition of Black Nationalism together. In 2004, Ogbar wrote, “The most viable definition of Black nationalism is one that includes group consciousness among black people and the belief that they, independent of whites, can achieve liberation by the creation

and maintenance of black institutions to serve the best interests of black people.”²⁵ Ogbar’s definition both affirms and expands the definition offered by Bracey, Meir, and Rudwick before him. Whereas Bracey, Meir, and Rudwick’s definition emphasizes the importance of unity, Ogbar’s definition adds in self-determination as a foundational component of Black Nationalism.

UNIA leaders’ enunciation of Black Nationalism extends scholarly investigations of Black nationalist ideology by providing an opportunity to illustrate the contours of Black Nationalism marked by self-determination in the 1920s. UNIA leaders’ practices evince how Black nationalist ideology was morphed by a gender and economically-inclusive perspective. The history of the development of US Black Nationalism has been limited by patriarchal perspectives. In *Defining the Struggle*, Susan Carle contends that “August Meier erred in dismissing” the influence of Black women on the development of “turn of the century African American thought.”²⁶ In 2019, in *The Revolution Will Not be Theorized*, Errol Henderson asserts that Black Nationalism is “the original ideology of African Americans, and at its most progressive and radical it has been an emancipatory ideology in the United States.”²⁷ While practicing Black Nationalism, leaders of the UNIA worked to emancipate themselves and other Black people by developing, when compared to the other racial uplift advocates of their time, a different set of expectations along class, gender, and political lines.²⁸ Taking the UNIA’s version of Black Nationalism as a central station in the history of Black Nationalism limns the way that meaningfully including women and poor Black people in the 1920s influenced the Black nationalist tradition.²⁹

Proto-Black Nationalism

Since the beginning of the American experiment, inequality has given rise to Black nationalist ideology. From the revolutionary period until the early days of enslavement, remnants of Black nationalist ideology were present but did not have the environment to allow them to sustain. With the success of Haiti, the development of mutual aid societies, and establishment of a Black press, the groundwork was laid for full enunciations of Black Nationalism.

During the United States Revolution, the inequity of Black people fighting for the freedom of a country in which they were not free was already present. Crispus Attucks, a formerly enslaved person, died as one of the first casualties of the Revolutionary War.³⁰ In the early days of the republic, discontinuity between Thomas Jefferson's bold claim that "all men were created equal" and the bondage of enslaved peoples emboldened Black people's discontent.³¹ In one of the earliest surviving written accounts by a formerly enslaved person, Olaudah Equiano recalls that Doctor Perkins, an enslaver, struck Equiano with the "first weapons they could get a hold of." Equiano continues that he "cried out as long as [he] could for help and mercy" and though he "gave a good account of" himself, Perkins and his compatriot continued to beat and strangle Equiano leaving him "near dead."³² Equiano's abuse was an example of the kind of inequality that fomented dissent in the period after the US revolution.³³

The inequality of the early republic gave rise to what could be considered proto-Black Nationalism. The slave revolts of the early 1800s can be considered proto-Black Nationalism as evidence confirms interest in self-determination, but the plans were not as sustained as the plans of later Black nationalists. For example, Ben Woolfolk, a co-conspirator in Gabriel Prosser's rebellion, noted, "they would kill all except as before

excepted unless they agreed to the freedom of the Blacks.”³⁴ Prosser, in his plot for rebellion in Virginia, did aim to foster Black people’s ability to be in control of themselves, but his goals also included settling scores with former friends and recent enemies.³⁵ Prosser did not have the same sustained advocacy as later Black nationalists, like Walker, Stewart, and Garnet, but the revolutionary fervor Prosser espoused resonated with the belief in sustained self-determination that would gestate Black mutual aid societies.

Black mutual aid societies created a meeting place that incubated Black Nationalism. The preamble to the 1778 founding document for the Free African Society reads, “a society should be formed, without regard to religious tenets, provided the persons lived an orderly and sober life, in order to support one another in sickness, and for the benefit of their widows and fatherless children.”³⁶ The Free African Society’s embrace of those who lived “orderly and sober” lives and aimed to protect the “widows” highlights the primordial class and gender presumptions of some versions of Black Nationalism. Even in the late eighteenth-century, in the preamble for the Free African Society, support was tied to a certain class position and underwritten by inequitable gender expectations.³⁷ Though flawed, the precursors to full enunciations of Black Nationalism were propelled by the success in Haiti.

Haiti’s successful war for independence strengthened Black people’s belief that a Black population could determine their own future. Haiti, following the United States, was the second country to throw off the yoke of colonial rule in the Western hemisphere.³⁸ Though citizens in the North favored the Haitian revolution, that sentiment was not shared by Southern Jeffersonian Republicans. Writing to William Short about Haitian independence in 1791, Thomas Jefferson noted, “I expressed to them freely my opinion

that such an object was neither desirable on their part nor attainable.”³⁹ After Haiti’s successful revolution, Jeffersonian Republicans refused to support the newly-founded nation based on fear of an independent Black nation weakening the viability of slavery.⁴⁰ Fittingly, there is evidence that the Haitian revolution did exactly what Jeffersonian Republicans feared: inspired Black mobilization.⁴¹ Following Haiti’s triumph, Black Americans began signifying their connection to the new nation. In 1812, the first New York African Masonic Lodge named itself after the then president of Haiti and became known as the Boyer Lodge. Black orators, like David Walker, emphasized the connection between Black Americans and the newly founded Haitian republic. In his “Necessity of a General Union Among Us,” David Walker described Haitians as “brethren.”⁴² As Black Americans strengthened their connection to Haiti, their connection to each other was challenged by the development of the American Colonization Society.

Black people’s exigence for the development of independent societies and presses was enriched by the founding of the American Colonization Society. In 1816, the ACS was founded with the intent to repatriate Black Americans. Henry Clay, one of the most memorable founders of the ACS, framed colonization as a plot to “drain off” the free Black population.⁴³ Many Black Americans did not support the ACS’s plan to colonize Black people in Liberia.⁴⁴ In fact, Maria Stewart, in her “Masonic Hall” speech, proclaimed that she would rather be “pierced through” by a bayonet than moved to a “strange land.”⁴⁵ Stewart’s repudiation of the ACS’s plan to the Massachusetts General Colored Association exemplified one of the earliest full enunciations of Black Nationalism.

Black Nationalism Begins: David Walker and Maria Stewart

David Walker and Maria Stewart espoused full enunciations of Black Nationalism. Walker’s and Stewart’s oratory created a path that multiple other notable Black nationalists

followed until the turn of the twentieth century. Following Walker's and Stewart's time, the Black nationalist canon became more interwoven with religion and separatism.

The founding of the Massachusetts General Colored Association (MGCA) was the catalyst for some of the earliest Black nationalist speeches. In 1827, David Walker and others founded the MGCA.⁴⁶ In his 1828 "Necessity of a General Union Among Us," Walker highlighted that although the MGCA had come together there were still forces at play that wished to forestall their freedom. Walker remarked, "had our opponents had their way, the very notion of such an institution might have been obliterated in our minds."⁴⁷ Walker built on his arguments in his "Necessity" in his 1830 version of his "Appeal in Four Articles." In his "Appeal," Walker wrote, "we can help ourselves; for, if we lay aside abject servility, and be determined to act like men, and not brutes—the murders among the whites would be afraid to show their cruel heads."⁴⁸ Walker's early argument asserted that if Black people practiced self-determination they could protect themselves and dissuade "murders" from showing their "heads." Maria Stewart advanced a similar argument in her "Masonic Hall" address. In her "Masonic Hall" speech, Maria Stewart stated, "Let our money, instead of being thrown away as heretofore, be appropriated for schools and seminaries of learning for our children . . . Nothing would raise our respectability, add to our peace and happiness, and reflect so much honor upon us, as to be ourselves the promoters of temperance."⁴⁹ Stewart's suggestion that her MGCA audience pool their money and themselves be "promoters of temperance" highlighted that she, much like Walker, supported Black self-determination.

Walker's call for self-determination in his "Appeal" and Stewart's advocacy for self-determination in her "Masonic Hall" speech helped mold Black Nationalism. Walker's

and Stewart's texts exemplify that Black Nationalism can be defined as sustained advocacy for Black self-determination. Reading Black Nationalism with Stewart as one of the founding voices broadens our understanding of Black Nationalism and extends contemporary scholarship that focuses on Black women's significance to Black political developments.⁵⁰ In "What If I Am a Woman," Rhana Gittens asserts, "Stewart is the first known person to grapple with the intersectionality of being American, African, and a woman on a public platform and thus explicated the conscious identity of African American women."⁵¹ Thinking about Stewart as not only one of the earliest Black feminists but also Black nationalists fortifies the Black nationalist tradition. Reemphasizing Stewart's significance highlights the gendered oppression that made Stewart's short-lived speaking career novel and chronicles the space that women like Amy Ashwood Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey eventually filled. Walker's and Stewart's efforts to promote Black self-determination were aided by the coeval development of an independent Black press.

The establishment of the Black press strengthened calls for Black self-determination by producing a vehicle for the circulation of the messages created by Black people. For example, *Freedom's Journal* is often considered the first Black newspaper in the United States.⁵² As the first Black newspaper, *Freedom's Journal* provided a space for Black people to develop their own discourse. David Walker is noted as a benefactor in almost every issue of *Freedom's Journal*.⁵³ *Freedom's Journal* also publicized group events and made it possible for the spreading of the messages of early Black nationalists to literate and free Black people.

Walker's and Stewart's advocacy for self-determination built upon the development of aid societies, an independent press, and growing discontent and created a path that Black nationalists followed into the 1920s.⁵⁴ Walker's and Stewart's advocacy illuminates a formula for the espousal of Black nationalist discourse from 1830 until 1914. The significance of Walker's and Stewart's advocacy is confirmed by the anticipation and reception their advocacy generated. Stewart's reputation, for example, earned her a feature story in the *Liberator*. On February 23, 1833, the headline read, "A Lecture on African Rights and Liberty, will be delivered . . . by Mrs. Maria W. Stewart."⁵⁵ The force of Walker's rhetoric continued to circulate years after his death with Henry Highland Garnet heralding Walker's "Appeal" as "a smooth stone" that "terrified a host of Goliaths."⁵⁶ Garnet's framing of Walker's "Appeal" as a "stone" suggested that laden within Walker's discourse was a resource for resisting oppression. Thinking through the discourse of Garnett and other notable Black nationalists that followed Walker and Stewart illustrates the development of arguments for Black self-determination in the years before the UNIA.

Henry Highland Garnet: Walking in the Path of Walker and Stewart

Henry Highland Garnet followed the path left by David Walker and Maria Stewart. In his time, Garnet buttressed the connection between Black self-determination and religion. Garnet's rhetoric provides an example of how Black nationalist doctrine shifted as the 1840s became the 1850s.

Henry Highland Garnet was inspired by David Walker. Garnet was born in Maryland in 1815. Garnet's family fled from Maryland to escape enslavement in 1825. Once he arrived in New York, Garnet attended the New York African Free School, where he befriended Alexander Crummwell and James McCune Smith.⁵⁷ In 1834, Garnet founded the Garrison Literary and Benevolent Association. Garnet is most well-known for his 1848,

“Address to the Slaves of the United States.”⁵⁸ In his “Appeal,” Garnet asserted, “Brethren, the time has come when you must act for yourselves. . . . You can plead your own cause, and do the work of emancipation better than any others.”⁵⁹ Garnet’s reference to the enslaved as “brethren” and prediction that they could achieve “emancipation better than any other” evinced Garnet’s support of self-determination. Inspired by Walker’s text, Garnet recirculated Walker’s “Appeal” alongside his own “Address to the Slaves of the United States.”⁶⁰ Circulation of Walker’s text along with Garnet’s helped popularize self-determination in struggles for Black liberation.⁶¹

Garnet’s version of Black Nationalism developed Black nationalist doctrine by using religion as a foundation for emphasizing the importance of self-determination. Garnet asserted, “the Almighty Father of Mercies has left to us a glimmering ray of hope, . . . Mankind are becoming wiser, and better—the oppressor’s power is fading, and you, every day, are becoming better informed, and more numerous.”⁶² Garnet continued, “In every man’s mind the good seeds of liberty are planted, and he who brings his fellow down so low, as to make him contented with a condition of slavery, commits the highest crime against God.” Garnet’s assertion confirmed and extended the model created by Walker and Stewart. Garnet was a member of a mutual benefit society and advocated for Black self-determination as a solution to racial oppression in a moment in which the strength of slavery seemed to be subsiding. Garnet’s advocacy marked a discursive development in Black Nationalism away from moral suasion and toward a more ambivalent relationship with violent insurrection underwritten by religion.⁶³ Ella Forbes contends that as the dehumanizing ramifications of the Compromise of 1850 became clearer, Black people became more willing to entertain violence as one of many strategies they could use to

struggle toward freedom.⁶⁴ Laden in Garnet's willingness to entertain violent responses to enslavement was a steadfast belief in self-determination that was matched by the rise in the belief in Black emigration.

Martin Delany and Mary Shadd Cary Supporting Black Separatism

As the 1850s turned into the 1860s, separating from white people became an alluring option for Black people. Martin Delany expressed sentiments that supported Black separatism. Mary Shadd Cary instructed Black people on how to practice separatism. Delany's and Shad Cary's rhetoric reveals how, for some, during the period just before the Civil War it seemed that separation may be the best path to liberation.

Martin Delany advocated and mobilized for Black emigration in the ante-bellum period. Sometimes, Delany is heralded as the original Black nationalist.⁶⁵ There is good reason to start the story of Black Nationalism at Martin Delany. Delany was interested in promoting self-determination amongst Black people and Black separatism. In his "Advice to Ex-Slaves," Delany noted, "As before the whole South depended upon you, now the whole country will depend upon you. I give you an advice how to get along. Get up a community and get all the lands you can."⁶⁶ Delany's "Advice" reveals a commitment to Black people determining their own future. As I have made the case, here, there is a history of the ideas espoused in Delany's oratory that goes back further than himself. First Black nationalist, or not, it is fair to consider Delany as a foundational advocate for Black separatism given his support for Black emigration. In the conclusion to his most well-known work, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of The Colored People of the United States*, Delany argued, "We have advised an emigration to Central and South America . . . [A]ccording to our oppressors' own showing, we are a superior race, being

endowed with properties fitting us for all parts of the earth [Black people can] live wherever we may choose; while the white race may only live where they can.”⁶⁷

While Delany was suggesting emigration, Mary Shadd Cary was living her life as an emigrant in Canada. Shadd Cary was born Mary Ann Shadd in Delaware in 1823. To escape the shadow of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, Shadd Cary moved to Canada. In her 1852, *A Plea for Emigration*, Shadd Cary contended that “the odious Fugitive Slave Law” made residence in the United States “dangerous in the extreme.”⁶⁸ Shadd Cary built on the success of her *Plea for Emigration* and cofounded the *Provincial Freeman* with Rev. Samuel Ringgold Ward in 1853.⁶⁹ While based in Canada, Shadd Cary continued to influence the path for American Black nationalists. Shadd Cary was the first Black woman to address the Colored National Convention in 1855.⁷⁰ In “Break the Yoke,” Shadd Cary argued, “Those with whom I am identified, namely the colored people of this country—and the women of the land are in the pit figurat[ively] speaking are cast out. . . . What we aim to do is to put away this Evil from among you and thereby pay a debt you now owe to humanity.”⁷¹ Shadd Cary’s advocacy added to Delany’s perspective by providing information on the day-to-day struggles and benefits of emigration in the wake of the Fugitive Slave Law. Delany’s and Shadd Cary’s advocacy reflected the ebb and flow of Black Nationalism in the years leading up to the Civil War. Whereas Garnet had the privilege of optimism about the strength of anti-slavery forces, Delany and Shadd Cary had evidence that a more accurate conclusion might be that the United States would never truly accept Black people.

Delany and Shadd Cary stretched the mold left by Walker and Stewart by being part of mutual aid societies, advocating for Black self-determination, and concluding that

there is no place for Black people in the United States. In response to Frederick Douglass' 1853 Rochester convention speech, Delany helped to organize the 1854 National Emigration Convention of Colored People.⁷² In 1855, Delany remained steadfast in his belief in the positive implications of emigration. Speaking to the National Board of Commissioners, Delany argued, "Emigration strictly, is neither domestic nor foreign, but a policy which belongs to both aspects of our political advancement. And while anxiously contemplating the vista in this direction, the threatening storm of oppression is seen giving way."⁷³ Delany's and Shadd Cary's consistent advocacy for emigration helped shape Black Nationalism by popularizing the idea that the United States would never fully accept or respect its Black citizens. The pessimism proclaimed by Delany and Shadd Cary was given a prophetic tone by Bishop Henry McNeal Turner.⁷⁴

No Future in this Country: Bishop Henry McNeal Turner

Bishop Henry McNeal Turner's rhetoric responded to a shifting landscape in the context of Black Nationalism. Early on, Turner illustrated that there may not be a peaceful future for Black people in the United States. After the Civil War came and went, Turner participated in the legislature for Black rights. As the rollback of Reconstruction began, Turner offered a prophesy for what would come of limiting Black rights.

Bishop Henry McNeal Turner built on Henry Highland Garnet's belief that self-determination amongst Black people had been divined by the providence of God. Turner advocated for Black self-determination by using his belief that God bestowed humanity upon Black people as a basis.⁷⁵ Turner was born free in 1834 in South Carolina and became an ordained minister in the African Methodist Episcopal church in the 1850s. Turner's religious beliefs congealed into a perception that his humanity should garner him respect. In his "I Claim the Rights of a Man," Turner expressed a steadfast belief in Black self-

determination. Turner noted, “Am I not a man because I happen to be of a darker hue than honorable gentlemen around me? Let me see whether I am or not. I want to convince the House today that I am entitled to my seat here.”⁷⁶ Turner’s argument that he would “convince the House” he was “entitled” to his seat evinced his belief in determining his future for himself. Turner’s advocacy carries vestiges of earlier Black Nationalism while also standing in as an example of Black Nationalism during its 1860-1920 nadir. In his 1872 *Present Duties and Future Destiny of the Negro Race*, Turner asserted, “the Negro must climb his own ladder, if he ever scales the mount of distinction.”⁷⁷ Turner’s advocacy occurred during the beginning of a decline in the popularity of Black Nationalism. Following the Civil War, though racial inequality persisted, optimism about the capacity of the United States to change made Black Nationalism seem less persuasive.⁷⁸ As Turner remarked to the Georgia Legislature, “You may expel us, gentlemen, but I firmly believe that you will some day repent it. The Black man cannot protect a country, if the country doesn’t protect him.”⁷⁹ Turner’s warning reflected the progress toward racial equality signified by Black people being present at all in the legislature and the continuation of racial inequality that ensured that Black people would soon be removed from the legislative assembly.

Where Have the Black Nationalists Gone: Douglass, Washington, Du Bois, Harper, and Terrell

From the 1870s until the 1920s, Black Nationalism experienced a decrease in popularity as a political doctrine.⁸⁰ In the years before the UNIA, multiple notable Black leaders thought through cooperation with whites as their solution to Black people’s problems. The debate between integration and assimilation at the turn of the twentieth

century left the door open for Black Nationalism to return to its previous position as a popular political ideology.

As the 1860s came to a close, Black Nationalism started to lose its hold on the minds of Black Americans. As John Bracey, August Meir, and Elliot Rudwick note, “Nationalist ideologies have been in the ascendant only at certain historical periods: in others, the major emphasis has been on racial integration and assimilation.”⁸¹ As Black Americans became more optimistic about the capacity for the United States to change, Black nationalist mobilization and arguments, though present, became less popular.⁸²

Between the late 1860s and early 1900s, some prominent Black leaders advocated for assimilation as their form of social transformation.⁸³ For example, Frederick Douglass’s discourse dictated that Black people work to make sure they could share in developing the United States. For Douglass, Black people needed to participate in making America better.⁸⁴ Douglass’ belief in the American social compact ran so deep that late in his career he dealt with criticism for his views on the Black Exodus. As violence spread across the South during Reconstruction, people like Benjamin Singleton exalted and executed an Exodus.⁸⁵ Singleton led a group, now referred to as the Exodusters, in route to Kansas in hopes of alleviating their miserable conditions following the Civil War. When describing the condition of Black people in the South after the Civil War, John Mercer Langston concluded, “The facts that bear upon this point are clear, positive, and undeniable. The freedman is without protection.”⁸⁶ Despite the dilapidated condition of his brethren, Douglass admonished those who participated in Exodus. Douglass remonstrated, “the public and noisy advocacy of a general stampede of colored people from the South to the North. . . concedes, that on the soil of the South, the United States Constitution cannot be

enforced.”⁸⁷ Douglass’ optimism provides an opportunity to clarify what distinguishes Black nationalists from other racial uplift advocates. Progressive racial advocates sometimes believe in the power of established institutional powers, whereas Black nationalists believe in Black people.⁸⁸ Douglass’ views are epitomized in his 1869 “Composite Nationality,” where he contended, “The voice of civilization speaks an unmistakable language against the isolation of families, nations and races, and pleads for composite nationality as essential to her triumphs.”⁸⁹ The primacy of Frederick Douglass produced a wave of sentiment that limited the influence of Black Nationalism until Garvey.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Black women’s varied racial uplift strategies added nuance to the debate between assimilation and integration.⁹⁰ In 1895, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin noted, “Five years ago we had no colored women’s clubs outside of those formed for the special work: to-day, with little over a month’s notice, we are able to call representatives from more than twenty clubs.”⁹¹ In her speech to the First Annual Convention of the National Federation of Afro-American Women, Rosetta Douglass-Sprague remarked, “Our progress depends on the united strength of both men and women—the women alone nor the men alone cannot do the work.”⁹² Ruffin and Sprague-Douglass’ statements illustrate the increased visibility and variedness of Black women’s political engagement at the turn of the century. For example, the National Association of Colored Women was founded in 1896.⁹³ The first president of the National Association of Colored Women, Mary Church Terrell, was an ardent advocate for the efficacy of institutional politics.⁹⁴ Margaret Murray Washington contended that “to be a stronger race physically we have got to be a more moral one.”⁹⁵ Terrell’s peer, the Baltimore born, Francis Ellen Watkins Harper, used her art as a tool to advocate for the improvement of

the lived conditions of Black Americans.⁹⁶ Murray Washington's perspective supplemented the assimilationist view that moral fortitude would produce a fruitful future for Black people. Church Terrell's and Watkins Harper's perspectives elucidated different strategies for implementing and improving integration. The evolution of Black women's political engagement at the turn of the twentieth century both mirrored and made strange the struggle between Du Bois and Washington.

Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois discounted Black Nationalism as a possibility in their struggle over whom should inherit the mantle of promoting the idea of a "composite nationality." In his, now famous or infamous, "Atlanta Compromise" speech, Washington advocated that Black people and white people, "In all things that are purely social [could] be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."⁹⁷ Though initially W.E.B. Du Bois made it a point to "heartily congratulate" Washington on his Atlanta speech, by 1903, Du Bois' and Washington's relationship had soured.⁹⁸ In his *Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois argued that, "Mr. Washington's programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races."⁹⁹ Du Bois provided remedy for Washington's shortfalls by offering a view of racial leadership that emphasized the importance of cultivating the education of the "Talented Tenth" so that they "may guide the mass" of the Black population.¹⁰⁰ At the turn of the century, Washington's and Du Bois's disagreement about strategies for racial uplift highlighted the distinctions between assimilation and integration but left Black Nationalism unexplored and the Black masses disempowered.¹⁰¹

The Resuscitation of Black Nationalism: The UNIA

UNIA leaders reinvigorated Black Nationalism by developing a version that, based on their words, included all Black people. In *Black Power*, Jeffrey Ogbar notes, “In the 1920s Marcus Garvey appealed to both the self-determination values and economic interests of most African Americans. Garvey created . . . the largest black mass organization ever.”¹⁰² The UNIA was able to build the largest organization of their time by developing different gender and economic standards from the ones offered by their contemporaries. Part of that development was the influence enacted by the Black women leaders of the UNIA. Keisha Blain writes, “Black women did not find equal opportunities to men in the UNIA, but the organization was, in some ways, one of the most progressive black political organizations of the period.”¹⁰³ Leaders of the UNIA shaped Black Nationalism by practicing a version of Black Nationalism in which all Black people were partners in the 1920s. As Carlisle notes, Garvey’s “lasting contribution to the nationalist tradition was to develop the doctrine into a message that was understood by the masses.”¹⁰⁴ Building with leaders of the UNIA, Garvey was able to make Black Nationalism understandable to the Black masses by articulating evaluations that spotlighted the masses suffering and an expectation that Black people possessed the power to overcome their oppression. UNIA leaders’ advocacy for self-determination opened space to empower Black women and men. Blain contends, “Black women found a sense of empowerment in the UNIA, and the organization functioned as a political incubator in which many black women became politicized and trained for future leadership.”¹⁰⁵ As the history of Garvey and other leaders of the UNIA makes clear, when they spoke of oppression they spoke from experience and when they predicted success the very meaning of the word world was at stake.

Garvey's and the UNIA's significance to the development of Black nationalist rhetoric has been recognized but given little sustained attention by rhetorical scholars.¹⁰⁶ Rhetorical scholars turned with fervor to Black Nationalism during the social unrest of the 1960s. For example, Wayne Brockriede along with Robert Scott investigated how Black nationalist rhetors like Stokely Carmichael shifted national conversations and the rhetoric of other leaders like Martin Luther King.¹⁰⁷ Brockriede's and Scotts' perspectives named the Black nationalists of the 1960s and elaborated on the influence Black nationalists enacted. Building alongside Brockriede and Scott, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, in "The Rhetoric of Radical Black Nationalism," considered how the development of Black Nationalism could help rhetoricians think about the limits of their perspectives and how that implicates their criticism.¹⁰⁸ Campbell's engagement explained the distance between rhetorical critics and what she framed as radical Black nationalists of the 1960s. Amidst these early developments in rhetorical criticism about Black Nationalism, over 40 years ago now, B.L. Ware and Wil Linkugel published their well-known article on Garvey's "rhetorical persona" as a "Black Moses."¹⁰⁹ Since Ware and Linkugel's article, there has been mention but not much focus on Garvey and the UNIA. For instance, Charles Stewart mentions Garvey as a precursor to Stokely Carmichael.¹¹⁰ More recently, in *Black Identity: Rhetoric, Ideology, and Nineteenth Century Black Nationalism*, Dexter Gordon notes that his own "book sprung from a desire to understand the ways in which the Garveyism movement functioned to fulfill its gargantuan task of effecting a movement of 'a people,' not just leaders or select groups but the entire African diaspora."¹¹¹ Since Gordon, Scott Varda has highlighted how Garvey's rhetoric was influential to the development and success of Drew Ali.¹¹² In "The Racial Contexts of Public Address," Kirt Wilson argues,

“The study of the civil rights movement between 1966 and 1975 revitalized public address, and it changed the accepted horizon of critical scrutiny. After 1975, the number of studies that considered African American rhetoric declined, but important articles would appear from time to time.”¹¹³

This project works to once again invigorate scholarly investigations by explicating how leaders of the UNIA used world-making to try and give rise to a public by Black people for Black people. Historical investigations of the UNIA have mentioned the organization as one of many agents working to change the world of the 1920s.¹¹⁴ Rhetorical examinations of the UNIA have often illustrated Garvey’s proclivity as a Pan-Africanist or the convincingness of UNIA convention speeches.¹¹⁵ Accounting for the consistent influence of women like Amy Ashwood Garvey, Henrietta Vinton Davis, and Amy Jacques Garvey recasts the UNIA from 1914-1925 as less Marcus Garvey’s and more UNIA leaders’ movement. UNIA leaders’ approach to procuring Black liberation highlights a model of racial uplift that can help contemporary scholars understand struggles for racial uplift of the 1960s and how to fight for equality now. UNIA leaders’ evocation of a more inclusive Black nationalism limns the gendered and classist limits of what is often referred to as classical Black Nationalism while also providing an opportunity to highlight how rhetors used world-making words to instantiate a public and chart a path toward a more equitable world.

Leaders of the UNIA: Making Black Nationalism for All Black People

The early life of leaders of the UNIA and development of the UNIA from 1914-1925 reveals the contours of the world leaders were enmeshed within and departed from. Marcus Garvey, Amy Ashwood Garvey, and Amy Jacques Garvey were each from Jamaica. Other prominent leaders of the UNIA from 1914 to 1925, like, Henrietta Vinton

Davis, William Ferris, William Sherrill, and T. Thomas Fortune were all from the United States and had illustrious lives before they joined the UNIA. The different experiences of UNIA leaders coalesced to form a discourse community capable of using world-making words and envisioning a public by Black people for Black people.

The UNIA's First leader: Marcus Garvey

Marcus Garvey was born in St. Ann Bay Jamaica in 1887.¹¹⁶ Garvey owed his thinking on racial uplift to Robert Love, Duse Muhammed Ali, and Booker T. Washington.¹¹⁷ Though Robert Love's *Jamaica Advocate* introduced Garvey to race consciousness, Garvey's experiences as a worker for printing presses availed him to the precarious position of Black workers.¹¹⁸ Garvey's first publication, *Garvey's Watchman*, was a short-lived enterprise. Garvey parlayed the lessons he learned from *Garvey's Watchman* into helping the Jamaican National Club publish the fortnightly *Our Own*.¹¹⁹ In 1914, Marcus Garvey and Amy Ashwood founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association. The UNIA was founded with the express purpose of establishing "a Universal Confraternity among the race."¹²⁰ Garvey and other early leaders of the UNIA labored to make the UNIA work in Jamaica for two years. Eventually, Garvey travelled to the United States to give the UNIA a new start.¹²¹ Under Garvey's leadership, the UNIA demonstrated a concern for the industrial, educational, and political well-being of all Black people.¹²² The UNIA saw a quick rise and an even faster fall in the United States between 1916 and 1925. By the end of 1925, Marcus Garvey was imprisoned for mail fraud and the organization was in disarray.¹²³ After his imprisonment, Garvey was deported from the United States to Jamaica in 1927.¹²⁴ Garvey attempted to get the UNIA going again in the latter years of his life.¹²⁵ However, Garvey was unsuccessful in his bid to once again match the heights of popularity reached by the UNIA from 1914-1925 before his death in 1940.¹²⁶

Although the organization Garvey founded and led was unquestionably patriarchal, due to the efforts of Amy Ashwood Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey, the UNIA's leadership structure was amenable to women's participation.¹²⁷

*A Tale of Two Amies*¹²⁸

Amy Ashwood Garvey was born in Jamaica between 1895 and 1897 to a family that owned a bakery.¹²⁹ Amy Ashwood was a foundational part of the UNIA.¹³⁰ In 1912, Amy Ashwood met Marcus Garvey. In 1914, Amy Ashwood became a co-founder of the UNIA and played a significant role in the formative years of the UNIA. Though Amy Ashwood was fundamental to the formation of the UNIA, her time as a member was short lived. Amy Ashwood and Marcus Garvey got married in 1919. By the end of 1920, Ashwood Garvey was out of the UNIA. However, Amy Ashwood Garvey's life did not end when she left the UNIA. Ashwood Garvey spent the majority of her life fighting for Pan-Africanist causes and producing literature.¹³¹ Ashwood Garvey's story reveals that she was part of the foundation of the UNIA and extended some of the ideals of the UNIA throughout her life. The push that kept the UNIA going after Ashwood Garvey's founding was another Amy.

Amy Jacques was born into a middle-class Jamaican family in 1895.¹³² Ula Yvette Taylor notes that Amy Jacques grew up under conditions of great scrutiny.¹³³ In 1919, Jacques joined the UNIA. Amy Jacques was originally the secretary to Amy Ashwood Garvey and was even a bridesmaid at the Amy Ashwood-Marcus Garvey wedding in 1919.¹³⁴ However, as the relationship between Amy Ashwood Garvey and Marcus Garvey soured, Jacques became the personal secretary and then second wife to Marcus Garvey. As a leader of the UNIA, Jacques Garvey established herself as the foremost historian of the UNIA.¹³⁵ In fact, later in life, Amy Jacques Garvey's house was functionally a museum for

the UNIA of the 1914-1925 period.¹³⁶ If it is fair to say that Amy Ashwood Garvey started the UNIA, it is also fair to say that Amy Jacques Garvey kept it going.

Other Prominent Leaders of the UNIA

Other leaders of the UNIA also enacted great influence between 1914 and 1925. William Ferris, Henrietta Vinton Davis, William Sherrill, and T. Thomas Fortune all played significant roles as the UNIA rose to and fell from its highest heights. Ferris, Vinton Davis, Sherrill, and Fortune's lives establish that some common Black Americans contributed to UNIA leaders' world-making and envisioning of a public.

William Ferris was an anti-racist organizer and author. Ferris was born in New Haven, Connecticut in 1874. While attending Divinity School, Ferris began to make a name for himself in Connecticut.¹³⁷ In the September 10, 1889, issue of *Daily Morning Journal and Courier*, Ferris was listed among other "prominent Colored citizens" and was reported to have participated in a debate about the racial uplift strategies offered by Du Bois and Washington.¹³⁸ As Ferris matured, his authorial ability became more pronounced. In 1913, Ferris published his *The African Abroad, or His Evolution in Western Civilization, Tracing his Development Under Caucasian Milieu*. In his text, Ferris wrote, "I believe that the Negro's marvelous ability to absorb and assimilate a higher civilization will be clearly demonstrated in the twentieth century."¹³⁹ Ferris' belief in the ability of Black people to determine their own future in the twentieth century led him to become a leader of the UNIA. In 1919, Ferris became the literary editor of the UNIA's newspaper, the *Negro World*. At his highest rank, Ferris was the Assistant-President General of the UNIA. Ferris' belief in the UNIA as an organization was matched by the language offered by his fellow leader: Henrietta Vinton Davis.

Henrietta Vinton Davis was a racial uplift leader, poet, and actress who advanced Black women's leadership in the UNIA. Davis was born in Baltimore, Maryland in 1860. When she was 18, Davis became the first Black woman to work for the Office of the Recorder of Deeds in Washington, D.C. Davis moved on from her administrative work to the theatrical stage. In 1893, Davis began her own theatrical company and started touring in the United States.¹⁴⁰ Later in life, at the age of 60, Davis joined the UNIA. Davis held many roles for the UNIA. Initially, Davis was the International Organizer of the UNIA and eventually she ascended to be the President of the Ladies' Division. In her role as a leader of the UNIA, Davis was tasked with not only building on the idea of self-determination but also creating space for uplifting the women of the UNIA. Davis held her position as a leader of the UNIA during both the height and fall of the UNIA. During the tumultuous period of 1924-1927, two more leaders enacted great influence as the UNIA attempted to stave off destruction. As the UNIA began to decline from 1923 to 1925, primary editorial power of the *Negro World* passed from William Ferris to T. Thomas Fortune.

T. Thomas Fortune was born in Florida into slavery in 1856. Before joining the *Negro World*, Fortune edited the *People's Advocate*, the *New York Globe*, the *New York Freeman*, and the *New York Age*.¹⁴¹ Fortune became the "Assistant Editor" of the *Negro World* between September and October of 1923.¹⁴² As Garvey's trial become more complicated, Fortune took over most decision making for the *Negro World*. After Garvey's trial concluded with his imprisonment in 1925, William Sherrill shouldered the burden of being the foremost leader of the UNIA.

While Marcus Garvey was imprisoned, William Sherrill took on the role of president-general of the UNIA.¹⁴³ William Sherrill was born in Arkansas in 1894. Sherrill

first came into contact with the UNIA in 1921 in Baltimore, Maryland.¹⁴⁴ After joining the UNIA, Sherrill quickly rose to be a well-renowned leader. In 1926, Marcus Garvey appointed Sherrill as interim president general of the UNIA.¹⁴⁵ Sherrill's lack of success as president-general contributed to the deterioration of the UNIA in the United States following Garvey's imprisonment and deportation.¹⁴⁶

The Rise and Fall of the UNIA in the United States

Leaders of the UNIA were fortunate to find an environment in the United States that allowed their views on Black self-determination to flourish. UNIA leaders built alongside racial unrest in the United States to achieve their highest amount of acclaim in 1922. The UNIA fell from grace after being attacked by other racial uplift leaders and the US government in 1923. In 1925, Marcus Garvey was imprisoned, and the organization was never the same.

Before the rise of the UNIA, Black people in the US were in the throes of political and social unrest and primed for a movement against racial and economic oppression.¹⁴⁷ Garvey's pointed criticisms of the United States propelled the UNIA to remarkable success in the United States.¹⁴⁸ With Garvey as president-general, UNIA leaders developed a plot to construct a world where Africa would be controlled by Africans and Black people had the ability to determine their own future. Judith Stein argues that the second UNIA convention in 1921 saw a peak in the UNIA's enrollment numbers.¹⁴⁹ The decline in enrollment following 1921 was in part due to fracturing within the organization and an outcome of the missteps that would lead Garvey to be incarcerated by 1925.

The failure of the Black Star Line (BSL) caused the decline of the UNIA. Garvey planned for the BSL to be a combination of shipping and passenger boats that could support the passage of Black people throughout the world back to Africa.¹⁵⁰ The legality of

Garvey's acquisition of funds for the BSL was unclear. Enemies of the UNIA leapt at the opportunity to overtake the weakened UNIA. Cyril Briggs provided government agents with information that suggested that Marcus Garvey had committed mail fraud.¹⁵¹ As an outcome of his misrepresentation of the BSL, Garvey was convicted of mail fraud in 1923. Garvey was released on bail pending his appeal shortly after his initial conviction in 1923.¹⁵² In 1925, Garvey's appeal was denied, and he was remanded to prison. After years of advocacy to free Garvey, Garvey's sentence was commuted, with the condition of deportation, by Calvin Coolidge in 1927.¹⁵³ As the UNIA gained prominence between 1914 and 1925, many people were inspired and irritated. Leaders of the UNIA's ability to keep fighting even as their organization fell apart is part of why returning to their rhetoric is so crucial now.

Making a Black Nationalist World

Less than 60 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, and less than 30 years after racial segregation was affirmed by law, UNIA leaders sought to speak a world into existence.¹⁵⁴ UNIA leaders' alternative imagination of their world exemplifies "world-making." Leaders of the UNIA represented their belief in Black self-determination by espousing their own evaluations and expectations. As leaders used their world-making words, they worked to create a public. UNIA leaders' public may or may not have come to exist. However, in this project, more important than the actual existence of their public is how leaders described the public they wished to create.¹⁵⁵ Turning to UNIA leaders' rhetoric as they envisioned their public and worked to make a world provides an opportunity to build upon the burgeoning and overlapping scholarly traditions of "queer world-making" in communication studies and "world-making" in Black studies.

UNIA leaders' world-making rhetoric reveals a strategy for creating the many different worlds communication scholars assert exist. In one of the earliest issues of *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking*, Thomas Nakayama and Charles Morris opined, "Worldmaking is not a clear-cut path . . . Worldmaking is a messy enterprise driven by a vision of another world, another way of living."¹⁵⁶ In "Transgender Worldmaking in Cyberspace," K. J. Rawson invokes worldmaking "to refer to alternative spaces and practices of cultural, communal, and identity construction and knowledge making that are always in process."¹⁵⁷ UNIA leaders shifted the requirements for participation in Black Nationalism by espousing evaluations and expectations based on an "alternative" structure of "cultural" and "communal" knowledge. In *Blackpentacostal Breath*, Ashon Crawley asserts, "the way we think the world—has to be altered in order to get at what's there."¹⁵⁸ In *Check It While I Wreck It*, Gwendolyn Pough reflects that often Black people have had to rethink the "public sphere" to ensure their treatment "as functioning and worthwhile members of society."¹⁵⁹ UNIA leaders used their world-making words to envision a version of a public that included all Black people but was insulated from the disempowering 'dominant' public sphere. UNIA leaders' world-making rhetoric reveals that by espousing evaluations and expectations that departed from the logic that Black people were incapable leaders were able to highlight a path toward a different world. UNIA leaders' practices in world-making extend the tradition outlined by communication scholars by illustrating how evaluations and expectations that included the masses fueled the envisioning of a public in which all Black people were empowered.

The knowledge making undertaken by leaders of the UNIA deepens the world-making conversation in Black studies. Since Frank B. Wilderson's *Red, White, and Black*,

and really before that, Black studies scholars have turned ardently to questions of how our world came to be and what our world makes.¹⁶⁰ Scholars like Kara Keeling, Zakiyyah Iman Jackson, Kevin Quashie, and Jared Sexton have assessed how literature and literary representations of Black people unsettle ‘dominant’ understandings of social reality.¹⁶¹ In *Queer Times: Black Futures*, Kara Keeling pulls at the world that is while making a world that could be by interrogating whether “another world is possible.”¹⁶² Kevin Quashie, in *Black Aliveness*, asserts that understanding Black aliveness necessitates imagining “a black world” with a new vocabulary.¹⁶³ In many texts, Black studies scholars interested in world-making, like Quashie and Keeling, have turned their attention to art or film as a text. Though art and film are rich resources, this project instead turns to the messiness of everyday life to reveal world-making in progress as UNIA leaders worked to establish a public by Black people for Black people. UNIA leaders gave voice to an alternate world by producing an account of themselves and their time that did the improbable: believed in Black self-determination. Focusing on the rise and fall of the UNIA adds to contemporary conversations about world-making by revealing how in the flesh Black people dealt with the degradation they experienced and worked to concatenate a world, an organization of social reality, in which Black people could be treated decently.

This project advances by illustrating how leaders of the UNIA used rhetoric to produce a view of their public. In *Rhetoric as a Posthuman Practice*, Casey Boyle contends, rhetoric “unfolds not through the traditional conception of rhetoric as critical reflection that equips a practitioner with skills, but practice that becomes ongoing, serial encounters within ecologies.”¹⁶⁴ Leaders of the UNIA produced a different set of serial encounters with their ecology by articulating a distinct set of evaluations and expectations

for what would come from Black self-determination. In a moment in which many doubted the efficacy of Black self-determination, UNIA leaders attempted to build a world from their belief in Black people. More than constituting an identity, or creating a space, UNIA leaders' articulation of evaluations and expectations advanced a view of reality that saw Black people as not indigent but indignant and capable of collecting on the debt they were owed.¹⁶⁵ Different from constitution or space creation, UNIA leaders' logic was born from a belief that the degradation of slavery and its aftermath had equipped Black people with all the necessary resources to challenge the structure of social reality—turn the world upside down.¹⁶⁶ Building concurrently yet separately from Boyle, Michael Lechuga asks rhetoricians to imagine “a future where a study of rhetoric combats antiblack and anti-indigenous ideologies by aligning with activists to cocreate a political future outside and beyond the settler imaginary.”¹⁶⁷ UNIA leaders anticipated and opened space to extend Lechuga's project by world-making based on their own imaginary. By enunciating a version of Black Nationalism capable of embracing and empowering the Black masses, UNIA leaders provided space for the perspectives of Black people marginalized by gender and class. Thinking through the contours of leaders' Black Nationalist world offers an addition to our understanding of Black Nationalism, the UNIA, world-making, and publics.

Ultimately, UNIA leaders' ascent to and descent from international prominence between 1914-1925 demonstrates how to begin to make a more equitable world. In communication studies and beyond, scholars have worked to illustrate the obstacles and opportunities for making a more equitable world.¹⁶⁸ In “Pessimism in the Dark,” Jared Sexton contends, “Human life is not *all* life, and the world is not the earth. . . imagining it [earth] without Being does not require imagining it destroyed. It entails imagining it in and

as the ruins of Being, after the end of the world, in an entirely other relation.”¹⁶⁹ UNIA leaders imagined a different version of earth by not working to destroy the white world surrounding them, but instead working to make a world capable of recuperating the losses of and respecting Black people. Turning back to leaders’ language reveals the logic they leveraged to unseat the unacceptable conditions they were enmeshed within. By returning to the words of prominent leaders of the UNIA during the UNIA’s height, this project adds to understandings about the UNIA by uncovering one part of *how* UNIA leaders worked to create a world by Black folks for Black folks. UNIA leaders’ rhetoric extends contemporary scholarly understandings of world-making, publics, Black Nationalism, and the UNIA by revealing how a group of in-the-flesh Black people, by believing in Black people, made a way not *in* the world but toward *a* different world. In this project, I adumbrate the contours of the UNIA leaders’ first steps on their path toward a Black Nationalist world.

A Map of the Black Nationalist World

This project’s analysis of UNIA leader’s Black Nationalist World is guided by four research questions. First, what rhetorical strategies did the leaders of the UNIA use to express their belief in Black self-determination? Second, how did UNIA leaders’ support of Black self-determination create an opportunity for them to include all Black people in their vision for the UNIA from 1914 to 1925? Third, what kind of public did UNIA leaders envision while world-making? And fourth, how did UNIA leaders adapt their rhetoric as the UNIA came under attack from forces inside and outside of the organization? This project provides answers to these questions by outlining the UNIA’s rise and fall between 1914 and 1925 as four sequential instances of world-making to show the way UNIA leaders laid out a world and their views of the public they aimed to produce in the process.¹⁷⁰

Chapter One focuses on Marcus Garvey's 1921 "Address to the 2nd Universal Negro Improvement Association Convention." The first chapter provides a preliminary answer to what rhetorical strategies leaders used to express their belief in Black self-determination and how that created an opportunity for them to develop the largest Black movement in the 1920s. Garvey's "Address" illuminates how, for Garvey, *dreaming of freedom* required envisioning a world in which unity and self-determination amongst *all* Black people was a possibility. As Nathan Atkinson argues in "Celluloid Circulation," "a public emerges when individuals imagine themselves and others as members of the public addressed by a discourse at a particular time."¹⁷¹ The first chapter reveals the roots of the UNIA leaders' vision for their public by illustrating how the world-making that supported the development of the UNIA from its inception to the 1921 convention congealed into a discourse that included all Black people.

Chapter Two investigates the UNIA's "Africa for the Africans" campaign—a slogan-based campaign executed by the national office of the UNIA (New York) between 1921 and 1922. To account for the UNIA's promotion of the "Africa for the Africans" campaign, this project turns to the archival records held by the Library of Congress, Emory University, New York Public Library, and the published works of Robert Hill and Amy Jacques Garvey. The second chapter examines the rhetoric of Henrietta Vinton Davis, William Ferris, and Marcus Garvey during the "Africa for the Africans" campaign. Thinking about leaders' rhetoric during the "Africa for the Africans" campaign as a practice in world-making reveals how UNIA leaders reflected on their togetherness and attempted to produce a peculiar kind of public, one capable of including all Black people but excluding the views of the "dominant" public. At the height of their potential as an

organization, UNIA leaders envisioned a public with insulated meanings and capable of supporting all Black people—a *parallel public*.

Chapter Three reveals how UNIA leaders continued to world-make and project a positive view of their public as one capable of supporting all Black people while their organization declined. In “Re-Mapping the Public,” Janet Newman “argues for an approach that pays attention to the specificity of institutional histories and to the organizational” forces that “produce and mediate” the decline of a public.¹⁷² Building with Newman, Chapter Three turns to how pressure from other racial uplift leaders, prosecution by the US government, and discord amongst UNIA leaders shifted UNIA leaders’ world-making strategy and view of their public as their organization declined. The third chapter turns to the mail fraud case against Marcus Garvey levied by Cyril Briggs and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), UNIA leaders’ support for Garvey, and Marcus Garvey’s letters from prison. UNIA leaders’ rhetoric before, during, and after Garvey’s trial and imprisonment reveals how leaders continued world-making to produce a vision of their public as capable of supporting Black self-determination while their organization fell apart. In the pages of the *Negro World* and beyond, UNIA leaders, like Amy Jacques Garvey, Henrietta Vinton Davis, William Sherrill, William Ferris, and Thomas Fortune produced a *rhetoric of champions* by focusing on their previous successes and future goals for helping all Black people while the organization was assailed by other Black activists and the US government. The grace of UNIA leaders under fire illuminates how they continued to build, while being bombarded.

Chapter Four shows how leaders of the UNIA used world-making to push their view of their public as a powerful part of the struggle for Black self-determination for all

Black people into the future. Chapter Four focuses on the words of Amy Ashwood Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey in their interview, “The Ghost of Marcus Garvey,” with Lerone Bennett Jr. The fourth chapter accounts for the evaluations of the past and expectations for the future laden in the reflections of the most indispensable women leaders of the UNIA. Amy Ashwood Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey’s world-making words produced a view of UNIA leaders’ public from 1914 to 1925 as inclusive of all Black people and instructive for the future. The reminiscences of Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey, about Marcus Garvey and the UNIA produce what I call a *rhetoric of falling forward*. Returning to Ashwood Garvey’s and Jacques Garvey’s evocations of evaluations and expectations, world-making, reveals how they presented a view of UNIA leaders’ public as inclusive of all Black people for future generations.

Finally, this project concludes by analyzing the world-making UNIA leaders wielded to develop their vision of their public alongside the world-making of 1960s US Black nationalists and the world we are making now. Thinking about the rhetoric of UNIA leaders shifts and informs contemporary understandings of Black Nationalism, world-making, and publics. Reopening the time capsule that is the UNIA’s practices of Black Nationalism generates questions and answers for contemporary Black Americans. Leaders of the UNIA’s advocacy for Black self-determination provides an answer to how Black people, divided by class, gender, religion, and social belief, can be brought together. The novel view of the world UNIA leaders wielded, the world-making that gave rise to UNIA leaders’ vision for their public of empowered Black people, instigates questions about what world contemporary Black people have inherited. In this project, I reveal the ways that leaders of the UNIA practiced world-making and instigated the development of a public of

the Black masses in their time in hopes of helping us make a more equitable world in the time that remains.¹⁷³

¹ Letter to Coworkers in the Cause for Garveyism, 1066, Box 1, Folder 4, Universal Negro Association Records, Rose Library, Atlanta, GA.

² Letter to Thomas Harvey, March 3, 1971, 1066, Box 1, Folder 4, Universal Negro Association Records, Rose Library, Atlanta, GA; Universal Negro Improvement Association & African Communities League, “President Generals,” UNIAACL121, <http://uniaacl121.weebly.com/president-generals.html>. Thomas Harvey was a member of the UNIA during the 1920s. After Marcus Garvey’s deportation and the fracturing of the United States UNIA, Harvey rose to be the 4th President General of the UNIA. Harvey was President General of the UNIA from 1957-1978.

³ Amy Jacques Garvey, ed., *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* Vols. I and II (Atheneum: New York, 1969); Amy Jacques Garvey, *Garvey and Garveyism* (New York: Collier Books, 1970); The New York Times, “Widow of Marcus Garvey is Dead in Jamaica at 77,” *The New York Times*, July 27, 1973.

⁴ Tony Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey: Pan-Africanist, Feminist and Mrs. Marcus Garvey No.1 or a Tale of Two Amies* (Dover: The Majority Press, 2007), 14.

⁵ B.L. Ware and Wil A. Linkugel, “The Rhetorical Persona: Marcus Garvey as Black Moses,” *Communication Monographs* 49, no.1 (1982):55-56.

⁶ Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery: An Autobiography* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company Inc. 1901), 50. Booker T. Washington was a racial uplift leader of the late nineteenth century. Washington was born into slavery in the 1850s and rose to be the first principal of the Tuskegee Normal School.

⁷ Thomas Aiello, *The Battle for the Souls of Black Folk: W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, and the Debate that Shaped the Course of Civil Rights* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2016), 1-10; Nahum Dimitri Chandler, *X—The Problem of the Negro as a Problem for Thought* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014), 10; W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1903] 2007), 34; C. Riley Snorton, *Black on Both Sides: A Racial History of Trans Identity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 9. Here, my point about “seeing themselves through the eyes of another” is meant to build on and depart from Du Bois’ notion of double-consciousness as outlined in *Souls of Black Folks*.

⁸ John, H. Bracey, August Meir, and Elliot Rudwick, eds., *Black Nationalism in America* (Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1970), xxvi; Edmund Cronon, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 2-3; Edmund Cronon, ed., *Great Lives Observed: Marcus Garvey* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1973), 1-4; Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925* (Hamden: Archon Book, 1978), 11; Judith Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey: Race and Class in Modern Society* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 1-5.

⁹ Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2021 [2002]), 43. By begin to develop I mean something similar to concatenate. My usage of concatenation builds on the definition offered by Warner in *Publics and Counterpublics*. One could imagine grabbing the pieces to and putting together a chain. Here and throughout by a Black Nationalist World I mean an organization of social reality in which Black people are not devalued but recognized as invaluable.

¹⁰ Ashely R. Hall, “Towards Love as Life Praxis: A Black Queer and Feminist Pedagogical Orientation,” *Communication Teacher* 35, no. 3 (2021): 264.

¹¹ Tamar Shirinian, “Queer Life-Worlds in Postsocialist Armenia: Alternative Space and the Possibilities of In ‘Visibility,’” *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking* 5, no. 1 (2018): 90.

¹² John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (Athens, Ohio: Swallow Press Publishing, 1985 [1954]), 107.

¹³ Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 53.

¹⁴ Robin D.G. Kelley, “Introduction,” in C.L.R. James, *A History of Pan African Revolt* (Chicago: PM Press, 2012), 3.

¹⁵ C.L.R. James, “Leon Trotsky: Self-Determination for the American Negroes,” *International Socialism* (April/May) (1970): 37-38.

¹⁶ “Two More Negroes Are Found Dead At Elaine; Helena Under Guard,” *Arkansas Democrat*, October 3, 1919; “Terror Among the Negroes,” *Baltimore Sun*, August 17, 1900, p. 5; “Why the Suffrage Amendment

Should Be Ratified,” *Baltimore Sun*, October 23, 1909, 16; “Race Riots in Delaware.” *Democratic Advocate*, July 1, 1905, p. 2; W.E.B. Du Bois, “W.E.B. Du Bois to Charles Evans Hughes, U.S. Secretary of State,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers; Volume IX: Africa for Africans 1921-1922*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 3; Jake Hodder, “The Elusive History of the Pan-African Congress, 1919-27,” *History Workshop Journal* 91, (2021): 113; James, “Leon Trotsky: Self-Determination,” 37; Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 25; “Negroes in Politics,” *Nashville Globe*, July 19, 1912; “Blames Politicians,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 29, 1919; Elliot M. Rudwick, “DuBois Versus Garvey: Race Propagandists at War,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 28, no. 4 (1959): 424; Chad Louis Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy: African American Soldiers in World War I Era* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 15.

¹⁷ Houston Baker, *Critical Memory: Public Spheres, African American Writing, and Black Fathers and Sons in America* (Athens: University of Georgia press, 2001), 13.

¹⁸ David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Engagement* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 3. Though stymied by lamentable thought patterns, not unique to Black nationalists, Black Nationalism developed as an ideology over time.

¹⁹ Bracey, Meir, and Rudwick, *Black Nationalism*, XXVI.

²⁰ Rodney Carlisle, *The Roots of Black Nationalism* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1975), 3.

²¹ Alphonso Pinkney, *Red, Black, and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 1.

²² Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925* (Hamden: Archon Book, 1978), 11.

²³ Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Classical Black Nationalism: From the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 4-6.

²⁴ William L. Van Deburg, ed., *Modern Black Nationalism: From Marcus Garvey to Louis Farrakhan* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 2.

²⁵ Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, (2004) 2019), 3.

²⁶ Susan D. Carle, *Defining the Struggle: National Organizing for Racial Justice, 1880-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 153.

²⁷ Errol A. Henderson, *The Revolution Will Not Be Theorized: Cultural Revolution in the Black Power Era* (New York: SUNY Press, 2019), 60.

²⁸ Keisha N. Blain, “Black Nationalist Women and the Global Struggle for Freedom,” *Black Perspectives*, December 8, 2017, <https://www.aaihs.org/black-nationalist-women-and-the-global-struggle-for-freedom/>;

Keisha N. Blain, “Black Nationalist Women’s Activism in 1920s Harlem,” *The Gotham Center for New York History*, May 28, 2018, <https://www.gothamcenter.org/blog/black-nationalist-womens-activism-in-1920s-harlem>;

Natanya Duncan, “‘If Our Men Hesitate Then the Women of the Race Must Come Forward,’ Henrietta Vinton Davis and the UNIA in New York,” *New York History* 95, no. 4 (2014): 558; Kami Fletcher, “Migration, Diasporic Self-Making, and Madame De Mena: An Interview with Courtney Morris,” *Black Perspectives*, January 12, 2017, <https://www.aaihs.org/migration-diasporic-self-making-and-madame-de-mena-an-interview-with-courtney-morris/>.

²⁹ Henderson, *Revolution Will Not Be Theorized*, 60; Moses, *The Golden Age*, 11; Theodore Vincent, *Black Power and the Garvey Movement* (Berkeley: Ramparts Press, 1971), 38.

³⁰ Stephen H. Browne, “Remembering Crispus Attucks: Race, Rhetoric, and the Politics of Commemoration,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 85, no. 2 (1999):170; Mitch Kachun, “From Forgotten Founder to Indispensable Icon: Crispus Attucks, Black Citizenship and Collective Memory, 1770-1865,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 29, no. 2 (2009): 249.

³¹ Bracey, Meir, and Rudwick, *Black Nationalism*, XXX; Declaration of Independence, *Archives.org*, <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript>, Paragraph 2; Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 368. Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 138-40.

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- ⁴⁹ Stewart, "Masonic Hal," 132.
- ⁵⁰ Mae Gwendolyn Henderson, "Speaking in Tongues: Dialogics, Dialectics, and the Black Woman Writer's Literary Tradition," in *Changing Our Own Words: Essays on criticism, Theory, and Writing by Black Women*, ed. Cheryl A. Wall (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 17; Ebony Utley, "A Woman Made of Words: The Rhetorical Invention of Maria W. Stewart," in *Black Women's Intellectual Traditions: Speaking Their Minds*, eds. Kristin Waters and Carol B. Conaway (New England: University Press of New England, 2007), 3.
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- ⁶⁹ Rebecca J. Fraser and Martyn Griffin, “‘Why Sit Ye Here and Die?’ Counterhegemonic Histories of the Black Female Intellectual in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Journal of American Studies* 54, no. 5 (2020): 1027; Robin W. Winks, “Ward, Samuel Ringgold,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/ward_samuel_ringgold_9E.html; “Samuel Ringgold Ward, b. 1817 Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro: His Anti-slavery Labours in the United States, Canada, & England,” Documenting the American South, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/wards/menu.html>. Samuel Ringgold Ward was born into slavery in Maryland in 1817. Ward’s parents escaped slavery in 1820. Ward was a teacher and activist. Ward moved to Kingston Jamaica in 1859.
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- ⁷¹ Mary Ann Shadd, “(1858) Break Every Yoke and Let the Oppressed Go Free,” Blackpast. <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/1858-mary-ann-shadd-break-every-yoke-and-let-oppressed-go-free/>. Paragraph 8.
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- ⁷³ Martin Delany, “Provincial Freeman,” *Black Abolitionist Archives*, Doc. No. 17162, (1855): 17.
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- ⁷⁷ Henry McNeal Turner, *A Speech on the Present Duties and Future Destiny of the Negro Race, Delivered Sept. 2, 1872* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006 [1872]), 7.

⁷⁸ Bracey Jr., Meir, and Rudwick, *Black Nationalism*, xxv; Kirt Wilson, *Reconstruction's Desegregation Debate: The Politics of Equality and the Rhetoric of Place, 1870-1875* (East Lansing: Michigan State Press, 2002), 1-10

⁷⁹ Henry McNeal Turner, "Sept. 3, 1868: Henry McNeal Turner Addressed the Georgia Legislature," *Zinn Education Project*, accessed May 18, 2020. <https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tdih/henry-mcneal-turner-speech>. Paragraph 2.

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⁸¹ Bracey Jr., Meir, and Rudwick, *Black Nationalism*, xxv.

⁸² Douglas A. Blackmon, *Slavery By Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans From the Civil War to World War II* (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 2008), "Introduction: The Bricks we Stand On,"; Michael C. Dawson, *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African American Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 5-10; Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth Century America* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997), 75. Despite the achievements by some Black people in the period between the 1870s and 1920s, the experiences of everyday Black people were uneven. For example, in *Slavery By Another Name*, Douglass Blackmon chronicles the way that convict leasing programs functioned to extend the brutality and inequality of slavery in the South during the period following the Civil War. In addition to Blackmon's insights, Saidiya Hartman illustrates the way that the Freedman's Bureau, ostensibly an organization built to help formerly enslaved Black people, reproduced standards of respectability that often tore at the confidence and disrespected the lifestyles of many of the formerly enslaved. The unevenness of success following slavery left a dearth of Black people politically unfulfilled and in search of a political paradigm that was attuned to their problems.

⁸³ Frederick Douglass, "Is It Right and Wise to Kill a Kidnapper?," *Frederick Douglass Papers*, June 2, 1854; Frederick Douglass, "Frederick Douglass papers: Speech, Article, and Book File, 1846-1894; Speeches and Articles by Douglass, 1846-1894; Undated; 'Self-Made Men,' Address Before the Students of the Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa., manuscript, typescripts, fragments, printed copy, and correspondence, including le," *Library of Congress*, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/mss11879.29002/?sp=6&r=-0.375,0.354,1.749,0.708,0>; Angela G. Ray, "Frederick Douglass on the Lyceum Circuit: Social Assimilation, Social Transformation?" *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 5, no. 4 (2002): 626; Paul Stob, "Black Hands Push Back: Reconsidering the Rhetoric of Booker T. Washington," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 104, no.2 (2018): 145-65; Bradford J. Vivian, "Up From Memory: Epideictic Forgetting in Booker T. Washington's Cotton States Exposition Address," *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 45, no. 2 (2012): 191; Kirt Wilson, "Political Paradoxes and the Black Jeremiad: Frederick Douglass' Immanent Theory of Rhetorical Protest," *Howard Journal of Communication* 29, no. 3 (2018): 1-5. Based on the definition advanced by this project, Douglass is not a Black nationalist. Douglass is not a Black nationalist because his advocacy consistently worked to foment a connection between Black people and white people.

⁸⁴ Frederick Douglass, "Our Composite Nationality: An Address Delivered In Boston, Massachusetts, on 7 December 1869," *Frederick Douglass Papers*, <https://frederickdouglass.infoset.io/islandora/object/islandora:2779#page/1/mode/1up>. 254.

⁸⁵ Walter L. Fleming, "'Pap' Singleton, the Moses of the Colored Exodus," *American Journal of Sociology* 15, no. 1(1909): 61.

⁸⁶ John Mercer Langston, "The Exodus: The Causes Which Led the Colored People of the South to Leave Their Homes—The Lesson," Blackpast, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/1879-john-mercator-langston-exodus-causes-which-led-colored-people-south-leave-their-homes-lesson/>. Paragraph 10.

⁸⁷ Frederick Douglass, "Frederick Douglass, on the Exodus," *Library of Congress*, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/mfd.23016/?sp=2>. 2.

⁸⁸ Nikhil Pal Singh, *Black Is a Country: Race and Unfinished Struggle for Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 3-6; Williams, Torchbearers, 4; Cornel West, *Democracy Matters: Winning the Fight Against Imperialism* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004), 17-18.

⁸⁹ Douglass, "Composite Nationality, 254.

⁹⁰ Michelle Ann Stephens, *Black Empire: The Masculine Global Imaginary of Caribbean Intellectuals in the United States, 1914-1962* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 8.

⁹¹ Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, "Address to the First National Conference of Colored Women," Blackpast, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/1895-josephine-st-pierre-ruffin-address-first-national-conference-colored-women/>. Paragraph 2.

- ⁹² Wilson Logan, 'We Are Coming,' 1.
- ⁹³ Stephanie J. Shaw, "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women," *Journal of Women's History* 3, no. 2 (1991): 20.
- ⁹⁴ Alison M. Parker, *Unceasing Militant: The Life of Mary Church Terrell* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 147.
- ⁹⁵ Margaret Murray Washington, "(1898) We Must Have a Cleaner Social Morality," Blackpast, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/1898-margaret-murray-washington-we-must-have-cleaner-social-morality/>.
- ⁹⁶ Shirley Wilson Logan, "Literacy as a Tool for Social Action Among Nineteenth-Century African American Women," in *Nineteenth-Century Women learn to Write*, ed. Catherine Hobbs (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 188.
- ⁹⁷ Booker T. Washington, "Address By Booker T. Washington, Principal Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, At Opening of Atlanta Exposition,' 18 September 1895," Iowa Culture. Gov, accessed April 14, 2020. <https://iowaculture.gov/history/education/educator-resources/primary-source-sets/reconstruction-and-its-impact/booker-t>. 4.
- ⁹⁸ Mark Bauerlein, "Washington, Du Bois, and The Black Future," *Wilson Quarterly*, (2004): 83; W.E.B. Du Bois, "Letter from W.E.B. Du Bois to Booker T. Washington, September 24, 1895," *Columbia College*, <https://www.college.columbia.edu/core/content/letter-web-du-bois-booker-t-washington-september-24-1895>, paragraph 2.
- ⁹⁹ Du Bois, *Souls*, 56.
- ¹⁰⁰ W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth," *Teaching American History*, <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/the-talented-tenth/>; Francesca R. Gentile, "Marketing the Talented Tenth: W.E.B. Du Bois and Public-Intellectual Economies," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 47, no. 2 (2017): 153.
- ¹⁰¹ Thomas Aiello, *The Battle for the Souls of Black Folk*, 1-4; Rudwick, "Race Propogandists," 424.
- ¹⁰² Ogbar, *Black Power*, 5.
- ¹⁰³ Keisha N. Blain, *Set the World on Fire: Black Nationalist Women and the Global Struggle for Freedom* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 18.
- ¹⁰⁴ Carlisle, *Roots of Black Nationalism*, 130.
- ¹⁰⁵ Blain, *Set the World on Fire*, 20.
- ¹⁰⁶ Francis E. Dorsey, "A Rhetoric of Values: an Afrocentric Analysis of Marcus Garvey's Convention Speeches, 1921-1924," (Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 1990), 1-20; Eric King Watts, *Hearing the Hurt: Rhetoric, Aesthetics, and the Politics of the New Negro* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2012), 1-20; Shirley Nash Weber, "The Rhetoric Marcus Garvey, Leading Spokesman of the Universal Negro Improvement Association in the United States, 1916-1929," (Ph.D. diss., University of California Los Angeles, 1975), 1-10; Kirt Wilson, "Race, Rights, and Equality: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Congressional Debate Over the Civil Rights Act of 1875," (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1995), 1-10; Wilson, *Reconstruction's Desegregation Debate*, 1-10. There has been little rhetorical investigation of how UNIA leaders, produced an American Black nationalist movement that was inclusive of the Black masses. Kirt Wilson and Eric King Watts have provided insightful investigations of other rhetorical practices by Black rhetors in the same era as UNIA leaders. Eric King Watts, in *Hearing the Hurt*, provides insight into how the New Negro as a motif mobilized and organized Black social reality in the early twentieth century. Though Wilson and Watts do generative work, neither of them focused on the rhetorical practices of Marcus Garvey. There have been two dissertations which ostensibly are about Marcus Garvey's rhetoric. Weber, in 1975, penned a dissertation that focused on Marcus Garvey as the leading spokesman for the UNIA. This dissertation differs from Weber's analysis by focusing on how UNIA leaders words brought forth a vision of the world that included an empowered place for the Black masses. More recently, in 1990, Dorsey used an Afrocentric lens to analyze Garvey's convention speeches. This analysis differs from Dorsey's perspective because whereas Dorsey applies an Afrocentric lens this project is interested in how UNIA leaders participated in the development of American Black Nationalism.
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- ¹⁰⁸ Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "The Rhetoric of Radical Black Nationalism: A Case Study in Self-Conscious Criticism," *Central States Speech Journal* 22, no.3 (1971): 153.
- ¹⁰⁹ B.L. Ware and Wil A. Linkugel, "The Rhetorical Persona: Marcus Garvey," 55-56. Here, NCA Journals are narrowly defined as journals accessible with an NCA membership on the National Communication Association website.
- ¹¹⁰ Charles J. Stewart, "The Evolution of Revolution: Stokely Carmichael and the Rhetoric of Black Power," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 83, no. 4 (1997): 434.
- ¹¹¹ Gordon, *Black Identity*, xi.
- ¹¹² Amanda Davis Gatchet and Dana L. Cloud, "David, Goliath, and the Black Panthers: The Paradox of the Oppressed Militant in the Rhetoric of Self-Defense," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 37, no.1 (2012): 14-6; Scott Varda, "Drew Ali and the Moorish Science Temple of America: A Minor Rhetoric of Black Nationalism." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 16, no. 4 (2013): 692.
- ¹¹³ Kirt Wilson, "The Racial Contexts of Public Address: Interpreting Violence During the Reconstruction Era," in *The Handbook of Rhetoric and Public Address*, eds. Michael Hogan and Shawn Parry-Giles (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 211.
- ¹¹⁴ Moses, *Golden Age*, 11; Stuckey, *The Ideological Origins*, 1-3.
- ¹¹⁵ Dorsey, "A Rhetoric of Values," 1-10; Nash Weber, "The Rhetoric Marcus Garvey," 1-10.
- ¹¹⁶ Rupert Lewis, *Marcus Garvey Anti-Colonial Champion* (Trenton: Africa World Press Inc, 1988), 25-26.
- ¹¹⁷ Robert Love, "April 20," *Jamaica Advocate*, April 20, 1901: 2.
- ¹¹⁸ Cronon, *Black Moses*, 12-13.
- ¹¹⁹ Lewis, *Anti-Colonial Champion*, 29.
- ¹²⁰ Robert A. Hill, ed., *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), lxiii.
- Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey*, (Dover, MA: The Majority Press, 2007), 14.
- Tony Martin, "Discovering African Roots: Amy Ashwood Garvey's Pan- Africanist Journey," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 17, no. 1 (1997): 118.
- ¹²¹ Alfreda M. Duster and Ida B. Wells, eds., *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 68.
- ¹²² Marcus Garvey, "Address to the 2nd UNIA Convention," in *Call and Response: Key Debates in African American Studies*, eds., Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Jennifer Burton (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 2011), 279.
- ¹²³ "Open Letter from the New York UNIA Local," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922*, ed., Robert Hill (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), 371.
- ¹²⁴ "Commutation of Sentence," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed., Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 609.
- ¹²⁵ Colin Grant, *Negro With a Hat: The Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), 418.
- ¹²⁶ "Marcus Garvey, Negro Ex-Leader," *New York Times*, June 12, 1940.
- ¹²⁷ Blain, *Set the World on Fire*, 11-13.
- ¹²⁸ Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey*. This header is a reference to Martin's longer work, *A Tale of Two Aimes*.
- ¹²⁹ Lionel M. Yard, *Biography of Amy Ashwood Garvey 1897-1969, Co-Founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Associated Publishers, Inc. 1988), 2-7.
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- ¹³¹ Abayomi Azikiwe, "Amy Ashwood Garvey: A forerunner in Pan-Africanist Feminism of the 20th Century," *Pambazuka News*, March 2, 2017. <https://www.pambazuka.org/pan-africanism/amy-ashwood-garvey-fore-runner-pan-africanist-feminism-20th-century>; Nydia Swaby, "Amy Ashwood Garvey: A Revolutionary Pan-African Feminist," *The Re/visionist*, <https://slcwhblog.com/2010/04/01/amy-ashwood-garvey-a-revolutionary-pan-african-feminist/>; Martin, "Pan-Africanist Journey" 118.
- ¹³² Ula Yvette Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey: The Life and Times of Amy Jacques Garvey* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 6-10.
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- ¹³⁵ Lerone Bennett Jr., “The Ghost of Marcus Garvey,” *Ebony*, March 1960. https://books.google.com/books?id=BPpYDAS_oUUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. 53.
- ¹³⁶ Amy Jacques Garvey “The Ghost of Marcus Garvey,” interview by Lerone Bennett Jr., *Ebony*, March 1960. https://books.google.com/books?id=BPpYDAS_oUUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. 53; Tony Martin, *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Dover: The Majority Press, 1976), 13-16.
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- ¹³⁸ “Position of the Negro: Prominent Colored Citizens Discuss the Social and Political Position of the Afro-American—Relative Good Done by the Political Parties,” *Daily Morning Journal and Courier*, September 10, 1898, 8.
- ¹³⁹ William H. Ferris, *The African Abroad, or, His Evolution in Western Civilization, Tracing his Development Under Caucasian Milieu* (New Haven, CT: The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Press, 1913), 534.
- ¹⁴⁰ Samuel Momodu, “Henrietta Vinton Davis (1860-1941),” Blackpast, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/davis-henrietta-vinton-1860-1941/>.
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- ¹⁵⁰ Ramla M. Bandle, *Black Star: African American Activism in the International Political Economy* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 56-65.
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- ¹⁵⁵ Andrew Valls, *Rethinking Racial Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 90.
- ¹⁵⁶ Thomas K. Nakayama and Charles E. Morris III, "Worldmaking and Everyday Interventions," *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking* 2, no. 1 (2014): vii.
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- ¹⁵⁸ Ashon T. Crawley, *Blackpentecostal Breath: The Aesthetics of Possibility* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), 2.
- ¹⁵⁹ Gwendolyn Pough, *Check It While I Wreck It: Black Womanhood, Hip-Hop Culture, and the Public Sphere* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004), 16.
- ¹⁶⁰ Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 25; Hortense J. Spillers, "'Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe': An American Grammar Book," *Diacritics* 17, no. 2 (1987): 64; Frank B. Wilderson III, *Red, White, & Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 75.
- ¹⁶¹ Joshua Bennett, *Being Property Once Myself: Blackness and the End of Man* (Boston: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2020), 2; Zakiyyah Iman Jackson, *Becoming Human: Matter and Meaning in an Antiracist World* (New York: New York University Press, 2020), 12-13; Jared Sexton, "Affirmation in the Dark: Racial Slavery and Philosophical Pessimism," *The Comparatist* 43 (2019): 106.
- ¹⁶² Kara Keeling, *Queer Times: Black Futures* (New York: New York University Press, 2019), ix.
- ¹⁶³ Kevin Quashie, *Black Aliveness, Or A Poetics of Being* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2021), 5.
- ¹⁶⁴ Casey Boyle, *Rhetoric as a Posthuman Practice* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2018), 43.
- ¹⁶⁵ Vorris Nunley, *Keepin' It Hushed: The Barbershop and African American Hush Harbor Rhetoric* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2011), 35.
- ¹⁶⁶ Frank B. Wilderson III and Tiffany L. King, "Staying Ready for Black Study: A Conversation," in *Otherwise Worlds: Against Settler Colonialism and Anti-Blackness*, eds., Tiffany L. King, Jenell Navarro, and Andrea Smith (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020), 52-5.
- ¹⁶⁷ Michael Lecugha, "An Anticolonial Future: Reassembling the Way We Do Rhetoric," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 17, no. 4 (2020): 384.
- ¹⁶⁸ Scarlett L. Hester and Catherine Squires, "Who are We Working For? Recentering Black Feminism," *Communication and Critical Cultural Studies* 15, no. 4 (2018): 345; Armond R. Towns, "'What do we Wanna Be?' Black Radical Imagination and the Ends of the World," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 17, no. 1 (2020): 78; Wilderson, *Afropessimism*, 14.
- ¹⁶⁹ Sexton, "Affirmation in the Dark," *The Comparatist*, 43 (2019): 106.
- ¹⁷⁰ For clarity purposes, in the paragraphs that follow each instance of world-making is italicized.
- ¹⁷¹ Nathan S. Atkinson, "Celluloid Circulation: The Dual Temporality of Nonfiction Film and Its Publics," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 15, no. 4 (2012): 677.
- ¹⁷² Janet Newman, "Re-Mapping the Public: Public Libraries and the Public Sphere," *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 6 (2007): 887.
- ¹⁷³ Keeling, *Queer Times*, ix. Keeling asks, "If we were never meant to survive as such, what do we do with 'the time that remains.' This project aims to build with other scholars to provide one of many answers for that question.

Chapter 1: Dreaming of Freedom: Marcus Garvey's "Address to the 2nd Universal Negro Improvement Association Convention."

In 1919, at the initial UNIA meeting in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Marcus Garvey explained, “The Negro has suffered four hundred milli[o]n strong. Hence, he ought to organize four hundred million strong. And we have come to” Pittsburgh “to ask you to link yourselves up to the millions who are now flocking to the leadership of this Association.”¹ Garvey’s assertion that “Negroes” had “suffered four hundred million strong” intimated that all Black people were connected and should be concerned for each other. Garvey’s declaration that Black people “ought to organize four hundred million strong” suggested that the solution to oppression was Black self-determination. In Pittsburgh, Garvey expressed an early version of the expectations and evaluations that would evolve into UNIA leaders’ Black Nationalist World. The tenuous conditions of the 1920s produced the preconditions for UNIA leader’s view of their public as by Black folks and for Black folks. That Woodrow Wilson segregated civil services and advocated for US entrance into World War I (WWI) further concretized racial inequality in the United States.² As Wilson’s war on Black rights continued, Black people became more distressed and determined to produce a future different from their past.³ Building on the momentum that started percolating in Pittsburgh, Garvey used his 1921 “Address to the 2nd Universal Negro Improvement Association Convention,” to respond to the troubles of his time by dreaming of freedom.

Garvey’s “Address to the 2nd UNIA” exemplifies what I am calling a *freedom dream*. In *Freedom Dreams*, Robin D.G. Kelley describes movements that produce “freedom dreams” as doing “what great poetry always does” and compelling people “to relive horrors” and “imagine a new society.” Kelley offers *Freedom Dreams* as a reminder to readers that “things need not always be this way.”⁴ Building on Kelley’s definition, I

conceive of a freedom dream as a depiction of a brutal past and a beautiful future liberated from that past. Garvey enunciated his *freedom dream* by recalling the brutal oppression his audience members had suffered as evidence that a beautiful future was within their grasp.⁵ In *Counterpublics and the State*, Robert Asen and Daniel Brouwer argue that publics are produced based on the ‘perception of consequences.’⁶ Garvey stirred his audience to imagine a new society by depicting a vision of world affairs that used audience members’ suffering, their history of consequences, as sustenance for imagining a better future.⁷ In this chapter, I contend that Garvey’s recollection of a shared and oppressive past combined with his prediction of a shared and oppression-free future presented a set of expectations and evaluations that created the foundation for UNIA leaders’ view of their public as one that included all Black people.⁸

Marcus Garvey’s freedom dream represented a practice in world-making. In *Queer Times: Black Futures*, Kara Keeling “takes seriously the generative proposition [that] another world is possible,” and “listens, with others, for the . . . noise such a world is making.”⁹ Garvey gave voice to the noise of another world by beginning with the presumption that all Black people were aggrieved and accordingly had the right and might to change their future. Garvey’s freedom dream created a foundation for UNIA leaders’ view of their public by holding space to remember the horror Black people had experienced while developing a path forward not defined by dereliction.¹⁰ In *the Reorder of Things*, Roderick Ferguson insists, “we can think of various cultural and revolutionary nationalist projects as attempts to stamp their own visages upon institutional contexts. Such attempts are not idiosyncratic or insignificant but conventional and definitive for minority nationalisms.”¹¹ Garvey’s articulation of a self-determined version of Black Nationalism

illuminates that at the foundation of the UNIA's project was a form of imagination not interested in imprinting on an existing visage but creating a new one. By dreaming of a future in which all Black people had a significant role to play, Garvey departed toward a different world altogether. In his "Address," Garvey evaluated his audience as people that had been oppressed and possessed the power to resolve the problems facing all Black people. Garvey expected that a self-determined Black population could and would one day succeed in making a world in which the redemption of Africa was not only a dream but a reality. In his "Address," Garvey produced a freedom dream that works as a sticking point from which to suture the connection between the UNIA from 1914-1925, Black Nationalism, and world-making.

Garvey's freedom dream laid the foundation for UNIA leaders' view of their public as inclusive of all Black people. In *Black Identity: Rhetoric, Ideology, and Nineteenth Century Black Nationalism*, Dexter Gordon notes that his own "book sprung from a desire to understand the ways in which the Garveyism movement functioned to fulfill its gargantuan task of effecting a movement of 'a people,' not just leaders or select groups but the entire African diaspora."¹² Building alongside Gordon, this chapter illuminates the rhetorical strategies Garvey utilized to provide foundation for UNIA leaders' steps toward a Black Nationalist World.¹³ Garvey's oratory offers an early answer to this project's first research question : what rhetorical strategies did leaders of the UNIA use to express their belief in Black self-determination. Garvey's "Address" reveals dreaming of freedom as one rhetorical strategy he used to bring Black people together around the belief that if they could be self-determined the future was theirs for the making. In his "Address," Garvey reflected on the success UNIA leaders had amassed and announced the work that still

needed to be done to achieve leaders' goal of seeing a free and redeemed Africa. By accounting for the past tribulations of the UNIA and asserting that the UNIA would triumph over all trials in the future, Garvey's freedom dream captured the past and laid foundation for the future of the UNIA.

To illuminate Garvey's freedom dream, this chapter is broken up into four sections. First, to establish Garvey's place in his freedom dream, I offer a history of Garvey's life and the development of the UNIA leading up to 1921. Second, I recount how the blatant hypocrisy of Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations, and the turbulence of racial unrest set the stage for Garvey to rise. Third, I turn to Garvey's "Address" to draw attention to how Garvey's freedom dream made it possible to bring his audience together as a group unified by oppression to overturn oppression. In the conclusion, I highlight two implications of reading Garvey's "Address" as a freedom dream. Garvey's freedom dream illuminates the utility of centering self-determination in Black nationalist rhetoric and how world-making can catalyze charting a path to a different world.

Marcus Garvey: President-General of the UNIA

Garvey's trials and tribulations during the founding and early years of the UNIA gave him the experience he needed to underwrite UNIA leaders' view of their public as inclusive of all Black people. Garvey was born in modest economic conditions in Jamaica. Due to his proximity to poverty, Garvey came into contact with the ideas of people like Robert Love, Duse Mohammed Ali, and Booker T. Washington. Love, Ali, and Washington inspired Garvey to want more for himself and Black people. Garvey built on that inspiration by founding the UNIA alongside Amy Ashwood in Jamaica. Though early UNIA leaders made earnest efforts to sustain the movement in Jamaica, Garvey had to go to the United States to find a firm enough ideological foundation to build a strong Black

nation. The earliest years of the UNIA in the US were mired by internal fighting between Garvey and other leaders.¹⁴ Despite the early troubles, in 1918, Garvey found grounding for his freedom dream.

Marcus Garvey—A Leader Rising

Marcus Garvey came from humble beginnings. Garvey was born into a working-class family in Jamaica. As Garvey grew, his encounters with the ideas of Robert Love and engagement with Duse Muhammad Ali, and Booker T. Washington increased his understanding of oppression. As Garvey matured, his experiences as a printing press worker illustrated the inequity experienced by Black people globally. In response to the struggles he saw, Garvey developed a project to help Black people in Jamaica. Garvey's project, the UNIA, grew into a hope to help Black people globally. Gauging Garvey's development as a person leading up to the founding of the UNIA highlights that when Garvey was expressing his evaluations of the past and expectations for the future in his "Address," he was speaking from his own personal experiences.

Marcus Mosiah Garvey was born in St. Ann Bay Jamaica on August 17, 1887. Marcus Garvey's father, Marcus Garvey Sr. was a well-known stone and brick mason in St. Ann.¹⁵ Sarah Garvey, Marcus Garvey's mother, sold cakes and pastries to augment the family income.¹⁶ The insubstantial income of Garvey's family highlights that from the very beginning Garvey's racial and class concerns were imbricated. Garvey owed his awakening of racial consciousness to Robert Love.

Robert Love's *Jamaica Advocate* sparked Marcus Garvey's race consciousness. Robert Love was born in the Bahamas in 1839.¹⁷ Love taught in the Bahamas until he moved to Florida in 1866. In 1871, Love was appointed a deacon in Georgia. After moving from Georgia to Buffalo, New York, Love moved to Jamaica in 1881.¹⁸ While in Jamaica,

Love became a member of the Jamaica Cooperative Association and the People's convention and began to influence Jamaican journalism.¹⁹ Love was the founder and publisher of the *Jamaica Advocate*. In the April 1901 issue of the *Jamaica Advocate*, Love asserted, "Africa has been the carcass upon which the vultures of Europe have descended and which they have sought to partition among themselves."²⁰ After coming into contact with the writing of Love, Garvey recalled, "Much of my early education in race consciousness is from Dr. Love. One cannot read his *Jamaica Advocate* without getting race consciousness."²¹ Though the *Jamaica Advocate* introduced Garvey to race consciousness, Garvey's experiences as a worker for printing presses availed him to the precarious position of Black workers.

Garvey was a relatively successful and class-conscious printer. Due to financial pressures, at the age of fourteen, Garvey began working as a printing press apprentice for his godfather, Mr. Burrowes. After two years of working for Mr. Burrowes, Garvey decided to venture out on his own. Just as Garvey was beginning to build his business in St. Ann, disaster struck. In 1903, a hurricane struck St. Ann Jamaica. As the St. Ann economy struggled to recover from the natural disaster, Garvey moved to Kingston Jamaica.²² In 1908, Garvey was the foreman of the printing section of the P.A. Benjamin pharmaceutical firm in Kingston. In that same year, organized by the Jamaica Typographical Union of America, workers in the printing trade went on strike. Amy Jacques Garvey recounted that despite being offered higher wages, Garvey decided to join the strike.²³ As the only foreman to participate in the strike, Garvey was blacklisted by the printing press administrators in Jamaica.²⁴ The printer's strike made clear to Garvey that there was a need for a unified and mighty force to improve the lived conditions of Black

workers. To improve the organized action in Jamaica, Garvey began editing and publishing on his own.²⁵ Garvey's first publication, *Garvey's Watchman*, was a short-lived enterprise. Garvey parlayed the lessons he learned from *Garvey's Watchman* into helping the Jamaican National Club publish the fortnightly, *Our Own*. Garvey's time with the National Club left him unfulfilled. Garvey recollected, "The politics of my country so disgusted me that I started to travel, in which course I visited several countries in South and Central America and in Europe."²⁶ Amy Jacques Garvey recalled, "Garvey felt that if he went to England he might be able to get help for West Indians."²⁷ To find work for himself and help his people, Garvey moved to London.²⁸ While in London, Garvey met Duse Mohammed Ali and was inspired by Booker T. Washington.

Duse Mohammed Ali gave Garvey an opportunity to practice supporting Black self-determination at his monthly journal.²⁹ Ali was born in Egypt in 1866. After attending King's College of London, Ali began a 24-year stage acting career.³⁰ Following his career as an actor, Ali became deeply involved in British politics.³¹ In 1912, Ali founded the *African Times and Orient Review*.³² Ali reflected that Garvey worked for the *African Times* "for the greater part of a year" while in London.³³ The *African Times* was a monthly journal devoted to archiving and supporting the interests of Black people around the world. The February-March 1913 issue of the *African Times and Orient Review* reads, "We are pleased to state that our first Competition, 'Race Unification,' has brought us a crop of competitive articles from the four corners of the earth." The *African Times* continued, "Our next prize will be for the best novel in which the principal characters must be coloured," The *African Times and Orient Review*'s competitions capture Ali's interest in instigating Black self-determination.³⁴ Ali's editorial invitation for individuals to submit writings about "race

unification” and short stories in which “the principal characters” were Black provided an opportunity for Black people to imagine and express their belief in Black self-determination the world over. Before Garvey and Amy Ashwood founded the UNIA based on their belief in Black self-determination, Garvey was inspired by the organizational model of racial uplift practiced by Booker T. Washington.

While in London, Garvey was influenced by Booker T. Washington. Booker T. Washington was one of the most well-renowned racial uplift leaders of the nineteenth century. Washington was born into slavery in Virginia in 1856.³⁵ Washington rose up from slavery to lead the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.³⁶ Washington’s view for Tuskegee grew out of his own perceptions of the utility of self-help. In *Up From Slavery*, Washington wrote, “Before going to Tuskegee I had expected to find there a building and all the necessary apparatus ready for me to begin teaching. To my disappointment, I found nothing of the kind. I did find, though, that which no costly building and apparatus can supply,—hundreds of hungry, earnest souls who wanted to secure knowledge.”³⁷ Washington’s jubilation at the “earnest” nature of the people at Tuskegee reflected his stance on racial uplift—that Black people must first be willing to help themselves. While leading Tuskegee, Washington espoused a belief that Black people should focus on helping themselves with little concern for much else. In his now famous, or infamous, Atlanta Compromise speech, Washington instructed “those” of his “race who depended on bettering their condition in a foreign land” to ““Cast down” their “bucket” and begin “making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom you are surrounded.”³⁸ Washington’s direction suggested that the best path forward for Black people was not to agitate for their rights but to make a path of their own. Garvey was

inspired by Washington's self-help plans. When reflecting on the significance of Booker T. Washington to his life, Garvey stated, "I read *Up from Slavery* by Booker T. Washington, and then my doom—if I may so call it being a race leader dawned upon me... I asked: 'Where is the black man's Government? Where is his King and his kingdom?'"³⁹ Garvey built on the inspiration he got from Washington to build an organization that would remind Black people the world over that they had once been "Kings" and "Queens."⁴⁰

The Early Years of the UNIA 1914-1918

The UNIA's history spanned multiple countries. Marcus Garvey and Amy Ashwood founded the UNIA in Jamaica but did not find solid footing until Garvey moved to the United States. Marcus Garvey faced tremendous troubles throughout the early years of the UNIA. Despite the tumult, in 1918, Garvey incorporated an organization that promoted Black self-determination.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association was founded in Jamaica in 1914. The UNIA was originally founded as the Universal Negro Improvement Association and Conservation Association and African Communities League.⁴¹ The UNIA was founded by Marcus Garvey and Amy Ashwood to establish "a Universal Confraternity among the race."⁴² Ashwood's influence helped to establish the Ladies Division as a foundational component of the UNIA.⁴³ Ashwood was also a primary fundraiser for the early UNIA. In fact, Ashwood's fundraising efforts made it possible for the UNIA to establish its first central meeting location in Jamaica, Collegiate Hall.⁴⁴ As the UNIA worked to gain acclaim in Jamaica, Ashwood participated alongside Garvey and other UNIA leaders in debates and philanthropy.⁴⁵

UNIA Leaders garnered attention for the unfledged movement by circulating pamphlets, holding debates, and giving to the less fortunate. During the early days in

Jamaica, the UNIA had a lengthy list of leaders. Marcus Garvey was President, T.A. McCormack was Secretary-General, Eva Aldred was President of the Ladies' Division and Amy Ashwood was Associate Secretary of the Ladies' Division.⁴⁶ To gain interest for the UNIA, leaders circulated a pamphlet developed by Marcus Garvey. In the 1914 Pamphlet, "The Destiny of the Negro," Marcus Garvey explained, the UNIA "has a world scope, and it aims at unifying the people of the African race all over the world."⁴⁷ Garvey's description of the UNIA as having a "world scope" established that one goal of the young organization was to help Black people globally. Leaders worked to achieve their global "Confraternity among the race" by holding debates and helping those in need. In September of 1914, the UNIA hosted a debate on the subject of "The Press or the Platform, which had greater influence."⁴⁸ In early October, UNIA leaders and audience members debated "Rural or City Life, which helps more in the development of the State."⁴⁹ At the end of October, UNIA meeting attendees were treated to expositions on "The pen or the sword."⁵⁰ Leaders continued community building by practicing good will towards those in need.⁵¹ As Christmas neared, the UNIA arranged a concert "for the purpose of raising the necessary funds to provide a dinner and treat to the poor of Kingston on Christmas Day."⁵² Despite their Christmas day efforts, the UNIA could not sustain itself on the support received in Kingston alone.

As efforts to build up the UNIA in Jamaica stalled, Garvey travelled to the US to get a second start. When reflecting on his initial efforts to incarnate the UNIA, Garvey recounted, "When I organized this movement in Jamaica it was treated with contempt and scorn." Eventually, Garvey conceded that the UNIA could not be sustained in Jamaica. Garvey explained, "Seeing how difficult it was to succeed with only a limited amount of

money at my disposal, I communicated with Dr. Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee. He encouraged me to go to the United States.”⁵³ In his initial letter to Washington, Garvey wrote, “the fair minded critic cannot fail in admiring your noble efforts.” Garvey continued, “We publish for the first time next week our paper ‘The Negro World’ a copy of which we shall send you regularly. If you publish any journals in connection with ‘Tuskegee’ please be good enough to send us same in Exchange.”⁵⁴ Garvey’s opening salvo reflected his appreciation for what Washington had achieved. Washington responded to Garvey’s message with cordial affirmation. Washington rejoined, “I hope that when you come to America you will come to Tuskegee and see for yourself what we are striving to do for the colored young men and women of the South.” He also made clear his interest in exchanging their writings: “We shall be very glad to receive copies of the Negro World, and shall be glad to send you in exchange the Tuskegee Student.”⁵⁵ Washington’s polite letter expressed encouragement toward a burgeoning leader of another organization. As Garvey’s plans to visit the United States became more concrete, Washington went as far as offering Garvey support while he visited the United States. In April of 1915, Washington wrote to Garvey, “I am very glad indeed that you have decided to come here and it will give us all very great pleasure to make your stay as pleasant and as profitable as we can. Certainly I shall do what I can to help you while in this country.”⁵⁶ Washington’s wish that Garvey visit Tuskegee was hampered by Washington’s own health. Washington passed away before Garvey arrived in the United States.⁵⁷ In 1916, disheartened at the loss of Washington, but not deterred, Garvey arrived in the United States.

From 1916-1917, Garvey made a name for himself by giving speeches around New York.⁵⁸ Journalist W. A. Domingo, took notes on what he believed to be Garvey’s first

speech in the United States. In what seem to be edited notes for personal use, Domingo explained, “Being an orator of international fame he very naturally had to let the public know that fact, so he had some flamboyant handbills.”⁵⁹ Despite Garvey’s flashy handbills, Domingo was underwhelmed with Garvey’s performance. Domingo reported that Garvey was “Shaking like an aspen leaf,” and before the end of his oration “fell from the stage and lay prostrate on the floor.” Domingo ultimately regarded Garvey’s speech as “one of transcendent comedy tinged with a little tragedy.”⁶⁰ As he had before, and would have to again, Garvey rose from his initial failure and continued trying to impress upon his audience that Black people could and should be self-determined. Garvey found solid footing in the United States by criticizing the hypocrisy of US officials’ advocacy for democracy. In his speech at Lafayette Hall on the East St. Louis Riots in 1917, Garvey highlighted the inconsistency of the United States critiquing other nations for violating democratic principles. Garvey critiqued United States representatives for condemning “Germany for the deportations of the Belgians into Germany” and arraigning “Turkey at the bar of public opinion and justice against the massacres of the Armenians” while demeaning Black people. Garvey rebuked the United States for criticizing others while continuing “the brutal murder of men, women and children for no other reason than that they are black people seeking an industrial chance in a country they have laboured for three hundred years to make great.”⁶¹ Garvey’s juxtaposition of US opinion on Germany and behavior toward “black people seeking an industrial chance” illustrated the inconsistency imbedded in twentieth-century racism. Garvey’s admonishment of US policy reflected an approach that would gain him acclaim and followers. Garvey’s speaking style netted him a cadre of compatriots.

The first incarnation of the UNIA in the US deteriorated due to fighting between Marcus Garvey and other leaders.⁶² In a November 1917 letter from Garvey to Nicholas Murray Butler, the leaders of the UNIA are listed as: Issac B. Allen, President; Marcus Garvey, International Organizer; Irena [sic] Moorman Blackstone, President of the Ladies Division.⁶³ By January of 1918, Samuel A. Duncan had become president of the UNIA and Garvey chose to resign.⁶⁴ Reflecting on the early period of the UNIA in the United States, Garvey recalled, "I had great difficulty in New York in holding the organization, in that as often as I organized it there would come into the movement scheming politicians of the Harlem district, who would attempt to turn the organization into a political club." Garvey went on to specify whom exactly was attempting to make the UNIA into a "political club." Garvey remembered "the activities of Mr. Issac B. Allen," and "Samuel Duncan and L. Lavelle and others who had political designs and thought that they could work them out through the newly formed organization."⁶⁵ Garvey responded by leaving the organization and incorporating a new UNIA with those that would follow him. Garvey recounted, "After this happened those who were following me and myself had to make desperate efforts to have the organization incorporated in New York, so as to prevent Samuel Duncan overreaching us and taking away the organization from us." Garvey was successful in having the organization incorporated. As Garvey remembered it, "The organization was incorporated by Attorney Conway, who was one of the charter members. The first lady president of the New York organization was Mrs. Irene Moorman Blackstone. For safety I also was elected president of the incorporated organization."⁶⁶ The version of the organization incorporated with Irene Moorman Blackstone and Marcus Garvey as primary leaders laid the foundation for UNIA leaders' Black Nationalist world.

The UNIA from 1918-1921, Coming of Age

The UNIA experienced exponential growth between 1918 and 1921. The UNIA's growth was marked by the creation of a new constitution for the UNIA and the hosting of the UNIA's first conference. By 1921, UNIA leaders saw membership numbers skyrocket and Garvey's rhetoric reflected the confidence that comes with success. By August of 1921, Garvey had conquered his initial challenges and was ready to lay the foundation for leaders' view of their public as inclusive of all Black people.

Garvey began again by laying out the roles and rules of the UNIA. In July of 1918, the UNIA established a constitution. The newly minted constitution imparted the importance of women's perspectives for the organization and consolidated absolute power in the "potentate and Supreme Commissioner."⁶⁷ Under "Article V. Jurisdiction and Charters," the constitution outlined the roles and responsibilities of both the Male President and Lady President of each division. Lady Presidents were charged with "control of all those departments of the organization over which" they "May be able to exercise better control than the Male President." They thus had the right to "preside over any meeting." Although Lady Presidents were given some power, ultimately, Male Presidents were "held responsible to the Convention and to the President General for the constitutional workings" of each division.⁶⁸ The gender expectations of the UNIA were not equitable. However, the written codification of a Lady President's position for each division did reflect that the efforts of early Lady Presidents, like Eva Aldred and Irene Moorman Blackstone, did not go unnoticed. After establishing the division of power in local and national divisions, the constitution clarified the hierarchy in the power structure. "Article V sec. 25" of the UNIA constitution reads, "The Potentate and Supreme Commissioner, through his office, shall have complete constitutional control over all divisions and societies allied to the parent

body of which he is the recognized head.”⁶⁹ By affirming that the “Potentate and Supreme Commissioner” was the “head” of all “divisions and societies,” the constitution established absolute authority for the “Supreme Commissioner.” In the context of the UNIA from its 1918 reestablishment until its fall in 1926, that effectively meant that Garvey had absolute yet tempered power. Garvey built on his newfound power by buying a building and speaking with confidence.

As the UNIA grew in 1919, Garvey’s rhetoric reflected confidence, and the UNIA bought a building to house his audience. In his February 1919 “Address in Brooklyn,” Garvey told his audience, “I come to you without any scruples to let you know that if the people in Greater New York are ready, if the people in Harlem are ready,” and “if the people in every part of the world are ready,” then “you in Brooklyn must also be ready.” Garvey’s assessment reflected a comfortability grown from increased confidence. Garvey was no longer asking if his audience was “ready” but instead telling them that they were. Garvey built on his evaluation that his audience was “ready” by explaining what they were ready for. Garvey explicated, “the four hundred millions of us scattered in all parts of the world must be so prepared that at the call for service, we must step forth to deliver ourselves into that freedom, that democracy for which we have fought in many a battle.”⁷⁰ Garvey’s remark leveraged the struggles his audience had seen as a reason that his audience must now be “ready” to deliver themselves into “freedom.” Garvey’s message that the time had come for Black people to “deliver” themselves into “freedom” was concretized by the UNIA’s buying of a building in New York. The August 2, 1919, issue of the *Negro World* announced July 27 as a “memorable day in the history of the Universal Negro Improvement Association.” July 27th was the “day that the organization moved into its new home, the

old Metropolitan Baptist Church, 138th street, between Lenox and Seventh avenues” that was “renamed ‘Liberty Hall.’”⁷¹ With the purchase of Liberty Hall, Garvey had concrete proof that self-determined Black people could make something. Building from his base in Liberty Hall, Garvey began to lay the foundation for leaders’ path toward a different world.

After founding Liberty Hall, Garvey called for a Liberian development project at the first UNIA Convention. The first UNIA convention opened on August 1, 1920. At the inaugural convention for the UNIA, Garvey proposed funding a Liberian development project in the hopes of creating a beacon for Black fraternity.⁷² In his opening speech for the first UNIA convention, Garvey explained, “Considering all the circumstances and environments that surround the Negro in Western civilization, we of the U.N.I.A. believe that the best thing for the Negro to do is consolidate his racial force in building his own motherland, Africa.” Garvey’s plans to consolidate “racial force” were a result of his conclusion that nothing Black built in a white world could stay. Garvey summarized, “any progress, any advancement made by the Negro in Western alien civilization is a progress, is an advancement that is insecure.” As an alternative to “insecure” progress, Garvey argued that the UNIA should secure a place in Liberia. Garvey stated, “For the security of our racial strength . . . we have decided to concentrate on the building of the great Republic of Liberia, and to make Liberia one of the great powers of the world.”⁷³ Garvey’s goal to make Liberia into a great power stood in as the star that he and other leaders of the UNIA would follow. Garvey sparked UNIA leaders’ Black Nationalist world by beginning to envision the creation of a strong Black nation. With his announcement of the Liberian project, Garvey did not inaugurate a belief that all Black people should return to Africa but instead the belief that Black people’s problems should be on the minds of and solved by

Black people. Reflecting on the Liberian development project in conversation with Lerone Bennet, Amy Jacques Garvey clarified Garvey's meaning at the first UNIA convention. Amy Jacques Garvey noted, "It is a sensational misunderstanding of Garvey . . . to imply that he advocated back-to-Africanism." Jacques Garvey continued, "back-to-Africa was used and promoted by newspapers, Negro newspapers mostly, to ridicule Garvey. There was no back-to-Africa movement except in a spiritual sense."⁷⁴ Though the goal was not to return all Black people to Africa, the idea that there could be a strong nation in Africa created a swell of support for the UNIA.

In the year that followed the inaugural UNIA convention, Garvey reflected on the heights the UNIA had reached and laid plans for the UNIA's future. In October of 1920, Garvey released an editorial that accounted for the ascent of the UNIA. Garvey asserted, "The U.N.I.A. has awakened a new race consciousness in the Negro people of the world during the past two years. They realize that they have a destiny that they must work out by and through themselves." Garvey's assessment captured both the role the UNIA played in awakening Black people and that an outcome of that awakening was that Black people must "work" out the future for "themselves."⁷⁵ In February of 1921, the *Negro World* reported on how quickly Black people were signing up to make a future for themselves. The February 12, 1921, *Negro World* reads, "Since the August convention of the U.N.I.A., nearly one hundred new divisions have received and unveiled their charters and scores of divisions formed which have not yet been chartered."⁷⁶ Garvey built on the exponential growth of UNIA divisions by articulating a set of evaluations of the present and expectations for the future. In his July 13th address in New Orleans, Garvey produced a precursor to his freedom dream. Garvey claimed, "The time has come for the strongest race

of people on earth” to “break the bonds of oppression.” Garvey’s initial claim implied an evaluation of Black people’s past as one filled with oppression. Garvey built on his claim by asserting what would need to be done to overthrow oppression. Garvey argued, “We have favored and aided by the hundred, but favor has not been returned. Time now to pay attention to our own interest. Look out for yourselves.” Garvey’s speech in New Orleans reflected the central tenets that he would express more forcefully in his “Address to the 2nd UNIA.” One month before Garvey gave his “Address,” his speech suggested that his audience had experienced a horrible past and now should be ready to build a beautiful future for Black people.⁷⁷

Woodrow Wilson’s War and Racial Resistance in the Early 1900s United States

The hypocritical approach of Woodrow Wilson during World War I exemplified the terrible past Black Americans had suffered through.⁷⁸ While president, Wilson limited Black people’s economic opportunities and defended colonizing countries’ rights to break up Africa. The inequality of African countries being colonized after a “war for democracy” increased discontent amongst Black Americans.⁷⁹ Black Americans’ responses to racism suggested that they were prepared to create a beautiful future from their terrible past. Garvey responded to Wilson’s racist policies and rising racial tension by dreaming of freedom for himself and Black people.

Woodrow Wilson’s League and WWI

Woodrow Wilson’s presidency produced a primer for Garvey’s freedom dream. The inequality that increased in the US under Wilson’s watch provided a particular example of the terrible past Garvey was offering his audience an opportunity to break away from. As president, Wilson supported the development of white nationalism, segregated

governmental offices, and leveraged democracy as a reason the United States should enter WWI.⁸⁰ The racial inequity in Wilson's presidency was exacerbated by his advocacy for the League of Nations. Wilson's rhetoric and actions created a grievance that Garvey took as the exemplar for the ugly past he hoped to free himself and his audience from.

During his presidency, Woodrow Wilson decreased Black economic opportunities, increased white supremacy, and leveraged democracy as a reason the US should enter WWI. Wilson limited Black economic opportunities by using his power as president to segregate the government. By the end of 1913, governmental offices that had previously been unsegregated, like the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the Post Office Department, and the Office of the Auditor for the Post Office, had become segregated.⁸¹ In a 1914 article for *The Crisis*, an unknown author charged Wilson with being "inconsistent" when "shutting his eyes so deliberately to" the "great wrong which" he had "sworn to abolish."⁸² Wilson disregarded his detractors and built on his racist employment policies by watching *Birth of a Nation* at the White House.⁸³ Wilson sustained white supremacy by not only watching an early showing of but being quoted in *Birth of a Nation*.⁸⁴ Multiple passages from Wilson's *A History of the American People* are quoted in *Birth of a Nation*.⁸⁵ In his *History of the American People*, Wilson sympathized with white Southerners' desire to rid themselves of "the intolerable burden of governments sustained by the votes of ignorant negroes."⁸⁶ Wilson's words suggested a wanton disregard for the democratic rights of Black Americans in the South. Despite his disdain for Black people practicing their right to participate in governance, Wilson had the audacity to argue that the United States should enter World War I as a defender of democracy.

While Wilson was segregating the United States, he justified US entrance into World War I by framing US engagement as a defense of “democracy and human rights.”⁸⁷ In his “Address to His Fellow-Countrymen on Ways to Serve the Nation During the War,” Wilson lamented, “The entrance of our own beloved country into the grim and terrible war for democracy and human rights” creates “so many problems” that “call for immediate consideration.” Wilson’s framing suggested that his “Countrymen” should bear the burdens that come with war as a part of struggling for “democracy and human rights.” Wilson went on to establish the stakes of the battle for “democracy and human rights.” Wilson argued, “We are fighting for what we believe and wish to be the rights of mankind and for the future peace and security of the world.”⁸⁸ Wilson’s assessment asserted that “the rights of mankind” were hanging in the balance during WWI. Early on, Wilson’s words were compelling to some in the Black community. W.E.B. Du Bois and other racial leaders fought fervently for Black men’s opportunity to join the army in hopes that military service could prove merit.⁸⁹ In 1918, Du Bois compelled the readers of *The Crisis* to “not hesitate” and “while this war lasts, forget our special grievances and close our ranks . . . with our own white fellow citizens.”⁹⁰ During the war, Black people began to take notice of the dissonance between Wilson’s concern with “democracy and human rights” and the lack of rights extended to Black people. In 1919, the *Pine Bluff Daily* reported that after returning from his tour in France, Clinton Briggs, a Black War World I veteran, was lynched in Arkansas.⁹¹ The *Pine Bluff Daily*’s report demonstrated the dissonance between Black people being killed for the color of their skin after returning home from a war for “democracy.” The racial inequity Black people experienced under Wilson’s presidency was intensified by the institutional exclusion produced by the League of Nations.⁹²

Wilson's leadership of the League of Nations limited the participation of African countries and Black people.⁹³ On January 8, 1918, at the end of his speech on "War Aims and Peace Terms," Wilson offered the last of his Fourteen Points platform for peace. Wilson asserted, "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."⁹⁴ Wilson's idea to have a "general association of nations" to protect the "independence and territorial integrity" of "great and small states alike" was poisoned in execution by his racism. Wilson's proposed power structure for the League of Nations was inaccessible and inequitable to Black people and would-be African countries. In his 1919 "League of Nations," speech Wilson explicated the power structure of the League. Wilson stated,

I want to give you a very simple account of the organization of the League of Nations and let you judge for yourselves. It is a very simple organization. The power of the League, or rather the activities of the league, lie in two bodies. There is the council, which consists of one representative from each of the principal allied and associated powers—that is to say, the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, along with four other representatives of smaller powers chosen out of the general body of the membership of the League. The council is the source of every active policy of the League, and no active policy of the League can be adopted without a unanimous vote of the council.⁹⁵

Wilson's investment of absolute power in the "council" created a compromising position for members of the "general body" as well as countries not recognized by the League. Historian Erez Manela contends that Wilson's failure "to apply the principle of self-determination meaningfully outside Europe in the peace settlement" provides evidence that "Wilson believed that national self-determination applied almost exclusively to Europeans."⁹⁶ The exclusivity of Wilson's view on self-determination formed into concrete policy at the Treaty of Versailles.

The breaking up of Africa, led by the League of Nations at the Treaty of Versailles, produced a grievance that Garvey would assert made all Black people aggrieved.⁹⁷ The Treaty of Versailles produced grievances for Garvey in two ways. First, UNIA delegates were denied the opportunity to attend the meeting. Ida B. Wells recalled that after being selected as the UNIA delegate that the members of the UNIA's Paris Conference Committee were turned away when they attempted to attend the League of Nations' Versailles meeting. Wells noted, "Only Mr. Trotter got across after all, and he did so by subterfuge. . . . the rest of us had been refused a passport."⁹⁸ The US government's refusal of passports to Black people who wished to participate in League of Nations' activities highlighted an exclusivity in terms of who Wilson and the League of Nations would allow to practice self-determination. The exclusion initiated by Wilson's organizational hierarchy for the League was pronounced in the policies of the League towards Africa. The second grievance for Garvey was that the Treaty of Versailles denied would-be African countries their right to self-determination. As a component of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was forced to release control over its colonies in Africa.⁹⁹ After Germany's remission, those colonies were not given rule over themselves but sovereignty was transferred to other European countries like France and Great Britain.¹⁰⁰ The passage of control over countries like Rwanda and Burundi to colonial powers produced a particularly clear example of the limits of Wilson's logic.¹⁰¹ The Treaty of Versailles exemplified colonial powers disbelief in Black self-determination. For Garvey, the denial of Black people's opportunity to speak for and practice self-determination presented a grievance for all Black people.

Resisting Racism and Harlem's Renaissance

There was a swell of Black resistance to racism in the US at the turn of the twentieth century. As *Plessy V. Ferguson* (1896) strengthened legal segregation, Black Americans became more ardent in their attempts to unsettle inequity.¹⁰² The Harlem renaissance stands out as a shining example of the shift in the political consciousness of Black Americans.¹⁰³ Garvey built on Black Americans shifting evaluations of and expectations for the United States.¹⁰⁴ Black Americans fervent fight for freedom provided foundation for the last component of Garvey's freedom dream. The efforts of Black people to resist racism at the turn of the twentieth century evinced that Black people had seen enough of their horrible past and were ready to practice Black self-determination to build a beautiful future.

Plessy V. Ferguson solidified the inequality Black Americans had been experiencing since the rollback of Reconstruction.¹⁰⁵ *Plessy V. Ferguson* supported inequity by confirming socially-normalized racist practices as passable law.¹⁰⁶ On May 18, 1896, when submitting the majority opinion, Justice Henry Billings Brown remarked, "Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts" and "if one race be inferior to the other socially, the constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane."¹⁰⁷ Beyond affirming the belief that separate accommodations were acceptable, Brown's majority opinion clarified that from the view of the court the Constitution had neither the power nor responsibility to protect or produce equality for those treated as "socially" inferior. In her treatise on Black experiences with segregation in the United States, *Traveling Black*, Mia Bay argues, "With the legalization of segregation, the Jim Crow car became a powerful symbol of the state-sanctioned degradation of all African Americans. For Blacks who grew up before the passage of the South's separate car laws, the Jim Crow car was a galling reminder of the rights they had lost."¹⁰⁸ As the insult of

being treated as inferior became more inescapable in the United States, Black Americans resisted inequality.

By August of 1921, Black Americans were becoming more convinced that separate meant aggrieved and unequal. In August of 1900, there were large scale racial conflicts in both New York and Louisiana.¹⁰⁹ The *Baltimore Sun*, reporting on the New York conflict, noted that police officers in New York said, “few if any previous race riots” in the city could “compare.”¹¹⁰ When reflecting on the precursors to the New York racial confrontation, the *Baltimore Sun* made clear, “At every street corner white men gathered, and the general theme of conversation was that blacks have had too many privileges in this city and that they had abused them.”¹¹¹ The sentiment that Black people had too many privileges was not restricted to New York. In 1905, the Westminster, Maryland based *Democratic Advocate* reported on a racial conflict in Delaware. The *Democratic Advocate* described the “Delaware race riots” as growing out “of a projected movement to disfranchise the ignorant negroes.” The *Democratic Advocate* continued, “The negroes are resenting the proposition by attacking the white people. What is occurring in Delaware may be repeated in some sections of Maryland.”¹¹² By 1910, the disregard for Black rights that caused conflict in Delaware was running rampant across the United States. In 1910, the inaugural issue of *The Crisis* chronicled four geographically diverse instances of Black people suffering under the burden of racism.¹¹³ For example, Steve Green recounted being shot in “the neck, left arm and right leg” when he refused to continue to work as a sharecropper for his former boss “Mr. Saddler.”¹¹⁴ Less than 10 years later, the summer of 1919 was dubbed the “Red Summer” because there were over 25 major altercations between Black and white citizens.¹¹⁵ Just two months before Garvey’s “Address,” “Black

Wall Street” was bombed in Tulsa, Oklahoma.¹¹⁶ The consistency of racial unrest in the United States highlights that during Garvey’s time, Black people were in the throes of political and social unrest and primed for a movement against racial oppression.¹¹⁷ Nowhere was that preparedness more palpable than Harlem, New York. The Harlem Renaissance Garvey encountered invigorated Black art and presented an ideological environment consistent with Garvey’s freedom dream.¹¹⁸

During the Renaissance, some artists used their prose to present the contours of Black life. John Henrik Clarke recalled, “The mass exodus and settlement of Negroes in Harlem started in 1900, after New York’s fourth disastrous race riot.”¹¹⁹ As Black people dealt with racial inequality in New York, some poets produced poems to express discontent with how things were. For example, in his *Brothers-American Drama*, James Weldon Johnson imagined a nameless speaker that was the result of “pent-up bitterness, the unspent hate/ Filtered through fifteen generations.”¹²⁰ Weldon Johnson’s prose produced an uncanny representation of the struggle many Black Americans had suffered through. In “Foredoom,” Georgia Douglass Johnson captured the way limited opportunities frustrated the freedom of Black women particularly. Douglass Johnson wrote of a “Her” that had “every dream” “born entombed,” and a “soul, a bud,/ that never bloomed.”¹²¹ Douglass Johnson’s lamentation of dreams born in tombs suggested the seriousness of generational degradation that accompanied Black people’s condition in Harlem. Both Weldon Johnson and Douglass Johnson’s works illustrated the depth of depravity experienced by Black people in Harlem. Writing in resistance to racial inequality, Claude McKay wrote, “If we must die—let it not be like hogs” and “If we must die—oh, let us nobly die.”¹²² McKay’s literary lines suggested an awareness of the dire conditions faced by Black people in the

United States but a belief that there was a difference between the death of a “hog” and a noble one. The art of the early Harlem Renaissance illustrated an intellectual environment conducive for Garvey’s freedom dream. Taken together, Weldon Johnson, Douglass Johnson, and McKay’s poetry reflected the central argument of Garvey’s freedom dream—that freedom had been “entombed” but if Black people were ready die a noble death, they could free freedom from its resting place.

Marcus Garvey: Dreaming of Freedom

In his 1921 “Address to the 2nd Universal Negro Improvement Association Convention,” Marcus Garvey produced a freedom dream by providing a pure view of the past and a positive prediction for the future. Garvey opened his “Address” by reflecting on what had happened at the 2nd UNIA convention and then building on that to explain how the UNIA’s past and future pointed toward freedom. In the middle of his “Address,” Garvey established the inequity of the past and articulated a need for members to practice self-determination in the present and future. Garvey closed his “Address” by offering his audience an account of the beautiful future that could be theirs if they were willing to believe in Black self-determination.

In the introduction to his “Address to the 2nd UNIA Convention,” Garvey dreamt of freedom. Garvey dreamt of freedom by juxtaposing the past and the future while providing evidence that his audience had been oppressed and could resist oppression. Garvey constructed a platform from which to establish the past for himself and his audience by creating a connection between himself and his audience. Garvey concretized his connection to his audience by referring to himself and his audience as a collective group. Garvey stated, “We did our best to enact laws and to frame laws that in our judgment, we hope, will help solve the great problem that confronts us universally.”¹²³ In the opening of

his speech, Garvey's use of "We" invited the members of the audience to see themselves as persons that participated in the construction of the "laws" that would solve "the great problem." By asserting members' collective participation in solving "the problem," Garvey produced a form of Black Nationalism that emphasized individual audience members' agency. By moving the standard for meaningful participation from being a leader of the group to being a member, Garvey created an opening to collapse his audience's past into his own.¹²⁴ Garvey's framing of the success of the convention as a communal process laid the groundwork that he would build on in the rest of his speech. Garvey built on his inclusive opening by evaluating the past he and his audience had experienced.

After creating a connection to his audience, Garvey offered an evaluation of the past he and his audience had suffered through. Garvey noted, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association seeks to emancipate the Negro everywhere, industrially, educationally, politically and religiously. It also seeks a free and redeemed Africa. It has a great struggle ahead; it has a gigantic task to face. Nevertheless, as representatives of the Negro people of the world we have undertaken the task of freeing the 400,000,000 of our race."¹²⁵ Garvey's assertion that UNIA members faced a "gigantic task" and aimed to "emancipate the Negro everywhere" offered an assessment of the conditions that had calcified in the United States. Garvey's supposition suggested that many Black people were not free and that it would take a large effort to free them. Garvey followed his initial evaluation with an evaluation of what was needed to produce a force for fighting for Black people large enough to meet the "gigantic task." Garvey contended, "we have come to the one conclusion—that speedily Africa must be redeemed! We have come to the conclusion that speedily there must be an emancipated Negro race everywhere."¹²⁶ Garvey's sentiment

suggested that to solve the “gigantic task” facing Black people would require the strength of Black people “everywhere.” Garvey’s evaluations of the size of the struggle and the force that would be needed to respond to that struggle provided foundation for him to illustrate an example of the battle that stood between his audience and a beautiful future. Garvey concluded the introduction to his “Address” by enunciating an example of self-determination already in progress.

Garvey evinced the capacity of his audience to practice self-determination by taking ongoing struggles in India and Africa as examples. Garvey stated, “The handwriting is on the wall. You see it as plain as daylight; you see it coming out of India, the tribes of India rising in rebellion against their overlords. You see it coming out of Africa, . . . the Moors rising in rebellion against their overlords, and defeating them at every turn.”¹²⁷ Garvey’s assertion implied that members of the audience had a shared concern for India and Africa based on their shared oppression. By using India and Africa as examples, Garvey intimated that members of his audience too could and should rise “in rebellion against their overlords.” At the end of his introduction, Garvey’s claim suggested that if all Black people would rise “in rebellion against their overlords” that they could accomplish the “gigantic task” of emancipating Black people “everywhere.” Garvey began to explicate his dream for emancipation by elaborating on how his audience had been insulted by the League of Nations.

Insulted But Determined to Overturn Oppression

Following his introduction, Garvey argued for self-determination amongst his audience by describing the problems of Africa as the problems of all Black people. In his “Address,” Garvey established that his audience had been oppressed by the breaking up of

Africa led by the League of Nations. Garvey built on the insult offered by the League of Nations to encourage his audience to overturn oppression.

Garvey established the need for his audience to practice self-determination by recounting the actions of the League of Nations. Garvey noted, “The handwriting is on the wall, and as we go back to our respective homes we shall serve notice upon the world that we also are coming; coming with united effort; coming with a united determination, a determination that Africa shall be free from coast to coast.”¹²⁸ Garvey’s claim that the “handwriting is on the wall” and members were coming with a “united determination” to produce an “Africa” “free from coast to coast” conveyed confidence in the ability of Black people to do what the League of Nations asserted they could not. Garvey continued, “I have before me the decision of the League of Nations. Immediately after the war a Council of the League of Nations was called, and at that Council they decided that the territories wrested from Germany in West Africa, . . . should be divided between France and England—608,000 square miles.”¹²⁹ Garvey clarified why and how his audience was aggrieved by being explicit about his feeling of indignation brought on by the breaking up of Africa. Garvey argued, “An insult was hurled at the civilized Negroes of the world when they thus took upon themselves the right to parcel out and apportion as they pleased 608,000 square miles of our own lands... we are aggrieved and we desire to serve notice on civilization and on the world that 400,000,000 Negroes are aggrieved.” Garvey’s use of “we are aggrieved” when read in conjunction with the phrase “our own lands” implied his audience was comprised of people displaced by the apportioning of “608,000 square miles of” land. To recognize oneself as part of the “we” included in the “aggrieved” required one to accept that they had a connection and a claim to that land. Garvey’s assertion crystalized

his point that the League's decision to break up Africa actively deprived Black people of their right to self-determination and thus Black people had a right to assert their grievances. Garvey's remarks opened space for the view of UNIA leaders' public as inclusive of all Black people by emphasizing that all "400,000,000" were aggrieved because of their lost opportunity. Garvey followed his evaluation of what caused Black people to be aggrieved by espousing an expectation for what would result from recurrent inequity.

Garvey contended that the inequities practiced by the League of Nations produced an instability that would lead to the collapse of civilization. Garvey remonstrated, "And we are the more aggrieved because of the lynch rope, because of segregation, because of the Jim Crowism that is used, practiced and exercised here in this country and in other parts of the world by the white nations of the earth."¹³⁰ Garvey's rebuke suggested that the political exclusion palpable in the League of Nations decision to divide Africa also presented itself in the day-to-day lives of Black people in the form of the "lynch rope," and "segregation." Garvey supposed that the consistent mistreatment of Black people made the nations that mistreated them misfit for managing Black people's land. Garvey argued, "If there is no safety for Negroes in the white world, I cannot see what right they have to parcel out the homeland, the country of Negroes, without consulting Negroes Therefore, we are aggrieved." Garvey's refrain suggested that colonial powers had participated in a model of mistreating Black people that threw the world out of balance. Garvey continued his "Address" by espousing an expectation for what would happen if the world continued on the same course. Garvey prophesized, "This question of prejudice will be the downfall of civilization." Garvey's assertion supposed that a society built on inequality could not stand. Garvey followed his assertion with a warning to those who perpetuated inequality. Garvey

warned “the white race” of “their doom.” Garvey then hoped that “they” would “take heed, because the handwriting is on the wall.” Garvey’s assessment of inequalities evidenced his belief that a society built on inequities could not exist in perpetuity. Garvey’s supposition implied that change was going to come. Garvey began to outline how his audience could be agents of change by distinguishing past strategies for racial uplift from the present.

Garvey began to carve a path toward the bright future his audience would create by describing what he saw as the difference between the Black people in his audience and Black people of the past. Garvey evaluated the Black people of his time as more aware of and less willing to accept racism than the Black people of the past. Garvey asserted, “The world ought to understand that the Negro has come to life, possessed with a new conscience and new soul. The old Negro is buried, and it is well time the world knew it.”¹³¹ Garvey’s distinction announced what he viewed as a new epoch in Black political resistance. Garvey’s characterization of Black people as having a “new conscience and new soul” suggested that Black people were no longer willing to accept inequalities and were instead ready to overturn oppression. Garvey built on his evaluation of his audience as Black people with a “new soul” by asking them to be prepared to do something with that “soul.” Garvey stated, “I am asking you to prepare yourselves, and prepare your race the world over, because the conflict is coming, not because you will it, not because you desire it, but because you will be forced into it.” Garvey’s postulation reflected the combination of his evaluation of his audience and an evaluation of the world around them. Garvey’s ask of his audience to “prepare” themselves and their “race” implied that conflict would come not because Black people wanted to cause conflict but because the world that existed would

not let them exist peacefully. Garvey brought his speech to a crescendo by returning to what would happen to a world built on inequities.

At the apex of his speech, Garvey leveraged the present as evidence that justice would overcome injustice in the future. Garvey provided evidence that pressure was building in the present toward a more equitable future by returning to his examples of India and Africa. Garvey asserted, “You see it; I see it; I see that the handwriting is on the wall, as expressed in the uprising in India. You see the handwriting on the wall in Africa.” Garvey’s argument that the “handwriting was on the wall” highlighted that signs of an impending conflict were readily apparent. Garvey continued by clarifying the scope of the coming conflict. Garvey foretold, “It is coming; it is drawing nearer and nearer. Four hundred million Negroes of the world, I’m asking you to prepare yourselves, so that you will not be found wanting when that day comes.” Garvey’s remark asserted that “Four hundred million” Black people would be included in the conflict. Garvey’s argument evoked an evaluation of the consequences of inequity. Garvey created room to illustrate the beautiful future these “Four hundred million” Black people could make by articulating an expectation for what would happen to a society built on injustice. Garvey stated, “I repeat: I warn the white world against the prejudice they are practicing against Negroes; I warn them against the segregation and injustice they mete out to us, for the perpetuation of these things will mean the ultimate destruction of the present civilization, and the building up of a new civilization founded upon mercy, justice and equality.”¹³² Garvey’s pairing of a world with prejudice and one without emphasized the unsustainability of a system built on racism while providing his audience with an opportunity to say yes to their role in building a fairer world. Garvey concluded his speech by reflecting on how practicing Black

self-determination could culminate in a “civilization founded upon mercy, justice and equality.”

Unified Self-Determination: Power in the People

Marcus Garvey concluded his “Address” by explicating the beautiful future his audience could create. Garvey began his conclusion by reflecting on how the untapped talent in Africa could change the world. In the middle of his conclusion, Garvey clarified his goals for the future of the UNIA. As Garvey’s conclusion waned, he offered a picturesque portrait of the world he hoped to create.

Garvey substantiated his argument that his audience could and should practice self-determination by describing the possibilities Africa held. Garvey stated, “You may ask yourselves if you believe Africa is still asleep. Africa has been slumbering; but she was slumbering for a purpose. Africa still possesses her hidden mysteries; Africa has unused talents and we are unearthing them now.”¹³³ Garvey’s framing of the “unearthing” of Africa’s ‘unused talents’ and “hidden mysteries” suggested that the process of producing Black self-determination was already in progress. Garvey’s claim about the reason for Africa’s slumber produced a version of Black Nationalism that included all Black people.¹³⁴ Garvey asserted the ability of his audience, inclusive of the Black masses, to practice self-determination by implying that what would free Africa was the strength of a mass of self-determined Black people. Garvey continued his conclusion by articulating his expectations for a self-determined Black population.

Near the end of his speech, Garvey specified the goals of his speech. Garvey distilled what he was telling his audience by first explicating what he was “not” doing. Garvey stated, “I am not telling you to lead in humanity; I am not telling you to lead in the bringing about of the turning of humanity, because you have been doing that for three

hundred years, and you have lost We are not preaching a doctrine of hatred.” Garvey’s recurring refrain of “not” illustrated that his goal for the UNIA was not to build up current “humanity,” but instead to instantiate a different humanity. Garvey continued, “We are preaching,” “a doctrine of humanity, a doctrine of human love. But we say love begins at home.” Garvey’s description of his goals described the practices of the UNIA as building but with a particular purpose in mind. Garvey’s argument established that he was not interested in preaching hatred of others but building a beautiful future for Black people.

In the waning moments of his speech, Garvey clarified his expectation for Black people’s political future. Garvey asserted, “Negroes are wide awake,” and that “Negroes intend to take a serious part in the future government of the world. . . This world owes us a place, and we are going to occupy that place.” Garvey’s concluding remarks exemplify a freedom dream. Garvey produced a candid view of the past by noting that Black people are owed a place in world affairs. He then combined that view of the past with an optimistic claim about the future by asserting that Black people will occupy the place that is owed to them. Garvey closed his freedom dream, and his speech, by making a claim about the depth and determination of his audience. Garvey stated, “At this time humanity everywhere is determined to reach a common standard of nationhood. Hence 400,000,000 Negroes demand a place in the political sun of the world.”¹³⁵ Garvey’s demand made clear that the Black people had reason to want to see change in the world and possessed the talent to change the world.

Conclusion: Dreaming of Freedom as a Foundation

Instrumentally speaking, Garvey’s speech was a success. The *Negro World* heralded his speech as “a great plea for race unity.”¹³⁶ The *Richmond Planet* evaluated the UNIA convention as “very successful.”¹³⁷ The *Minneapolis Star* described Garvey’s calls

for self-determination as having an “Extraordinary effect” on the Black people in Harlem.¹³⁸

Garvey’s “Address” helps us begin to understand the rhetoric of UNIA leaders that had an “Extraordinary effect” amongst Black people in Harlem and beyond. Garvey’s “Address” highlights the utility of focusing on Black self-determination in Black nationalist rhetoric. As David Walker’s “The Necessity of a General Union Among Us (1828)” and Martin Delany’s *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* make clear, Marcus Garvey was not the first person on American soil to say that Black people should be unified.¹³⁹ Garvey capitalized on the ongoing tumult experienced by Black people at the turn of the twentieth century by establishing the only requirement for participation in the UNIA as a willingness to do something about oppression. In a moment in which Black people were divided along class and gender lines, Garvey created a tent big enough to include “Four hundred million” Black people.¹⁴⁰ Garvey’s inclusivity created an opportunity for him to set the foundation for UNIA leaders to develop a path toward a new world.

Garvey’s freedom dream was an instance of world-making that catalyzed UNIA leaders’ Black Nationalist world. In his “Address,” Garvey evaluated the inequitable world around him and expected from himself and his audience the construction of a world made from equity. Building concurrently with scholars like Johnson and Lechuga, Myra Washington argues, “important political practices demand just that, practice.”¹⁴¹ Garvey produced a practice for making a better world in his time by revealing how Black people could dream up a better future. Garvey highlighted that Black people had their own stories of loss and if they were willing to include all Black people in those stories a brighter future

could be made. Returning to Garvey's dream provides an opportunity to crack open the time capsule that contains the rhetorical strategies of leaders of the UNIA. Garvey's "Address" evinced that as Black people struggle for liberation, even if only ephemeral—even if modernity creeps back in, if Black people dream big enough they can momentarily break their shackles to this world and build toward a different world.

Garvey's freedom dream gave footing to the world UNIA leaders worked to make. Many of the arguments and perspectives that UNIA leaders would advocate and defend in the years between the high point of the UNIA in 1921 and its fall in 1925 were present in Garvey's Address. For instance, in his "Address," Garvey argued for the utility of African independence, Black self-determination, and longitudinal hope for a redeemed Africa that UNIA leaders would advocate for between 1922-1925. Garvey's focus on building up a self-determined Black population not interested in hatred but charity at home was substantiated by the UNIA leaders' *parallel public*. As the UNIA reached its highest heights and believed that no person or nation could stop them, UNIA leaders constructed a public with its own meaning and circulated that meaning amongst Black people amidst US and international repression. UNIA leaders' *parallel public* stands out as the first step leaders took from the foundation Garvey's efforts and evocations had created: a rhetorically-constructed community bold enough to try and build an Africa for the Africans.

¹ Marcus Garvey, "UNIA Meeting in Pittsburgh," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association papers, Volume II 27 August 1919- August 1920*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 29.

² Sean McMeekin, *The Russian Revolution: A New History* (New York: Basic Books, 2021), 169-73; Anne Samson, *World War I in Africa: The Forgotten Conflict Among European Powers* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 1-5.

³ Nathan Irvin Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007), 13-20; Cary D. Wintz, *Black Culture and the Harlem Renaissance* (Houston, Rice University Press, 1988), 10-15; Erez

Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 25.

⁴ Robin D.G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002), 9.

⁵ "Negro Reformer," *Minneapolis Star*, September 17, 1921, 4; "Great Plea for Race Unity," *Negro World*, September 3, 1921, 1.

⁶ Robert Asen and Daniel C. Brouwer, *Counterpublics and the State* (Albany: New York, 2001), 2.

⁷ John Henrik Clarke, "Marcus Garvey: The Harlem Years," *Transition* 46, (1974): 14-19.

⁸ Toure, *Who's Afraid of Post-Blackness?: What It Means to Be Black Now* (New York: Free Press, 2012), ix; Frank B. Wilderson III, *Red, White, & Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 1-10. "Black" is capitalized in this sentence and throughout the project to highlight its use to describe a group of people brought together by a similar historical past.

⁹ Kara Keeling, *Queer Times: Black Futures* (New York: New York University Press, 2019), ix.

¹⁰ Christina Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 13-14.

¹¹ Roderick A. Ferguson, *The Reorder of Things: The University and Its Pedagogies of Minority Difference* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 14.

¹² Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "The Rhetoric of Radical Black Nationalism: A Case Study in Self-Conscious Criticism," *Central States Speech Journal* 22, no. 3 (1971): 153; Dexter B. Gordon, *Black Identity: Rhetoric, Ideology, and Nineteenth Century Black Nationalism* (Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2003), xi. Robert L. Scott, "Justifying Violence the Rhetoric of Militant Black Power," *Communication Studies* 19, no. 2 (1968): 98-100; Robert L. Scott, Wayne Brockriede, "Hubert Humphrey Faces the 'Black Power' Issue," *Speaker and Gavel* 4 (1966):11; Robert L. Scott, "Black Power Bends Martin Luther King," *Speaker and Gavel* 5 (1968): 82-83; Charles J. Stewart, "The Evolution of Revolution: Stokely Carmichael and the Rhetoric of Black Power," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 83, no. 4 (1997): 434; Scott Varda, "Drew Ali and the Moorish Science Temple of America: A Minor Rhetoric of Black Nationalism," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 16, no. 4 (2013): 692. B.L. Ware, Wil A. Linkugel, "The Rhetorical Persona: Marcus Garvey as Black Moses," *Communication Monographs* 49, no. 1 (1982):55-56. Amanda Davis Gatchet and Dana L. Cloud, "David, Goliath, and the Black Panthers: The Paradox of the Oppressed Militant in the Rhetoric of Self-Defense," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 37, (2012): 14-6.

¹⁴ Jeffrey B. Perry, *Hubert Harrison: The Struggle for Equality, 1918-1927* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021), 115. One leader Garvey got into trouble with was Samuel Duncan. Samuel August Duncan was born in 1880 in St. Kitts, British West Indies. Duncan came to the United States in 1900 and was naturalized in 1908. Duncan edited the Pilot-Gazette before joining the UNIA. Duncan rose to be president of the UNIA chapter established by Garvey in 1916. Duncan and Garvey's differing visions for the movement led to Garvey's departure from the UNIA.

¹⁵ Rupert Lewis, *Marcus Garvey Anti-Colonial Champion* (Trenton: Africa World Press Inc., 1988), 17. Michael Leblanc, L., eds. *Contemporary Black Biography Profiles from the International Black Community* (Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1992), 75.

¹⁶ Lewis, *Anti-Colonial Champion*, 17.

¹⁷ "Robert Love (1839-1914)," *National Library of Jamaica*, accessed July 27, 2022.

<https://nlj.gov.jm/project/robert-love-1839-1914/>.

¹⁸ "Joseph Robert Love," *Uncrowned Community Builders*, accessed July 27, 2022,

<https://www.uncrownedcommunitybuilders.com/person/joseph-1>.

¹⁹ Joy Lumsden, "Joseph Robert Love, 1839-1914: West Indian Extraordinary," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 7, no. 1 (1983): 25.

²⁰ Robert Love, "April 20," *Jamaica Advocate*, April 20, 1901, 2.

²¹ Lewis, *Anti-Colonial Champion*, 25-26.

²² Edmund Cronon, *Black Moses The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 12-13.

²³ Amy Jacques Garvey, *Garvey and Garveyism* (New York: Collier Books, 1970), 5.

²⁴ Edmund David Cronon, ed., *Great Lives Observed Marcus Garvey* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1973), 2.

²⁵ Lewis, *Anti-Colonial Champion*, 42-45. Cronon, ed., *Great Lives*, 2. Jacques Garvey, *Garveyism*, 5.

²⁶ Marcus Garvey, "Autobiography Articles from the Pittsburgh Courier," in *Marcus Garvey Life and Lessons: A Centennial Companion to the Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, eds. Robert Abraham Hill and Barbara Blair (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 35.

- ²⁷ Amy Jacques Garvey, "The Early Years of Marcus Garvey," in *Marcus Garvey and The Vision of Africa*, eds. John Henrik Clarke and Amy Jacques Garvey (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 2011[1974]), Loc 1099.
- ²⁸ Cronon, *Great Lives Observed*, 3.
- ²⁹ Lewis, *Anti-Colonial Champion*, 45. Jacques Garvey, "The Early Years," 25.
- ³⁰ Charles L. Chavis, "Duse Mohamad Ali (1866-1945)," Blackpast, November 18, 2012, <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/ali-duse-mohamad-1866-1945/>.
- ³¹ Yasmeen Arif, "Dusé Mohamed Ali: The Black Muslim Editor Whose Paper Covered the World," *Everyday Muslim*, October 22, 2018, <https://www.everydaymuslim.org/blog/duse-mohamed-ali-the-black-muslim-editor-whose-paper-covered-the-world/>.
- ³² Mustafa Abdelwahid, *Duse Mohamed Ali: The Autobiography of a Pioneer Pan African and Afro-Asian Activist* (Trenton: Red Seas Press, 2011), 1-10.
- ³³ Marcus Garvey, "Marcus Garvey to Sir Frederic George Kenyon, Director, British Museum," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 26, n.1.
- ³⁴ African Times and Orient Review, "Our Competition," *The African Times and Orient Review: A Monthly Journal Devoted to the Interests of the Coloured Races of the World*, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/lcrbmrp.t8119/?sp=7&r=0.081,0.871,0.781,0.316,0>.
- ³⁵ Robert J. Norrell, *Up From History: The Life of Booker T. Washington* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 11.
- ³⁶ Norrell, *Up From History*, 13; Paul Stob, "Black Hands Push Back: Reconsidering the Rhetoric of Booker T. Washington," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 104, no. 2 (2018): 146.
- ³⁷ Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery* (G.D. Media, 2020), Chapter 7: The Early Days at Tuskegee.
- ³⁸ Booker T. Washington, "'Atlanta Compromise' Speech," Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/civil-rights-act/multimedia/booker-t-washington.html>, paragraph 9.
- ³⁹ Cronon, *Great Lives Observed*, 3. Marcus Garvey "The Negro's Greatest Enemy," in *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey Vols. I and II*, ed. Amy Jacques Garvey (Atheneum: New York, 1969), 125. Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery: An Autobiography* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1901).
- ⁴⁰ Clarke, "Marcus Garvey," 14.
- ⁴¹ Elie Garcia, "Statement of Elie Garcia," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 391; The "Official" name of the organization would change multiple times over the years. Universal Negro Improvement Association and Conservation Association and African Communities League was the official title for the single organization founded by Amy Ashwood and Marcus Garvey in 1914. As the UNIA went through rebirths, the most consistent through line is "Universal Negro Improvement Association." After the 1918 incorporation of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, The African Communities League was sustained as a separate stock company owned by the UNIA between 1918-1926.
- ⁴² Tony Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey: Pan-Africanist, Feminist and Mrs. Marcus Garvey No.1 or a Tale of Two Amies* (Dover: The Majority Press, 2007), 20-32; Tony Martin, "Discovering African Roots: Amy Ashwood Garvey's Pan- Africanist Journey," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 17, no. 1 (1997):118.
- ⁴³ "Newspaper Reports," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 73; Amy Jacques Garvey, "Women as Leaders," *The Negro World*, October 25, 1925. The Ladies' Division was a segment of the UNIA. As the UNIA developed, the constitution mandated that each chapter have a Male and Lady President. The Lady President would preside over the Ladies' Division. Often, Ladies' Division leaders on the national scale focused on centralizing and sustaining the role that women would play in the movement.
- ⁴⁴ Lionel M. Yard, *Biography of Amy Ashwood Garvey 1897-1969, Co Founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Associated Publishers, Inc, 1988), 14-20.
- ⁴⁵ "Newspaper Report," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 87.
- ⁴⁶ T.A. (Thaddeus Alexander) McCormack was born in 1856. McCormack a well-established speaker in Kingston Jamaica. McCormack won multiple elocution contests and was General Secretary of the UNIA in 1914. "Enclosure," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*,

Vol.1:1826-August 1919 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 34; “Appendix III” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 552. Keisha N. Blain, *Set the World on Fire: Black Nationalist Women and the Global Struggle for Freedom* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 12; Michele Mitchell, “‘What a Pure, Healthy, Unified Race Can Accomplish,’ Collective Reproduction and Sexual Politics of Black Nationalism,” in *Renewing Black Intellectual History: The Ideological and Material Foundations of African American Thought*, eds., Adolph Reed and Kenneth W. Warren, (Ebook: Taylor and Francis, 2015), Chapter 7; The Negro World, “Cambridge The Home of ‘Fair Harvard’ – Yale and Harvard Contrasted,” *Negro World* May 12, 1922. There is little biographical data to be found about Eva Aldred (Brooks). However, there is evidence that she remained a member of the UNIA well into the 1920s. Aldred’s contributions to the *Negro World* reflected a concern for the role of women in the UNIA and need for Black men to defend and expand Black self-determination.

⁴⁷ Marcus Garvey, “Pamphlet by Marcus Garvey,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 64.

⁴⁸ “Newspaper Reports,” 73.

⁴⁹ “Newspaper Report,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 79.

⁵⁰ “Newspaper Report,” 88.

⁵¹ Carly S. Woods, *Debating Women Gender, Education, and Spaces for Argument, 1835-1945* (Ebook, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2018), “Introduction”; Paul Stob, *Intellectual Populism: Democracy, Inquiry, and the People* (East Lansing: University of Michigan Press, 2020), 1-10.

⁵² “Newspaper Reports,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 100.

⁵³ Garvey, “Pittsburgh Courier,” 36.

⁵⁴ Marcus Garvey, “Marcus Garvey to Booker T. Washington,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 66.

⁵⁵ Booker T. Washington, “Booker T. Washington to Marcus Garvey,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 71; Tuskegee University, “Tuskegee Student 1916-1935,” Archives.Tuskegee.edu,

<http://archive.tuskegee.edu/archive/wayback/web/20180919060549/http%253A/archive.tuskegee.edu/archive/handle/123456789/953>. The *Tuskegee Student* was the original newspaper for the Tuskegee institute.

The *Tuskegee Student* has gone through name changes to the *Tuskegee Messenger and Student*.

⁵⁶ Booker T. Washington, “Booker T. Washington to Marcus Garvey,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 118.

⁵⁷ New York Times, “Dr. B.T. Washington, Negro Leader, Dead” *New York Times*, November 15, 1915. Ida B. Wells, *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*, eds. Alfreda Duster and Ida B. Wells (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 381. Booker T. Washington died on November 14, 1915.

⁵⁸ Steven A Hahn, *Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 468-9; Richmond Planet, “Editor Mitchell’s Travels,” *Richmond Planet*, September 17, 1921, 2.

⁵⁹ W.A. Domingo, “Account by W.A. Domingo of Marcus Garvey’s St. Mark’s Church Hall Lecture,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 190-2. Domingo was a journalist and racial uplift leader in the United States. Domingo would become the first editor of the US edition of the UNIA’s *Negro World* in 1918. Domingo remained as editor of the *Negro World* for 11 even months before resigning in 1919. The written account provided is from Domingo’s personal records collected by Robert Hill. The cross outs are present in Hill’s transcript of Domingo’s report. Hill estimates that Domingo did not write the report for publication.

⁶⁰ “Account by W.A. Domingo,” 190.

⁶¹ Marcus Garvey, “Printed Address by Marcus Garvey on the East St. Louis Riots,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 213; “Germans Break Faith and Enslave Belgians; 27,000

Men Deported to Army Front for Military Work and Cruelly Treated,” *The New York Times*, August 2, 1918; Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *The East St. Louise Massacre: The Greatest Outrage of the Century* (Chicago: The Negro Fellowship Herald Press, 1917), 3. Garvey’s reference to Germans was likely a reference to Germany’s practice of forcing Belgians into forced labor camps in the early years of World War I. Garvey’s reference to Turkey was a reference to what has been called the “Armenian Genocide.” The Armenian Genocide was a conflict within the Turkish empire in which over 400,000 Armenian people lost their lives. The “East St. Louise Riots” was a set of racial altercations between Black and white people. 39 Black and white people were killed in the “riots.” The altercations sprouted from racial animus in St. Louis, IL and rumors that a Black person had accosted a white person.

⁶² Ralph Crowder, *John Edward Bruce: Politician, Journalist, and Self-Trained Historian of the African Diaspora* (New York: NYU Press, 2004), 152; “Among the Negroes of Harlem,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 224 n.1; Marcus Garvey, “Marcus Garvey to Nicholas Murray Butler, President, Columbia University,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 226 n.1; Tony Martin, *Marcus Garvey, Hero: A First Biography Vol 1* (Majority Press, 1983), 105. Isaac B. Allen was president of the UNIA from 1917 until 1918. Though Garvey attributed to Allen a wish to turn the UNIA into a political club, Allen helped to reincorporate the UNIA in 1918 with Garvey and Irene Moorman Blackstone.

⁶³ “Marcus Garvey to Nicholas,” 225; “Irene Moorman Blackstone,” Iowa State University Archives of Women’s Political Communication, accessed July 27, 2022, <https://awpc.cattcenter.iastate.edu/directory/irene-moorman-blackstone/>; Stacy M. Brown, “History Should Never Forget the Contributions of Suffragist Irene Moorman Blackstone,” *The Washington Informer*, August 26, 2020, <https://www.washingtoninformer.com/history-should-never-forget-the-contributions-of-suffragist-irene-moorman-blackstone/>; “Nicholas Murray Butler,” Columbia 250, http://c250.columbia.edu/c250_celebrates/remarkable_columbians/nicholas_butler.html; “Nicholas Murray Butler, Biographical,” Nobel Prize, <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1931/butler/biographical/>. Nicholas Murray Butler was the president of Columbia University. Butler was a renowned thinker of international politics. Butler would go on to win the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931. Irene Moorman Blackstone was born in Virginia in 1872. Moorman Blackstone was a businesswoman and integral to the women’s auxiliary of the Negro Business League of New York and founder of the Metropolitan Business Women’s Club of Brooklyn. Moorman Blackstone was also Lady President of the UNIA before and after the split with Samuel Duncan.

⁶⁴ “Home News,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 233.

⁶⁵ “Garvey Tells Story of Bitter Struggles,” *The Pittsburgh Courier*, February 22, 1930; “Home News,” 233, n. 2. Louis A. Leavelle joined the Kentucky bar in 1901. Eventually Leavelle would build on his career in politics to run for Congress from the 3rd district of the Bronx.

⁶⁶ “Garvey Tells Story,”; “Marcus Garvey to Nicholas Murray Butler,” 226, n.2. Attorney Conway refers to Walter Johnson Conway. Conway was an attorney and had formerly worked at the Post office in New York. Conway was Vice-President of the UNIA in 1917 and one of the charter members of the reborn UNIA of 1918.

⁶⁷ “Constitution and Book of Laws,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 256.

⁶⁸ “Constitution and Book,” 269.

⁶⁹ “Constitution and Book,” 273.

⁷⁰ Marcus Garvey, “Address by Marcus Garvey in Brooklyn,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 373.

⁷¹ “Dedication of UNIA Liberty Hall,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 471.

⁷² Cronon, *Great Lives Observed*, 6-10; Lewis, *Anti-Colonial Champion*, 47-48; Tamba E. M’bayo, “W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, and Pan-Africanism in Liberia, 1919-1924,” *The Historian* 66, no. 1 (2004): 27; Bjorn F. Stillion Southard, *Peculiar Rhetoric, Slavery, Freedom, and the African Colonization Movement* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2019), 3; Jo Sullivan, “The Kru Coast Revolt of 1915-

1916,” *Liberian Studies Journal* 14, no. 1 (1989): 59. Liberia was chosen as the possible beacon for the UNIA’s Black nation because of its previous history of colonization and dire economic conditions. As an outcome of siding with the United States in World War I, Liberia suffered economic fallout from its disengagement with Germany. As Liberia was on the brink of bankruptcy, Garvey’s plan was to buy Liberia and build it anew. Two factors forestalled UNIA attempts to buy and build Liberia. First, the UNIA would face a financial crisis of their own starting in 1922 due to the failure of the Black Star Line. Second, the US government put pressure on Liberia to disengage with the UNIA.

⁷³ “Opening of UNIA Convention,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Vol II 27 August 1919-31 August 1920*, ed., Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 478.

⁷⁴ Lerone Bennet Jr., “The Ghost of Marcus Garvey,” *Ebony*, March 1960, 59-60, https://books.google.com/books?id=BPpYDAS_oUUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁷⁵ Marcus Garvey, “Editorial Letter by Marcus Garvey,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol. III, September 1920-August 1921*, ed Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 50.

⁷⁶ WM. H. Ferris, “U.N.I.A. News,” *The Negro World*, February 12, 1921.

⁷⁷ Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey: Pan-Africanist*, 20-32; Martin, “Discovering African Roots,” 118.

⁷⁸ Garvey, “Address,” 279.

⁷⁹ Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*, 9.

⁸⁰ Robert Alexander Kraig, “The 1912 Election and the Rhetorical Foundations of the Liberal State,” *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 3, no. 3 (2000): 370-1.

⁸¹ Abhay Aneja and Guo Xu, “The Costs of Employment Segregation: Evidence From the Federal Government Under Woodrow Wilson,” National Bureau of Economic Research, https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w27798/w27798.pdf; Bruce Bartlett, “Woodrow Wilson Was Even More Racist Than You Thought,” *The New Republic*, July 6, 2020,

<https://newrepublic.com/article/158356/woodrow-wilson-racism-princeton-university>; Morgan Foy, “How Woodrow Wilson’s Racist Policies Eroded the Black Civil Service,” BerkeleyHaas, October 27, 2020, <https://newsroom.haas.berkeley.edu/research/how-woodrow-wilsons-racist-segregation-order-eroded-the-black-civil-service/>; Kathleen L. Wolgemuth, “Woodrow Wilson and Federal Segregation,” *The Journal of Negro History* 44, no. 2 (1959): 162; Wilson’s decision to allow many appointed positions once held by Black people to be reappointed to white people has been directly linked to a decrease in Black wealth.

⁸² The Crisis, “The Suffrage,” *The Crisis*, August 8, 1914, 173.

⁸³ Rachel Janik, “‘Writing History With Lightning’: The Birth of a Nation at 100,” *Time*, February 8, 2015, <https://time.com/3699084/100-years-birth-of-a-nation/>.

⁸⁴ Becky Little, “How Woodrow Wilson Tried to Reverse Black American Progress,” *History.com*, <https://www.history.com/news/woodrow-wilson-racial-segregation-jim-crow-ku-klux-klan>.

⁸⁵ Mark E. Benbow, “Birth of a Quotation: Woodrow Wilson and ‘Like Writing History with Lightning,’” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 9, no. 4 (2010): 509; Janik, “‘Writing History with Lightning’”

⁸⁶ Woodrow Wilson, *A History of The American People* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1917), 58.

⁸⁷ Woodrow Wilson, “Wilson’s Address to his Fellow-Countrymen on Ways to Serve the Nation During the War,” in *The Messages and Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Albert Shaw (New York: The Review of Reviews Corporation, 1924), 387.

⁸⁸ Wilson, “Fellow Countrymen,” 388.

⁸⁹ Jonathan Rosenberg, “For Democracy, Not Hypocrisy, World War and Race Relations in the United States, 1914-1919,” *The International History Review* 21, no.3 (1999):592; The Shreveport Journal, “Negroes Ready for Army Duty,” *The Shreveport Journal*, April 7, 1917; Eric King Watts, “The Problem of Race in Public Address Research: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Conflicted Aesthetics of Race,” in *The Handbook of Rhetoric and Public Address*, eds., Michael Hogan and Shawn Parry-Giles (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 384.

⁹⁰ W.E.B. Du Bois, “Editorial,” *The Crisis* 16, no. 3 (1918): 111.

⁹¹ Pine Bluff Daily, “Race Troubles Near Star City Are Not Feared,” *Pine Bluff Daily*, September 4, 1919.

⁹² Hanh, *Under Our Feet*, 469.

⁹³ Quincy Wright, “Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations,” *Social Research* 24, no. 1 (1957): 67.

⁹⁴ “President Woodrow Wilson’s 14 Points (1918),” Archives.gov, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/president-woodrow-wilsons-14-points>.

⁹⁵ Woodrow Wilson, “League of Nations,” September 25, 1919, <https://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/speeches/rhetoric/wwleague.htm>. Paragraph 4.

⁹⁶ Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment*, 25.

⁹⁷ “Treaty of Versailles,” History.com, March 3, 2020, <https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-i/treaty-of-versailles-1>.

⁹⁸ Wells, Duster, *Crusade for Justice*, 380-1. Ida B. Wells was an activist, journalist, and racial uplift leader. Wells was born in Holly Spring, Mississippi in 1862. Wells began her professional career as an educator in the South. After becoming a well-renowned journalist, in the 1890s, Wells became one of the most well-respected orators for Black rights and against lynching. Wells was introduced to Garvey in 1918 when Garvey came to her home. Wells was elected by the UNIA to be their representative to the Paris Peace conference that birthed the “Treaty of Versailles.”

⁹⁹ Damian Zane, “Why is Tanzanian Chief’s Skull Mentioned in the Versailles Treaty,” *BBC News*, June 28, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-48754953>.

¹⁰⁰ National Archives UK, “The Treaty of Versailles,” *National Archives.gov.uk*, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/greatwar/g5/cs2/background.html>.

¹⁰¹ Fischer Hilke, “Africa and World War I,” *DW*, April 16, 2014, <https://www.dw.com/en/africa-and-world-war-i/a-17573462>.

¹⁰² “Plessy V. Ferguson,” Archives.gov, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/plessy-v-ferguson>; Plessy V. Ferguson was a supreme court decision that upheld a Louisiana law. In the incident, Homer Plessy bought a ticket on a rail car under the auspices that his mixed racial identity qualified him for the segregated rail car. When Plessy was denied access, he filed suit with the Louisiana government. The Court in Louisiana found for Ferguson that they could have separate accommodations. Plessy then filed an Appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court Plessy V. Ferguson decision established that in the United States, separate accommodations were acceptable as long as those accommodations were “equal.”

¹⁰³ Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance*, 27; Wintz, *Black Cultural*, 10. The “Harlem Renaissance” is a name for a cultural and social development larger than but exemplified by Harlem New York. The Harlem Renaissance was an instance in which Black people at the turn of the 20th century continued to depart from the socially accepted norms of their time toward constructing a new set of norms for themselves and others.

¹⁰⁴ Watts, *Hearing the Hurt*, 3. “New Negro” was a term used to demarcate the difference in political and social approach of Black youth during the turn of the 20th century. Eric King Watts describes the New Negro as a motif that illustrates the “fusing together and pulling apart” of “identifications.” Throughout this project, I reference the New Negro as a political and social identity affirmed by some in the Black community.

¹⁰⁵ Henry Louis Gates, Jr. *Stony Road: Reconstruction, White Supremacy, and the Rise of Jim Crow* (New York: Penguin Press, 2019), 29; Kirt H. Wilson, *the Reconstruction Desegregation Debate: The Politics of Equality and the Rhetoric of Place, 1870-1875* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002), 44. Reconstruction refers to a period in US history between 1865 and 1877 in which the laws of former confederate states were impugned by the demands of the Union. During Reconstruction, Black people in the South experienced remarkable success and participation in state governance. Though that success was not universal, and for some the time after slavery was worse than the time before, in the aggregate Black people in the South experienced more access to political participation following the Civil War than before it. As the 1880s turned into the 1890s and leading up to the Plessy decision, a mixture of unchecked white mob violence and Northern political apathy coalesced into what is referred to as the “rollback of reconstruction.” The rollback of reconstruction stands in as a euphemism for the ripping of civil and social rights from Black people by little more than white violence and apathy.

¹⁰⁶ Mark Golub, “Plessy as ‘Passing’: Judicial Responses to Ambiguously Raced Bodies in Plessy V. Ferguson,” *Law & Society Review* 39, no. 3 (2005): 563; Ali Noor Mohamed, “Influence of the Supreme Court’s Plessy V. Ferguson Decision on Southern Editorial Arguments during the ‘Massive Resistance’ to Integration: Perspective from Alabama,” *Howard Journal of Communications* 33, no. 3 (2021): 285; Kristen J. Warner, *The Cultural Politics of Colorblind TV Casting* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 9-12.

¹⁰⁷ Henry Billings Brown, “Transcript” Archives.gov, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/plessy-v-ferguson>. Paragraph 23.

¹⁰⁸ Mia Bay, *Traveling Black: A Story of Race and Resistance* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2021), 62.

¹⁰⁹ “The New York Riots,” *Baltimore Sun*, August 17, 1900; “The New Orleans Riot,” *Baltimore Sun*, August 17, 1900.

¹¹⁰ “The New York Riots.”

¹¹¹ “Terror Among the Negroes,” *Baltimore Sun*, August 17, 1900, p. 5.

¹¹² “Race Riots in Delaware.” *Democratic Advocate*, July 1, 1905, p. 2.

¹¹³ The Crisis, “The Burden,” *The Crisis* 1, no. 1 (1910): 14.

¹¹⁴ “The Burden,” 14. Steve Green was born in Tennessee in 1862. The story present in *The Crisis* is Green’s own telling of a story of racial strife he experienced while living in Arkansas in 1910.

¹¹⁵ Alphonso Pinkney, *Red, Black, and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 39; Chad Louis Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy: African American Soldiers in the World War I Era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 225.

¹¹⁶ DeNeen L. Brown, “‘They Was Killing Black People’ In Tulsa, One of the Worst Episodes of Racial Violence in U.S. History Still Haunts the City with Unresolved Questions, Even as ‘Black Wall Street’ Gentrifies,” *Washington Post*, September 28, 2018, accessed April 22, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/local/wp/2018/09/28/feature/they-was-killing-black-people/>, paragraph 4.

¹¹⁷ Fletcher Moon, “Atlanta Race Riot (1906),” in *Freedom Facts and Firsts: 400 Years of the African American Civil Rights Experience*, eds. Jessica Smith and Linda Wynn (New York: Visible Ink Press, 2009), 4-9.

¹¹⁸ To improve readability, from this point forward in the chapter I refer to the Harlem Renaissance as “The Renaissance.”

¹¹⁹ Clarke, *Harlem*, 5.

¹²⁰ James Weldon Johnson, *Brothers-American Drama*, Poetry Foundation.org, Poetry Foundation, <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/49050/brothers-american-drama>; James Weldon Johnson was a educator, poet, novelist and journalist. Johnson was born in Jacksonville, Florida in 1871. Johnson served as principal at Stanton Elementary school before passing the Bar. Johnson is heralded as the first Black person to pass the Bar in Florida. After beginning his legal career, Johnson was a integral part of the early NAACP. Johnson’s contributions to literature and poetry are still heralded by Emory University. Florida Department of State, “James Weldon Johnson,” *Department of State, Division of Arts and Culture*, <https://dos.myflorida.com/cultural/programs/florida-artists-hall-of-fame/james-weldon-johnson/>; “James Weldon Johnson,” National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, <https://naacp.org/find-resources/history-explained/civil-rights-leaders/james-weldon-johnson>.

¹²¹ Georgia Douglass Johnson, “Foredoom,” from *The Heart of a Woman and Other Poems* (The Cornhill Company, 1918), *Poetry Foundation*, <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/52498/foredoom>; Neva Atlas, “Georgia Douglass Johnson, Harlem Renaissance Poet & Playwright,” *Literary Ladies Guide*, March 29, 2018, <https://www.literaryladiesguide.com/author-biography/georgia-douglas-johnson/>; Valerie Jean, “On Georgia Douglass Johnson (September 10, 1880?—May 14, 1966),” *Beltway: A Poetry Quarterly*, <https://washingtonart.com/beltway/gdjohnson.html>; Jone Johnson Lewis, “Biography of Georgia Douglass Johnson, Harlem Renaissance Writer,” *Thoughtco*, December 19, 2020, <https://www.thoughtco.com/georgia-douglas-johnson-3529263>; Georgia Douglass Johnson was born Georgia Blanche Camp in Atlanta Georgia in 1880. Douglass Johnson was a poet, playwright, fiction writer, and governmental worker. Douglass Johnson was educated at Atlanta University’s Normal School. After working as an educator in Atlanta, Douglass Johnson moved to Washington DC where she worked as a member of the Department of Labor. Johnson is well remembered for her publication of *The Heart of a Woman* and *Bronze*.

¹²² Claude McKay, “If We Must Die,” *Poetry Foundation*, <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/44694/if-we-must-die>; “Claude McKay” *Poetry Foundation*, <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poets/claude-mckay>; Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, “Claude McKay Collection,” *Yale*, <https://beinecke.library.yale.edu/collections/highlights/claude-mckay-collection-0>; “Claude McKay,” *My Black History.net*, http://www.myblackhistory.net/Claude_McKay.htm. Claude McKay was born Festus Claudius Mackay in Sunny Ville, Clarendon Parish, Jamaica. McKay spent the majority of his life in the United States. McKay is often recognized as one of the most well-known

contributors to the Harlem Renaissance. Beyond his *If We Must Die*, McKay also authored *Home to Harlem*, and *Banjo*.

¹²³ Garvey, "Address," 279.

¹²⁴ Garvey, "Address," 279; 280; Blain, *Set the World*, 18; Moses, *Golden Age*, 11. Moses describes "authoritarian collectivism" as the idea that Black nationalist movements were led by one leader.

¹²⁵ Garvey, "Address," 279.

¹²⁶ Garvey, "Address," 279.

¹²⁷ Garvey, "Address," 279. In the context of Africa, Garvey is referring to a rebellion in present day Morocco known as the Rif War. Led by Muhammed bin Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi, the Rif war was war for Morocco's independence. The spark of the rebellion was a conflict between Moroccan people and Spanish colonial officials. The success of the Rif War inspired similar uprisings in Tunisia. C.R. Pennell, *A Country with a Government and a Flag: The Rif War in Morocco 1921-1926* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1986), 1-3; Frederic Wehrey, "The Many Repercussions of the Rif Rebellion," *The New York Review*, December 18, 2021, <https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2021/12/18/the-many-repercussions-of-the-rif-rebellion/>. Muhammed bin Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi, better known as Abd el-Krim, was a Moroccan leader and Islamic reformer. Abd el-Krim was the eldest of a Berber family. "Abd el-Krim, Muhammad ibn Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi," *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/print/opr/t125/e12>.

In the context of India, Garvey is referring to the after-effects of what is often called the "Amritsar Massacre." In Punjab, India, British colonial troops fired into a large crowd of Indian citizens in hopes of quelling a protest. The wanton disregard for Indian life and the growing tensions between Indian citizens and the British colonial government coalesced into consistent strife in India. Some accounts regard this conflict as a solidifying agent for Mahatma Gandhi's advocacy for Indian Nationalism. "An Astonishing Story from India. Revelations before the Hunter Committee. Punjab Meeting Dispersed by Fire in April Troubles," *The Manchester Guardian*, December 13, 1919.

¹²⁸ Garvey, "Address," 279.

¹²⁹ Garvey, "Address," 280.

¹³⁰ Garvey, "Address," 280.

¹³¹ Garvey, "Address," 280.

¹³² Garvey, "Address," 280.

¹³³ Garvey, "Address" 281.

¹³⁴ Wilson J. Moses, "The Poetics of Ethiopianism: W.E.B. Du Bois and Literary Black Nationalism," *American Literature* 47, no. 3 (1975): 412; Nicholas Patsides, "Allies, Constituents or Myopic Investors: Marcus Garvey and Black Americans," *Journal of American Studies* 41, no. 2 (2007): 279.

¹³⁵ Garvey, "Address," 282.

¹³⁶ Negro World, "Great Plea for Race Unity," 1; Michael Leff and Ebony Utey, "Instrumental and Constitutive Rhetoric in Martin Luther King Jr.'s 'Letter from Birmingham Jail,'" *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 7, no. 1 (2004): 37; Glen McClish, "The Instrumental and Constitutive Rhetoric of Martin Luther King Jr. and Frederick Douglass," *Rhetorica* 33, no. 1 (2015): 44; Here, by instrumental effect I mean persuasive force. As in, there is evidence that Garvey's speech persuaded some to continue to or begin supporting Black self-determination.

¹³⁷ "The Negroes Protest," *Richmond Planet*, September 17, 1921, 3.

¹³⁸ Minneapolis Star, "Negro Reformer," 4.

¹³⁹ David Walker, "The Necessity of a General Union Among Us," 110; Martin Robinson Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (Ebook, Gutenberg.org, [1852] 2005), 10-13.

¹⁴⁰ Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America* (Lanham: Bowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc, 2014), 13; Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "Black America and the Class Divide," *New York Times*, February 1, 2016, paragraph 6-9; Ula Taylor, "The Historical Evolution of Black Feminist Theory and Praxis," *Journal of Black Studies* 29, no. 2 (1998): 235.

¹⁴¹ Myra Washington, "Woke Skin, White Masks: Race and Communication Studies," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 17, no. 2 (2020): 264.

Chapter 2: A Parallel Public: UNIA leader's "Africa for the Africans" Campaign

During the 1919 UNIA Meeting at Carnegie Hall, Marcus Garvey told his UNIA audience members in New York that, “We are in this Universal movement that is encircling the world. We are neither Democrats nor Republics nor Socialists nor Bolsheviks nor I.W.W.’s.”¹ Garvey’s distinction announced the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) as independent from many of the white-led political organizations of the time. Garvey argued that each of the white-led political parties had participated in robbing “Africa,” and encouraged UNIA members not to “waste time over the white man’s politics.” At Carnegie Hall, Garvey concretized UNIA leaders’ focus on consolidating power for Black people. Garvey called for a focus on “pro-negro politics.”² As the UNIA grew under Garvey’s leadership, leaders of the UNIA built out from a belief in Black self-determination to make a world in which there was an “Africa for the Africans.” Finding its most ardent advocacy between 1921 and 1922, “Africa for the Africans” was a slogan that announced the aims of UNIA leaders to inaugurate an Africa free from coast to coast and to generate the fair treatment of Black people globally. In “World Readjustment,” Garvey stated, “The political re-adjustment of the world means this—that every race must find a home; hence . . . Negroes are raising the cry of ‘Africa for the Africans.’”³ Through the “cry of ‘Africa for the Africans,’” UNIA leaders worked to adjust the world to the idea that Black people could and should be self-determined.

Leading up to and during the “Africa for the Africans” campaign, the leadership of the UNIA was relatively stable. As of the opening ceremony for the 2nd UNIA convention, Marcus Garvey was the President-General of the UNIA, Henrietta Vinton Davis was the International Organizer for the organization, and William Ferris was the literary editor of the *Negro World*.⁴ At the third UNIA convention in August of 1922, Marcus Garvey was

re-elected as President-General, Sir Leroy Bundy was elected First Assistant President-General, William Sherrill narrowly defeated William Ferris to be elected Second Assistant President-General, and Henrietta Vinton Davis was elected President of the Ladies division.⁵ Though Ferris was defeated, he remained literary editor of the *Negro World*. From 1921 until 1922, leaders of the UNIA worked from a world not subordinated to but parallel with the world they were enmeshed within.

During the “Africa for the Africans” campaign, leaders of the UNIA exemplified what I am calling a *parallel public*. The *Oxford English Dictionary* provides two definitions of parallel that are illuminating for this chapter. Oxford’s first definition of parallel is “(Of lines, planes, or surfaces) side by side and having the same distance continuously between them.” Oxford’s second definition of parallel is, “Occurring or existing at the same time or in a similar way; corresponding.”⁶ Throughout this chapter, I understand parallel as perpendicular to the two provided definitions. By parallel I mean separate but simultaneous, like two cars driving side by side on a street. I propose that parallel publics can be identified by two criteria: (1) viewing themselves as equal to and aiming for independence from the ‘dominant’ public; (2) experiencing a repressive response from the ‘dominant’ public.⁷ As UNIA leaders’ sentiments show, parallel publics create insulated meanings and circulate those meanings to construct a novel worldview. UNIA leaders developed a view of their parallel public by creating and circulating insulated meanings and developing their own evaluations of the past and expectations for the future while passing those views on to others.⁸

UNIA leaders’ envisioning of a parallel public was a product of their world-making. Looking back on the height of the UNIA, Amy Jacques Garvey evaluated the world-

making undertaken by UNIA leaders. In a 1971 letter to then President-General of the UNIA, Thomas Harvey, Jacques Garvey illustrated the high watermark of UNIA leaders' world-making. Jacques Garvey reflected, "Garveyites sounded the trumpet of Africa for the Africans, and shook the white world into realizing that/ NEW NEGRO was determined to fight and die for his rights as a MAN anywhere and everywhere."⁹ Jacques Garvey's recollection establishes that during the "Africa for the Africans" campaign, UNIA leaders believed Black people should "fight" for, not wait for their rights. Jacques Garvey's refrain vivified UNIA leaders' view that the path to Black liberation necessitated Black self-determination. In his editorial for the September 17, 1921, issue of the *Negro World*, Marcus Garvey offered a similar vision: "We must realize that the world is being run by organized methods nationally, racially, and even individually. Only well organized movements and efforts succeed today, it is for this reason that the Universal Negro Improvement Association is desirous of having all Negroes organized so [that] whatsoever we do can be done through united purpose and united effort."¹⁰ Garvey's argument for establishing a "united purpose" through "united effort" suggests that centrally UNIA leaders were concerned with Black people making a path forward for themselves. UNIA leaders' view of their public as parallel was a product of world-making born from their practices in Black self-determination. In "Queer Life-Worlds," Tamar Shirinian contends, "Worlding can be thought of as the production of numerous and multiple senses of reality that do not fit within a universal cosmos, but in a simultaneous reality with other possibilities of being."¹¹ UNIA leaders produced a parallel sense of reality by espousing evaluations of world events and expectations of the future born from their belief in Black self-determination.

The expectations and evaluations espoused by UNIA leaders between 1921 and 1922 produced their view of their parallel public. As UNIA leaders explained their view that there should be an “Africa for the Africans,” they were confronted with multiple alternative models of making the world. Leaders of the League of Nations worked to make one world by breaking up Africa while supporting the autonomy of burgeoning European Nations.¹² Some racial uplift leaders, like Cryil Briggs, believed the future of Black people should be determined by anti-capitalists.¹³ Other racial uplift organizations, like the Pan African Congress, were willing to accept less than full participation at the table of world affairs.¹⁴ Faced with the alternative versions of the world supported by colonial powers and other racial uplift leaders and organizations, UNIA leaders advocated for Black people to determine their own future in Africa and beyond.¹⁵ UNIA leaders departed from the common reasoning that suggested the impossibility of Black self-determination and instead built on their own perspectives to envision their public as parallel. In the October 8th, 1921, issue of the *Negro World*, Ferris editorialized, “World now taking Garvey movement seriously—no longer a joke in South Africa,”¹⁶ Ferris’ reflection that the “Garvey movement” was “no longer a joke in South Africa” provided an evaluation of how far the UNIA had come. Ferris built on his evaluation to articulate an expectation for how the UNIA would proceed. On October 22, 1921, the *Negro World* read, “Negroes Determined to do for Themselves in Africa.”¹⁷ Ferris’ assertions in the pages of the *Negro World* announced an evaluation of the present and expectation that the future for Africa would be determined by Black people for Black people. UNIA leaders’ advocacy provides an opportunity to extend contemporary public sphere research by developing a view that better recognizes groups that viewed themselves as neither dilapidated nor subsidiary but parallel.

To limn the lavishness of UNIA leaders' view of their parallel public, this chapter is broken up into three parts. The first section provides foundation for the ones that follow by further theorizing a parallel public. The second section vivifies UNIA leaders' view of their parallel public by explicating how UNIA leaders stayed focused on the UNIA and used the meanings they developed to respond to repressive governments and peer movements. In the second section, this chapter builds on the foundation Marcus Garvey's *freedom dream* provided for the UNIA by also including William Ferris' and Henrietta Vinton Davis' words.¹⁸ Broadening the view of UNIA leaders beyond Garvey illustrates the consistency with which leaders circulated self-made meanings and defended the "Africa for the Africans" campaign by staying focused on forming an Africa for the Africans.¹⁹ Finally, section three concludes by elucidating how leaders of the UNIA's rhetoric extends contemporary rhetorical understandings of publics and world-making.²⁰

Presenting: A Parallel Public

UNIA Leaders' language during the "Africa for the Africans" campaign illuminates a gap in contemporary publics literature. Rhetorical scholars' understanding of the public finds its roots in the thinking of John Dewey, Hannah Arendt, and Jurgen Habermas.²¹ Habermas, in *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, introduced the idea that the public is constituted by an exchange of discourse.²² Habermas' model of the public sphere has been roundly critiqued for an inapplicability to the American context and an idealistic construction.²³ As a way of capturing the multiplicity that began to be voiced more loudly in the 1990s and building on the work of Felski and Fraser, "Counter Public" theory gained traction as a way of describing certain publics.²⁴ Contemporary rhetorical literature on publics leaves room for development around publics that are less interested in a contest with the "dominant" public and are not only excluded but actively repressed.²⁵ For

example, recently, scholars have stretched the bounds of our understanding of the public sphere by thinking about what advancements in technology, affect studies, and disabilities studies could mean for the public sphere.²⁶ Stephanie Larson, in her bid to enunciate visceral counterpublicity, contends, “Visceral counterpublic tactics seek to expand public access for marginalized voices . . . and demand recognition for bodies that fall outside the idea of a (white) rational, male body.”²⁷ Thinking about the inaccessibility of the public for those with disabilities, Jenell Johnson contends, publics are “constructed using normative assumptions about what bodies and minds are like.”²⁸ Larson’s and Johnson’s insights exemplify many scholars’ fixation on a rhetor’s ability to draw the attention of and reform the “dominant” public. UNIA leaders’ rhetoric was often not chiefly concerned with gaining the attention and sympathy of the “dominant” public but instead aimed at consolidating the necessary power to make the world feel their presence. During the “Africa for the Africans” campaign, UNIA leaders espoused a view of their public as parallel by developing their own discourse and defending that discourse amid not only exclusion but repression from the state.

Understanding the UNIA leader’s depiction of their public provides scholars with an opportunity to add another way point on our map of publics. Rhetorical scholars and beyond have become both familiar and comfortable with publics and counter publics as ways to describe most discourse communities.²⁹ The closest mapped coordinate to where the UNIA’s view of their public takes us is Catherine Squires’ description of a satellite public.³⁰ Squires noted, “Satellite public spheres are those that desire to be separate from other publics . . . Satellite public spheres aim to maintain a solid group identity and build independent institutions.”³¹ I *build* on and *depart* from Squires’ notion of satellite publics

toward parallel publics for two reasons. First, Squires' description of a satellite public implies launched.³² Though the notion of launching helps to illustrate separatism, it does not seem as grounded or firm as "public." Second, parallel public draws attention to the possibility that some publics are more concerned with independence than separatism (as in parallel lines are irreconcilable because they may never cross). The rhetoric of UNIA leaders reflects that they did not want to be separate from the rest of the world, but instead independent. The approach of Garvey and other leaders of the UNIA provides room to stretch an opening in recent rhetorical scholarship. In "Parasitic Publics," Kyle Larson and George (Guy) McHendry Jr. propose parasitic public as a name for publics that "feed off" dominant power. Larson and McHendry contend that "the addition of parasitic publics as a theoretical analytical concept will more fully account for power, privilege, and oppression in the public sphere."³³ Continuing on Larson and McHendry's line of thinking, I develop the term parallel public to better capture the coordinates of power and privilege experienced by publics in which participants see themselves as independent, uninterested in the sympathy of the "dominant" public and repressed. In "New Rhetorical Tools," Deborah Atwater cautioned against using dichotomies like "superior/subordinate, standard/ nonstandard" when "discussing and/or analyzing Black communication."³⁴ Turning to the past to help develop a more capacious view of Black political engagement in the present, Gabrielle Foreman queries how an understanding of what she calls "Black 'parallel politics' might revise genealogies of racial activism."³⁵ Building alongside Atwater and Foreman, I illustrate how UNIA leader's articulated a non-subordinated, parallel, political vision.³⁶

The UNIA: A Parallel Public

UNIA leaders' interest in independence marks their public as parallel. Michael Warner, in *Publics and Counterpublics*, outlined that publics are constituted by publicity—in other words a combination of a particular discourse and circulation of that discourse.³⁷ During the “Africa for the Africans” campaign, leaders of the UNIA practiced publicity with a particular audience in mind. Leaders of the UNIA produced publicity not among the “dominant” public but all Black people in an effort to attain a free and redeemed Africa. At the beginning of the “Africa for the Africans” campaign, UNIA leaders established their own insulated meaning for the past, present, and future of the UNIA. As the “Africa for the Africans” campaign continued, it attracted attention from the United States and international governments. UNIA leaders leveraged their message to resist state repression. As the campaign concluded, leaders used their insulated meanings and experience rebuking repression to articulate independent views on racism, capitalism, and racial uplift. UNIA leaders' departure from the “dominant” assumption that Black self-determination was between impossible and futile marked their vision of their public as parallel and their practices as not world-building but world-making. UNIA leaders' rhetoric demonstrates that the distinction between building on a society and making a new society is the relationship to a society's foundational premises. In “Beyond the Categories of the Master Conception,” Sylvia Wynter contends, “changes must therefore call into question both the structure of social reality and structure of its analogical epistemology; they must involve ‘shifting our whole system of abductions.’”³⁸ UNIA leaders shifted the “whole system of abductions” by not building on dominant epistemology but designing a different structure for social reality based on their belief that Black people could and should be self-determined.³⁹

Of the cadre of leaders that influenced the UNIA during the “Africa for the Africans” campaign, turning attention to the words of William Ferris and Henrietta Vinton Davis alongside Garvey’s provides a varied account of UNIA leader’s view of their public. Ferris, as literary editor of the *Negro World*, had the single most influence over the discourse that was circulated by the UNIA. As both a US and international organizer, Davis’ perspective suggests the depth of UNIA leader’s discourse. Davis’ ability to account for both the US and international politics of the UNIA provides a perspective of both the discourse that was created and how it was received. Moreover, Davis’ leadership of the Ladies Division provides an opportunity to offer greater clarity surrounding opportunities experienced by women in the UNIA. Both Ferris and Davis exacted great influence during their time in the UNIA and had a history of struggling for racial uplift larger than their participation in the UNIA.

Including Davis’ and Ferris’ perspectives vivifies the picture of the public UNIA leaders hoped to produce. The combination of Davis, Ferris, and Garvey’s perspectives helps to reveal the different ways UNIA leaders created insulated meanings and remained focused on building their own power as they produced a view of their public as one inclusive of all Black people and better understood as parallel than counter. UNIA leaders’ self-determination centered rhetoric provided them with the linguistic flexibility to situate themselves as separate from but never less than other parts of society. As Judith Stein asserts, Tony Martin confirms, and membership records held by the New York Public Library evidence, the UNIA reached its apex in membership and influence in 1921.⁴⁰ John Henrick Clarke, in *Harlem: A Community in Transition*, recalled, “His [Garvey’s]

movement took really effective form in about 1921.”⁴¹ As the UNIA “took really effective form,” leaders’ advocacy was more concerned with the “Us” than the “Them.”

The Early Years of the “Africa for the Africans” Campaign

From the beginning of the “Africa for the Africans” campaign, UNIA leaders made meaning from their belief in the utility of Black self-determination. In the early 1920s, the UNIA was a Black nationalist organization with the goal of promoting Black self-determination. In the preface to Amy Jacques Garvey’s *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey Vol II*, George Alexander McGuire recalled, “Advocating and promoting racial organization, racial solidarity and racial self-government,” and with “the spirit of nationalism and desire for a republic of their own in their ancestral homeland.” The UNIA inspired “Millions” to enlist “under the banner of Marcus Garvey shouting the slogan ‘Africa for the Africans.’”⁴² UNIA leaders built an organization of millions that shouted “Africa for the Africans” by practicing a version of Black Nationalism centered around Black self-determination. Black Nationalism is an ideology, a way of seeing the world, that has been a part of Black people’s political imaginations since before the US recognized Black people as people with imaginations.⁴³ Early on, UNIA leaders articulated their version of Black Nationalism by practicing self-definition. UNIA leaders produced an insulated meaning for themselves by defining for themselves the goals of the UNIA and remaining focused on what the UNIA had done and would do.

The early rhetoric of Henrietta Vinton Davis provides evidence of UNIA leaders’ efforts to stay focused on the practices of the UNIA. At the UNIA’s original meeting in Pittsburgh, Henrietta Vinton Davis said, “the time has come for every Negro to link himself and herself up with this greatest of all movements, for united we can break away from the barriers that have been placed in our way for these hundreds of years, and carve a way to a

brighter destiny.”⁴⁴ Davis’ instruction that both “himself” and “herself” should join the movement asserted that women had just as much of a role to play in carving “a way to a brighter destiny” as men. Davis announced an alternative view of the world by expecting Black people to be “united” to help them “break away from the barriers” that had been placed in their way. Davis’ refrain reflected the belief that Black people should support other Black people because if Black people could support each other and become organized it would change the world. Davis built on the point she made in a separate meeting at Carnegie Hall in New York. During a 1919 UNIA meeting at Carnegie Hall, Henrietta Vinton Davis asserted, “After this great World War, in this period of reconstruction, the negro has come into the ideal of his own solidity.” Davis elaborated that the time has come for Black people to “demand” their “rights in this reconstructive period.” Davis’ exposition expressed an evaluation of the problems facing Black people. Davis’ evaluation that “the time” had “come” for Black people to “demand” their rights provided foundation for her to enunciate her view that Black self-determination was the key to Black liberation. Davis continued by describing her expectation for the role the UNIA would play in the struggle for Black people’s rights. Davis stated, “This is but an initial meeting of many meetings that shall be held for the Universal Negro Improvement Association . . . It is well that we stand together shoulder to shoulder and arm to arm, ready to stretch forth that arm in defense of our own race now. The negro has fought every battle but his own. (Applause). The time has come, the time is at hand, the hour is near, and the negro must fight for the negro.”⁴⁵ Davis’ description of the “time” as one in which “the negro must fight for the negro,” emphasized the importance of Black people taking action to produce their future.

Marcus Garvey expounded on the belief that Black people would need to practice self-determination to participate in determining their future by evaluating how Black people had behaved and expecting different practices in the future. In his 1921 opening address to the 2nd Universal Negro Improvement Association Convention, Marcus Garvey noted, “We have always been begging for the things that are ours, not only morally but by right divine. Because we have begged for these things the world ignored us. But tonight we are assembled to beg no more . . . We are assembled to demand—demand from all races and from all nations; demand from all governments the things that belong to Negroes.”⁴⁶ Garvey’s opening night speech announced that leaders of the UNIA were ready to leave begging behind. Garvey’s juxtaposition of “begging” and making a “demand” highlighted a shift in tone from accepting what was given to taking what was owed. Garvey’s demand expressed a view that discouraged working under the influence of other powers and encouraged working to wield power over others. In “FEEL,” a speech published in Amy Jacques Garvey’s edited collection entitled, *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, Garvey contended, “Hence, it is advisable for the Negro to get power of every kind . . . That kind of power that will stand out signally, so that other races and nations can see, and if they will not see, then FEEL.”⁴⁷ Garvey’s advice that Black people garner “power of every kind” suggested that part of producing the future Garvey envisioned was amassing the power to bring about that future. Garvey’s reflection on power emphasized his view that Black people should not be content with garnering attention and sympathy but instead concerned with consolidating the force to make people “FEEL” their power. As the “Africa for the Africans” campaign developed, the self-determined focus foregrounded by Davis’ and Garvey’s rhetoric became palpable in the ads circulated by the UNIA.

Garvey and Davis' advocacy for Black self-determination was supported by the handbills used to raise funds for the "Africa for the Africans" campaign. The 1921 nationally-circulated handbill, "Plea for the African Redemption Fund," reads, "the Universal Negro Improvement Association, [is] asking you for a contribution of five dollars or more toward our 'AFRICA REDEMPTION FUND.' Our organization is endeavoring to raise a large fund for the purpose of conducting its work for the redemption of Africa . . . We are working for the Freedom of Africa."⁴⁸ By characterizing UNIA efforts as work toward "the Freedom of Africa," the handbill defined both the purpose and goal of the "Africa for the Africans" campaign. In the circulatory that helped fund the "Africa for the Africans" campaign, UNIA leaders latched on to the power of self-definition to impress upon and express to their audience the possibility of a redeemed Africa.⁴⁹ UNIA leaders' early arguments and circulation of the "Plea for the African Redemption Fund," established that they expected their work to be in the service of bringing forth a world that had been seen before but not in a very long time—one in which there was an Africa for the Africans.⁵⁰

The Apex of the "Africa for the Africans" Campaign

As the "Africa for the Africans" campaign hit its peak of activity in 1921, UNIA leaders put more effort into defining their goals for themselves and evidencing how Black self-determination had been put into practice across the United States. Garvey took the rise of the UNIA as an opportunity to recast the development of the UNIA since the organization had been incorporated in 1918. William Ferris built alongside Garvey's perspective by providing evidence of the campaign's efficacy.

In the middle of the "Africa for the Africans" campaign, Marcus Garvey leaned on the success of the UNIA to reconsider the UNIA's past and future. In his "Africa for

Africans” address, Garvey recast the history of the UNIA as a struggle to see a redeemed Africa. Garvey stated, “For five years the Universal Negro Improvement Association has been advocating the cause of Africa for the Africans—that is, that the Negro peoples of the world should concentrate upon the object of building up for themselves a great nation in Africa.”⁵¹ Garvey’s assertion that the UNIA had “been advocating the cause of Africa for the Africans” announced an evaluation of the UNIA’s past. Garvey’s remark retroactively framed the entire time the UNIA had been incorporated as part of the struggle to achieve an “Africa for the Africans.” Garvey’s recontextualization of UNIA practices produced an opening for him to further elaborate on his goals. In an issue in the *Negro World* from December 31, 1921, Garvey emphasized the central aim of the UNIA as, “freeing Africa” and “seeing Africa redeemed.” As Garvey prophesized, “we shall not slacken our effort one bit in 1922 . . . we shall work with greater determination to free our motherland.”⁵² Garvey built on his evaluation to suggest that the UNIA’s commitment to self-determination could make “anything happen.” Other UNIA leaders, like William Ferris, helped to create a great nation in Africa by using the *Negro World* as an outlet to provide evidence of the “Africa for the Africans” campaign’s success.

William Ferris used the pages of the *Negro World* to evaluate the value of the UNIA and archive the success of divisions during the “Africa for the Africans” campaign. In the October 29, 1921, issue of the *Negro World*, Ferris wrote, “The value of the U.N.I.A. and the Black Star Line cannot be measured by dollars and cents, although money is all powerful,” but “their value lies in the fact that they indicate that the sons and daughters of Ethiopia have awakened from the sleep of centuries and instead of waiting for something to turn up are beginning to turn up something themselves.”⁵³ Ferris’ affirmation of Black

people's shift to "beginning to turn up something themselves" emphasized the importance of Black self-determination. Ferris' assessment announced that the self-determination practiced by the members of the UNIA was the most valuable asset the UNIA possessed. In his July 19, 1922, article for the *Negro World*, William Ferris reported the return on UNIA leaders' investment in Black self-determination by evaluating the shape of different divisions during the "Africa for the Africans" campaign. Ferris noted, the Philadelphia division owned a UNIA restaurant that was "well patronized," and in Hartford, the division maintained fifty members "who come out rain, shine, storm or blow."⁵⁴ Ferris' update provided evidence that during the "Africa for the Africans" campaign, UNIA leaders' construction of a Black Nationalist world was in progress. UNIA divisions were making a world out of their belief that Black people could practice self-determination and it reared Black-owned restaurants and people committed to coming to meetings rain or shine. Ferris' description vivified the contours of the public UNIA leaders were trying to produce. Ferris' words accounted for how success in America was building toward the construction of a great nation in Africa. Ferris' description of the UNIA's goals and success exemplifies how UNIA leaders constructed the foundation for their view of their public as parallel by creating meaning for themselves. The insulated meanings leaders created helped them respond to expressions of criticism and acts of repression.

UNIA Leaders' Response to Repressive Governments

During the "Africa for the Africans" campaign, UNIA leaders used the meanings they made for themselves to develop a parallel relationship with repressive governments. As the "Africa for the Africans" campaign grew in popularity, UNIA leaders were repressed by both the US and international governments. Amidst the efforts to repress the UNIA's message, UNIA leaders continued to articulate and circulate plans for a free and

United Africa. Leaders of the UNIA used their language to build a vision of their position as parallel to US presidents and capable of transcending colonial officials' efforts to tamp down their message. To show how the UNIA leaders produced a view of their parallel public as capable of overcoming state oppression, I first turn to the words and actions of governmental officials to limit UNIA leaders' influence and then leaders' bold responses.

As the UNIA was developing in the United States so was the FBI. The FBI was founded in the United States in 1908.⁵⁵ Before it was called the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Bureau of Investigations provided a blockade to the UNIA's development. During the Wilson administration, the FBI's role grew as an arm of the US government to crush anti-capitalist resistance.⁵⁶ As Russia fell, and communism became more popular, the FBI watched and monitored many groups like the African Blood Brotherhood, NAACP, and UNIA.⁵⁷ FBI officials were particularly interested in restricting the messages circulated by UNIA leaders.

FBI agents worked to not only limit but actively censure UNIA leaders' rhetoric. FBI agents infiltrated the UNIA with informants and manufactured reasons to restrain UNIA leaders' travel.⁵⁸ US officials infiltrated the UNIA to assess the threat posed by UNIA leaders. A 1919 FBI report by M.J. Davis noted,

An informant who is considered probably the best in negro circles in the United States, known to the writer, but not in the employ of this Bureau, states that he considers Garvey and the "Negro World" the largest and most dangerous figure in Negro circles to-day. In commenting upon Garvey's cleverness, trickery and quick rise in the political field among the negroes, he cited the fact that the subscription list of the "World" rose from 1,000 to its present 50,000 mailing list within one year.⁵⁹

A few years later, the anxiety of US officials had increased and their desire to not only limit but extinguish UNIA leaders' language was more palpable. In a September 1, 1921, letter from Director of the FBI William J. Burns to W.B. Matthews, Burns wrote, "The

Bureau is particularly anxious that you have Garvey covered after he leaves the hall, in order to ascertain where he is stopping for the night.” Burns was not only interested in Marcus Garvey’s movements but also who was with him when he left. Burns urged Matthews to find out “if his secretary Amy Jenks [Jacques] is accompanying him.” As Burns explained, “It is alleged that Garvey has violated the Mann White Slave Act on previous occasions and we are particularly desirous of securing some evidence along that line during his stay in Washington.”⁶⁰ The Mann Act was a legal precedent passed in 1910 that criminalized the transportation of any woman or girl for any immoral purpose.⁶¹ Burns’ directive expressed a desire to make something as simple as a night out with a friend into a criminal act. Burns’ hope to build on the Mann Act to curtail Garvey’s movements highlights that FBI agents were hunting for opportunities to repress the UNIA. FBI agents continued their hunt by using infiltration to monitor the development of UNIA businesses. On September 9, 1921, Special Agent P-138, wrote, “I again visited [31 August] the offices of the Black star Line in an effort to ascertain whether there is any foundation to the rumors that Marcus Garvey was trying to leave for Africa.”⁶² Special Agent P-138’s apprehension was likely in response to rumors that the BSL had purchased the Orion and was preparing to set up a trip for Black Americans to visit Africa.⁶³ Special Agent P-138 continued, “I am fully in touch with the situation and can give the necessary information whenever needed.”⁶⁴ The consistent monitoring and attempted repression of UNIA leaders undertaken by the FBI was also practiced by other national governments.

Globally, the repression of the UNIA was on par with the resistance the UNIA faced in the United States. Much like in the United States, colonial officials in Nigeria and British New-Guiana reveled in limiting the influence of UNIA’s message. Confidential report 727,

from the Colonial Secretary of Nigeria to the Chief Secretary of Nigeria reads, “With reference to your Confidential dispatch of the 25th of April on the subject of Marcus Garvey, I have the honour to inform you that this Government proposes to move the Secretary of State in order that passport to Garvey to enter this Colony be refused.”⁶⁵ The repression produced by Colonial Secretary of Nigeria was matched by the Governor of British New-Guiana’s plans to use the UNIA’s circulation of the *Negro World* against leaders of the UNIA. In a letter to Winston Churchill, the Governor of British New-Guiana wrote, “My own inclination is to allow this publication [the *Negro World*] to come into the Colony until something appears in it which will render the publication liable to prosecution for sedition, and of such a gross nature as to ensure conviction by a jury.”⁶⁶ The Governor of British New-Guiana’s patience was a product of his mal intentions. The Governor continued, “I do not think that half measures with regard to objectionable publications do any good.” The Governor of British New-Guiana’s hopes highlight that even when they allowed the *Negro World* to circulate, governmental officials were at times doing so to deter the development of the UNIA’s popularity. As the renown of the UNIA grew so did the acts of repression. In his letter to the acting Magistrate of Rehoboth, a city in present day Namibia, A.J. Waters wrote, “We have had our eyes for some time on the activities of the representatives in this country of the Universal Negro Improvement society and a little while ago I gave certain instructions which I hope will have the effect of causing them to leave this country of their own accord.”⁶⁷ Waters’ hope that UNIA members would “leave” the country “of their own accord” exemplified the pressure colonial powers tried to assert over UNIA leaders. Leaders could either stop spreading their message themselves or have the message stopped for them. By the end of the “Africa for the Africans” campaign, the

UNIA's circulatory, the *Negro World*, had been banned in multiple parts of Africa. Historian, activist, and author, Robert Hill wrote, "The *Negro World* was banned in French West Africa in January, in Nysaland in March, in Nigeria in June, in Gambia in September, and in the Gold Coast in December 1922."⁶⁸ Demonstratively distinct from how parasitic publics are nurtured and nourished by dominant ideology, the UNIA from 1921-1922 faced governments fearing their discourse so much that they attempted to incarcerate people for producing it and to do everything they could to stop it from spreading. UNIA leaders responded to the repression they received from governmental institutions by treating the sitting US president like a leader of a parallel nation and evincing the efficacy of efforts of the UNIA in Africa.

In the United States, UNIA leaders engaged with the sitting US president as leaders of a parallel nation would. During the Harding presidency, UNIA leaders imagined themselves as in a co-eval relationship with Warren Harding.⁶⁹ On October 21, 1921, President Harding expressed a "hope that we shall find an adjustment of relations between the two races. In which both can enjoy full citizenship, the full measure of usefulness to the country and of opportunity for themselves."⁷⁰ Harding's suggestion of support for an "adjustment" of race relations was lauded by leaders of the UNIA. In the November 5, 1921, issue of the *Negro World*, William Ferris editorialized, "President Harding has rendered a signal service not only to America but to the whole world also, says Marcus Garvey, declaring him a sage and a man of great vision destined to rank with Washington and Lincoln."⁷¹ Ferris' headline suggests that UNIA leaders were encouraged by but not subordinated to Harding's vision. In the 1921 Christmas issue of the *Negro World*, Ferris framed Harding as "A friend of the Negro Race."⁷² Ferris' treatment of Harding reflected

the treatment one would expect leaders of one nation to extend to the leader of another parallel nation. In July of 1922, Marcus Garvey wrote a letter to Harding asking if he “would be good enough as to receive a delegation” of UNIA members.⁷³ Garvey and Ferris’s response to Harding’s harangue illustrates their parallel perspective. Garvey and Ferris were encouraged by another world leader’s praise but expected of Harding what would be expected of an equal not a superior. Leaders of the UNIA continued to proceed in a parallel fashion even as international governmental organizations worked to weigh them down.

When engaging with established international governments, UNIA leaders worked to focus not on others but themselves. Leaders leveraged their own accounts of their efforts in Africa to circulate a message of success. In an article reprinted in the *Negro World*, the Cape Town branch of the UNIA recounted the minutes from its inaugural meeting. The Secretary of the Cape Town branch, J. Seaser Allen noted,

The president [W.O. Jackson] then gave his opening address and deliberated at length on the U.N.I.A. from its inception up to the present moment . . . [the president] impressed upon his hearers the necessity for unity among the race. A small flag of Red, Black, and Green was being displayed during the proceedings and brought forth thunderous applause when its colors were defined and that is to be the flag of the future Negro empire . . . Mr. James G. Gumbs, of the Advisory Board, spoke next, and gave a very brilliant and interesting address, bringing historical facts to bear on the past greatness and achievements of the Negro. At the conclusion of his address the speaker made a stirring appeal to those in the audience who were not members to come forward and join the association, which was well responded to, several new members having been gained.⁷⁴

Allen’s letter conveyed that the people of Cape Town were empowered by the presentation of something that said that they too could and should struggle to determine their future for themselves.⁷⁵ Ferris’ decision to include the Cape Town branch’s jubilation highlights the building up typical of UNIA leaders’ rhetorical productions as they perceived their public as parallel. In line with Squires’ point about the significance of the

press for the mobilization of Black people, Ferris used the *Negro World* to both circulate and produce a different meaning for the UNIA in Africa. The circulation of the UNIA's *Negro World* within and beyond the United States struggled against and transcended the boundaries of the "dominant" public and inspired feelings of self-determination amongst the people in Cape Town. Ferris' inclusion of the views of the Cape Town branch captured how the mundane movement building of people reflected an alternative world view. The Cape Town example attests that the parallel public UNIA leaders were in the process of cultivating produced something. The response of the Cape Town members provides evidence that Marcus Garvey and Amy Ashwood Garvey's initial actions, a few people sitting in a room thinking about the liberation of Africa, created the opportunity for the message that Africa could be freed to spread to Africa.

UNIA Leaders' Responses to Peers with Different Political Perspectives

As the "Africa for the Africans" campaign waned, UNIA leaders articulated their own opinions on capitalism and racism. As UNIA leaders built toward their free and united Africa, they articulated strategies for dealing with capitalism and racism. Centrally, UNIA leaders' language suggested that Black self-determination was the most important element to building a world in which there was a strong Black nation. As the UNIA was making a name for itself in New York, the anti-capitalist arguments forwarded internationally by Leon Trotsky, and popularized in the United States amongst Black people by A. Phillip Randolph and Cyril Briggs, gained attention in some parts of New York.⁷⁶ UNIA leaders developed a perspective on capitalism that did not categorically reject capitalist principles and bolstered the building of Black wealth. UNIA leaders' approach to capitalism was matched by their peculiar relationship to virulent racism. Exemplified by the release of *The Birth of a Nation*, the KKK saw a resurgence in the early 1920s.⁷⁷ In his role as President-

General of the UNIA, Garvey met with a leader of the KKK and leveraged the unchecked violence of the KKK to encourage Black Americans to make their own way. UNIA leaders' response to capitalism and Garvey's to the KKK suggests that when leaders were confronted with alternative political perspectives, they developed an approach that was parallel.

UNIA leaders argued that the solution to inequitable capitalist exploitation was to develop Black wealth. Leaders of the UNIA worked from a world-view that understood the perils of capital exploitation but asserted the need to make more money from the little they had in order to make a world. In the August 27th, 1921, edition of the *Negro World*, the nationally circulated ad to support the Black Star Line read, "You work hard for your money Why not make it work for you."⁷⁸ The BSL ad exemplifies UNIA leaders' solution to capitalist exploitation—that Black people use the little money they did have to make more. Marcus Garvey emphasized the UNIA's approach to capitalism in his "Great African Programme." In his 1921 "Great African Programme," Garvey exclaimed, "There will be no excuse for keeping out of this movement. We have made it so that" everyone "can find a place for service . . . Each and every member of the race must realize that even though we have laid out a big program which will mean protection for Negroes everywhere, yet at the same time we can only do it when we receive the whole-hearted financial support of the Negroes everywhere."⁷⁹ Garvey's exclamation that "every member of the race must realize" emphasized his view that all Black people needed to participate in Black self-determination. Garvey's framing of "financial support" as integral to the "protection for Negroes everywhere" foregrounded his belief that the UNIA needed to make money to

make another world possible. Garvey's elaboration concretized the view that the best response to capitalism was to build a nation.

Henrietta Vinton Davis clarified the relationship between capitalism and the UNIA's goals for nation building in her speeches and leadership of the Ladies division. In her 1921 speech to the Cambridge, Massachusetts branch of the UNIA, Vinton Davis argued, "The European nations are looking to Africa to build up their treasuries, but under the leadership of Mr. Garvey we mean to redeem it by Negroes themselves." Davis continued by explaining how her audience could help "redeem" Africa. Davis instructed her audience to "Buy shares in the Black Star Line so that" they "may take passage and go to Africa, and rally to the clarion call of 'Africa for the Africans.'"⁸⁰ Davis' remark suggested that her audience needed to participate in capitalism, but with a specific goal in mind: to redeem Africa. Davis helped put on display other women's efforts to participate in capitalism as leader of the Lady's Division. Under Davis' leadership, during the 1922 convention, the UNIA held "the Second Annual Woman's Industrial Exhibition." Convention reports describe the exhibition as "intended to give encouragement and stimulus to the women of the race in industrial pursuits and in the development of their talent" by "affording them the opportunity to present their handiwork before the public."⁸¹ The exhibition's efforts to provide "stimulus to the women of the race in industrial pursuits" provides evidence that the plan of the UNIA leaders was to leverage both the work of women and men to make another world. As leaders of the UNIA made moves to amass wealth, Garvey used rampant racism as rhetorical leverage.

Garvey used the rise of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) as a rhetorical resource to establish that Black people's safety depended on being self-determined. Garvey leveraged

the brutal violence enacted by KKK members as evidence that the United States would not change, and accordingly Black people needed to build their own nation in Africa. In his speech, “Will Stand By Slogan ““Africa for the Africans at Home and Abroad,”” Garvey argued, “According to the attitude of those white men who represent the Ku Klux Klan, America now is and always will be ‘a white man’s country,’ and any attempt to the contrary is going to bring about civil warfare.” In his remark, Garvey followed his evaluation of the future for the United States with a prescription for improving the lives of Black people. Garvey continued, “The Universal Negro Improvement Association comes forward, therefore, with a program which seeks not to let the Negro cast down his bucket where he is, but to have the bucket suspended and at the same time have a desire to build up himself as an independent force, as an independent factor in the country that God Almighty gave him.”⁸² Garvey’s assertion illustrated his belief that since the United States would never fully accept Black people “the bucket” should be “suspended” and instead Black people should work to “build” their own “independent force” in “the country” God gave them—Africa. The brutality enacted by KKK members served for Garvey as a catalyst to clarify that the United States should not and could not be the only place for Black people.

To gain a better understanding of what to do about the KKK, Garvey met with a Grand Wizard of the KKK.⁸³ When Garvey recounted his meeting with a member of the KKK, he evaluated the KKK’s goals and argued against creating friction with the KKK. He continued to keep focused instead on the UNIA’s plans. Garvey attested, “From my impressions,” the KKK “is a mighty white organization in the United States of America, organized for the purpose of upholding white supremacy in this country, organized for the purpose of making America a white man’s country.” Garvey then explained what the

friction between the UNIA and the KKK would achieve. Garvey argued, “I am not apologizing for the Klan or endeavoring to excuse the existence of the Klan, but I want a proper understanding about the Ku Klux Klan so that there can be no friction between the Negroes in America and the Ku Klux Klan, because it is not going to help.”⁸⁴ Instead of being interested in attacking the KKK, Garvey’s argument suggested that Black people should understand the KKK so that Black people could develop the best plans for themselves. Garvey’s stance toward the KKK exemplified UNIA leaders’ parallel approach to other groups during the “Africa for the Africans” campaign. Leaders often remained focused on what a self-determined Black population could do even when others attempted to destroy their designs. Ultimately, UNIA leaders used their belief and commitment to self-determination to defend what they saw as the best plans for racial uplift.

UNIA Leaders’ Response to Peers in the Black Press

As the “Africa for the Africans” campaign came to a close, UNIA leaders positioned themselves as parallel to oppositional opinions in the Black press.⁸⁵ Throughout the “Africa for the Africans” campaign, segments of the Black press suggested that the idea of Black self-determination was ludicrous or rushed.⁸⁶ When faced with peer criticism, UNIA leaders leaned on their own meanings to produce a different account of the past and future.

As the “Africa for the Africans” campaign closed, UNIA leaders used their own created meanings to contest criticism. There were multiple attempts by different arms of the Black press to counteract the UNIA’s spreading of the idea that there should be an Africa for the Africans.⁸⁷ As UNIA leaders worked to produce a free Africa, leaders did not debate those invested in their destruction but instead focused on finding a way to promote Black liberation. For example, after attending the 2nd UNIA convention, the

African Blood Brotherhood wrote in the October 1921 issue of the *Crusader*, “when twenty-five days had gone by and the Congress had done nothing” “the A.B.B. had printed and distributed among the delegates a Program formulated by us.”⁸⁸ ABB agents’ attempts at criticizing and hi-jacking the 2nd UNIA convention were concretized by Cyril Briggs in a letter he would eventually publish in the *Crusader*. As a leader of the ABB and anti-capitalist organizer, Briggs penned an open Letter to William Ferris in which he criticized Garvey and demanded transparency from the UNIA.⁸⁹ Originally, Briggs hoped to have his letter published in the *Negro World*. In his letter in response to Briggs, Ferris responded, “You stated your viewpoint and I stated my viewpoint, and I do not see the need of an endless reiteration of our views. Instead of discussing what the U.N. I. A. convention did or did not do, the Negro World is pushing some vital things agreed on at the convention.”⁹⁰ Ferris’ retort accounted for Briggs’ complaints but prioritized producing the world UNIA leaders were working towards.

Leaders continued to make use of their own meaning in response to criticism levied by the *Baltimore Afro-American*. The *Baltimore Afro-American* leaned on the language of the Liberian government to cast doubt on UNIA leaders’ plan to have an Africa for the Africans. The *Baltimore Afro-American* reported, “The Liberian Government does not approve of the proposal of Marcus Garvey, head of the Universal Negro Improvement Association to use the West African Republic as a centre from which to launch propaganda to drive the white people out of Africa.”⁹¹ The *Afro-American*’s reporting reflects the kind of reductionism common in oppositional engagements by misinterpreting the founding of a strong independent nation in Africa as a push to remove all white people from Africa.

Amidst assertions that African countries did not support the “Africa for the Africans” campaign, the UNIA responded to misconceptions about their intent for Africa in two turns.

First, Marcus Garvey clarified the UNIA’s intentions toward Liberia in his opening speech to the 2nd UNIA convention. Garvey elucidated, “They charge us with desiring to convert Liberia into a battleground. I deny any such intention on the part of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. I desire to let the world know that we recognize not only Liberia as belonging to the Negro, but all Africa. And since Liberia is already occupied by Africans we have no need to make an entry.”⁹² Garvey did not admonish his peers, but instead enunciated a different evaluation of events. By recharacterizing the UNIA’s goals in Liberia, Garvey affirmed the UNIA’s plans for a redeemed Africa and discredited the *Afro-American*’s assertion that the UNIA planned to make Liberia into a battleground. Garvey announced a view of world affairs capacious enough to capture the possibility of strong independent nations in Africa built from Black self-determination.

Second, William Ferris edited the pages of the *Negro World* to help the “Africa for the Africans” campaign ascend. Ferris helped to sustain the “Africa for the Africans” campaign by including first-hand accounts from UNIA members in Africa. A published letter from M.M. Marytn, a West African citizen, in the *Negro World* reads, “

As natives of Africa who are proud of our country, our hearts were made to bleed last Sunday . . . We never realized how far Western civilization had demoralized the Negro until we heard the address of this supposedly educated Negro [William Pickens]. During his attack on Marcus Garvey he spoke of Africa as a heathen land where life is not safe on account of cannibals. We wish to inform the good professor that life and property are safer in Africa, but for the white usurpers, than in any part of the United States . . . While we appreciate any help offered us by those of the western world who have had certain advantages of school, Africa would be better off without such Negroes as Dean William Pickens, . . . Africa should be free, for within her borders has arisen that spirit which shall not exhaust itself until Africa is free and her people are in possession of the land.”⁹³

Martyn's letter was in response to Pickens' speech at the "Garvey Must Go!" meeting. In his speech, Pickens derided the prospects of US Black people returning to Africa. Pickens asserted that "the American group of negroes was distinct from the African group," and "an American negro would be as much out of place in Africa as any white man of this city [New York]." ⁹⁴ Martyn's rejoinder suggested that African people believed Africa could be hospitable to US Black people and that the UNIA's program could be part of Africa's redemption. Ferris' inclusion of Martyn's letter provided support for the belief that people in Africa supported the "Africa for the Africans" campaign. Ferris' publication of Martyn's letter typifies UNIA leaders' parallel response. In the pages of the *Negro World*, UNIA leaders did not demand a retraction from the *Afro-American*, as a confrontational or counter public approach would have required, but instead presented a productive account of the situation with alternative evidence. UNIA leaders' rejoinder to criticism highlights the early efforts that distinguished how leaders viewed their public. UNIA leaders' discourse reflected a parallel evaluation of both the UNIA's goals and effects on the world during the early years of the organization. UNIA leaders remained aware of what other people said, but developed their own definition built on their own assessment of facts.

The Difference Between UNIA Leaders and their Pan-African Congress Peers

UNIA leaders' distinct approach to racial uplift demonstrates how turning to insulated meanings and aiming for independence can catalyze a view of a parallel public. Under W.E.B. Du Bois' leadership, an incarnation of The Pan-African Congress (PAC) was initiated shortly after the first UNIA convention in 1919. ⁹⁵ Newspaper framings of and official statements by Du Bois about the PAC reflect that it was concerned with gaining

interdependence with and acceptance into the established political order. UNIA leaders' arguments suggested an interest in independence and establishing a new world order. UNIA leaders' envisioning of a parallel public is vivified by the difference between the public they sought and the public engagements of their PAC peers.

During the UNIA's "Africa for the Africans" campaign, Du Bois developed an approach to racial uplift interested in garnering the sympathy of "dominant" powers. Du Bois was a renowned racial uplift leader. Du Bois' *Souls of Black Folks*, *Philadelphia Negro*, and "Talented Tenth" are works that continue to inspire Black thought in the contemporary moment.⁹⁶ Building on the model of racial uplift outlined in the "Talented Tenth," Du Bois orchestrated the Pan-African Congress. Clarence Contee describes Du Bois' founding of the Pan African Congress as a revitalization of the Pan African ideas of African heritage and a unified Africa previously expressed by Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and Dr. Edward Blyden.⁹⁷ The inaugural Pan African Congress was a conference held in 1919.⁹⁸ Major news outlets framed the Pan African Congress as a less radical alternative to the UNIA's conventions. On September 6th, 1921, the *New York Tribune* read, "Negroes from fourteen nations are holding a Pan-African Congress and have decided not to support the program of Marcus Garvey." The article continued, "Instead of sacrificing present nationalities, the Congress insists Negroes must endeavor to take greater advantage of their opportunities under prevailing conditions. The body is firm against efforts of the Negro extremists to ally themselves with the Russian Bolsheviks."⁹⁹ The *Tribune's* account characterized the PAC as a group interested in promoting racial uplift but more willing than the UNIA to gain an "advantage" "Under prevailing conditions." Du Bois' account of the goals of the PAC did not differ greatly from the *Tribune's* assessment.

In his letter to then Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, Du Bois described how the Pan-African Congress intended to advance the cause of Black people. Du Bois asserted, “The Pan-African Congress is for conference, . . . It has nothing to do with the so called Garvey movement and contemplates neither force nor revolution . . . we hope to get the attention and sympathy of colonial powers.”¹⁰⁰ Du Bois’ assertion illustrates that although the Pan-African Congress was also interested in improving Black people’s lives, it was more open to the idea of attracting the “attention and sympathy” of oppressors. Alternatively, the UNIA intended to consolidate power to respond to oppressive forces.

Leaders of the UNIA opted to make oppressive forces feel the power of the UNIA. Leaders articulated their determination to amass power in their membership certifications and the documents they circulated during the “Africa for the Africans” campaign. A printed note that accompanies Miss Rosalia Phylor’s certification as a member of the UNIA reads: The UNIA is “an organization embracing the millions of men, women and children of Negro blood and African descent of all countries of the world, striving for the FREEDOM” “and NATIONALISM of the Negro, and to hand down to posterity a FLAG OF EMPIRE—to restore to the world an Ethiopian Nation.”¹⁰¹ The note attached to Phylor’s certification captured UNIA leaders’ goals to produce a free nation that they could “hand down to posterity.” UNIA leaders’ enumeration of the organization’s goals to strive for “Freedom” and “Nationalism” concretized the central approach of the “Africa for the Africans” campaign—to establish an independent and powerful nation in Africa. UNIA leaders worked to bring their aspirations for Africa into reality by circulating ads to raise funds for a redeemed Africa in the *Negro World*. Multiple issues of the *Negro World* from 1921-1922 included ads for the “African Redemption Fund.” The ad for the “African

Redemption Fund” on September 3, 1921, read, “The Universal Negro Improvement Association, charged with the responsibility of freeing the four hundred million oppressed Negroes of the world and with the redemption of Africa, is now raising a universal fund to capitalize its work for the freedom of Africa.” Leaders offered each reader an opportunity to participate in the freeing of Africa in exchange for a donation of “five dollars.” The ad also proclaimed that for their effort, people who donated would “receive a certificate of race loyalty given by the Universal Negro Improvement Association with the autographed signatures of the Provisional President of Africa.”¹⁰² UNIA leaders’ offer to provide an autograph by the Provisional President of Africa, Marcus Garvey, reflected their parallel approach. Leaders of the UNIA aimed to help Africa ascend through the work of their own hands.¹⁰³

Conclusion: A Parallel Perspective

UNIA leaders developed a view of a parallel public as they argued for an “Africa for the Africans.” During the “Africa for the Africans” campaign, UNIA leaders started from a premise not dictated by “dominant” movements or publics but by themselves—that they collectively had the power to bring forth an Africa for the Africans. UNIA leaders’ arguments for a “Africa for the Africans” campaign, calcified their vision of their parallel public in two ways. First, UNIA leaders supplied their own discourse and by circulating that discourse were able to produce an independent evaluation of world events. Second, leaders responded to the rebuke of other leaders and repression of United States and international governments by remaining focused on their goal of building a strong Black nation. During the “Africa for the Africans” campaign, leaders of the UNIA supplied stamina to the belief that if they remained self-determined, the world could be whatever

they wanted to make it. From 1921 to 1922, UNIA leaders used their language to bring forth a world in which it was possible to create an “Africa for the Africans.”

UNIA leaders’ rhetoric during the “Africa for the Africans” campaign illustrates that certain publics are better described as parallel than counter or satellite. In this chapter, I have proposed that parallel publics can be discerned by two distinct characteristics: (1) a concern with developing independent meanings; (2) repression by ‘dominant’ publics. Leaders of the UNIA constructed a perspective on their public by developing and circulating their own definition of what it would mean to have an Africa for the Africans.¹⁰⁴ UNIA leaders responded to the repression they received from established governments by using the definitions they developed as tools to help themselves and their audiences remain focused on their goal of establishing an Africa for the Africans. UNIA leaders did not seek to gain acceptance into a nation or reform the “dominant” public’s opinion but instead worked to make a different world. Instead of attempting to gain the attention and sympathy of colonial powers, leaders of the UNIA produced their own evaluation of their problems and concentrated on consolidating the power necessary to make colonial powers return what Black people were owed.

The parallel form of the UNIA leaders’ approach stretches contemporary publics theory. Now, we often think of groups like the UNIA as “counter” or “subordinate” publics.¹⁰⁵ Scholars tend to cede or take for granted the meaning-making power of supposedly “dominant” institutions and publics. UNIA leaders’ rhetoric necessitates a different narrative. UNIA leaders’ rhetoric suggests that publics founded on Black self-determination can produce insulated meanings. The repression UNIA leaders experienced highlights the way governmental institutions sometimes respond more harshly to Black

nationalist movements. By defining the depravity at the turn of the twentieth century for themselves and circulating their own discourse, UNIA leaders conceptualized a public not dependent on the “dominant” public but parallel to it.

UNIA leaders’ envisioning of a parallel public exemplifies the kind of inventive leap that characterizes world-making. UNIA leaders’ advocacy for an “Africa for the Africans” offers an opportunity to elaborate on the world-making capacity created by a belief in Black self-determination. As this project attempts to unravel some of the history of the UNIA, this chapter provides an early answer to this project’s second and third research questions: how did leaders support of Black self-determination create an opportunity for them to include all Black people in their vision and what kind of public did UNIA leaders envision while world-making. UNIA leaders’ view of their parallel public puts on display that one part of their world was a discourse community born from insulated meanings and capable of creating a new common sense. In “Looking for M—,” Kara Keeling asserts, “whatever escapes recognition, whatever escapes meaning and valuation, exists as an impossible possibility within our shared reality.”¹⁰⁶ UNIA leaders brought forth a different world, a different reality, by building on their belief in Black self-determination to unsettle the common sense of their moment that Black self-determination was between foolish and useless. In the *Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon articulated the need for a leap toward a different model of existing.¹⁰⁷ Contemporary rhetorical scholars have followed Fanon’s lead to think about how language can help bring forth a leap toward a different world on earth. G. Mitchell Reyes and Kundai Chirindo describe contemporary scholars as in desperate need of “inventive rhetorics” that expand understandings of “who or what can shape the future.”¹⁰⁸ UNIA leaders’ advocacy for an Africa for the Africans

provides some remedy to the need outlined by Reyes and Chirindo. UNIA leaders' rhetoric shows that by believing in the self-determination of Black people it becomes possible to invent new meanings that can include all Black people and deemphasize the denigrating views of the 'dominant' public.

UNIA leaders' advocacy for an Africa for the Africans was a rhetorical touchstone for leaders. The "Africa for the Africans" campaign built on the support garnered by the early efforts of UNIA leaders. As the UNIA became famous and infamous in the United States and globally, leaders circulated the slogan, "Africa for the Africans," as a catachresis for the central goals of the UNIA. Though the "Africa for the Africans" campaign was executed during what is often considered the height of the UNIA, the elements that would lead to the decline of the UNIA were already in progress. For instance, the purchase of boats and circulation of handbills soliciting funding for the Black Star Line that would eventually lead to Garvey's imprisonment was happening between 1921 and 1922. As William Ferris' response to Cyril Briggs suggests, the scuffle between Briggs and Garvey scaffolded with UNIA leader's perception of their public as parallel. Accordingly, from 1922 to 1925, the leaders of the UNIA took on a different tone. As UNIA leaders were consistently challenged, leaders used language to make their world last. UNIA leaders needed to defend the acclaim they had achieved against the many challengers that aimed to rend them of their success. As such, next this project turns to the ways that leaders of the UNIA espoused a *rhetoric of champions* in response to the challenges that overwhelmed them—as their organization fell apart.

¹ I.W.W. is the acronym for International Workers of the World. <https://www.iww.org/>. In Garvey's reference, the use of I.W.W. functions as a synecdoche for white led anti-capitalist movements.

- ² Marcus Garvey, "UNIA Meeting at Carnegie Hall," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Vol. I, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 506.
- ³ Marcus Garvey, "World Readjustment," in *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey Vol 1*, ed. Amy Jacques Garvey (Mansfield Centre, CT: Martino Publishing, 2014), 34.
- ⁴ "Convention Report, 1921" in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Vol III September 1920-August 1921, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), 590.
- ⁵ "Convention Report 1922," 996-1003. Leroy Bundy was integral to founding the Cleveland division of the UNIA. Bundy was also a dentist by trade and had a political organizing career larger than his time as a leader of the UNIA. "Bundy, Leroy N." Encyclopedia of Cleveland History, <https://case.edu/ech/articles/b/bundy-leroy-n>; Kenneth S. Jolly, *'By Our Own Strength' William Sherrill, the UNIA, and the Fight for African American Self-Determination in Detroit*, (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2012), 25-30. William Sherrill built on his role in the early 1920s UNIA to become an even more central leader in the 1930s and 40s. In fact, Sherrill was the 3rd President-General of UNIA from 1953-1957. Universal Negro Improvement Association & African Communities League, "President-Generals," <http://uniaacl121.weebly.com/president-generals.html>.
- ⁶ The Oxford English Dictionary, "Parallel." Accessed on April 14, 2019. <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/parallel>.
- ⁷ Here, and throughout I use 'dominant' public to refer the same people Micheal Warner referred to as the 'dominant' public in *Publics and Counterpublics*, white, male, unmarked identities. Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: MIT Press, 2002). 166.
- ⁸ Kyle R. Larson and George F. (Guy) McHendry Jr. "Parasitic Publics," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, 49 no. 5, (2019): 534. By insulated meanings I mean an understanding of the world that is determined by oneself. Building on Larson and McHendry's description of parasitic publics as "engaging on their own terms," I mean to illustrate how leaders of the UNIA used a view of themselves and the world determined by themselves as the starting point for their parallel public.
- ⁹ Letter from Amy Jacques Garvey to Thomas Harvey, 3, March, 1971, 1066, Box 1, Folder 4, Universal Negro Association Records, Rose Library, Atlanta, GA. Thomas Harvey was a member of the UNIA during the 1920s. After Marcus Garvey's deportation and the fracturing of the United States UNIA, Harvey rose to be the 4th President General of the UNIA. Harvey was President General of the UNIA from 1957-1978. Universal Negro Improvement Association & African Communities League, "President Generals," UNIAACL121, <http://uniaacl121.weebly.com/president-generals.html>.
- ¹⁰ Marcus Garvey, "Ringing Message of Hon. Marcus Garvey to Negroes of the World," *The Negro World*, September 17, 1921.
- ¹¹ Tamar Shirinian, "Queer Life-Worlds in Postsocialist Armenia: Alternativ Space and the possibilities of In 'Visiblitiy,'" *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking* 5, no. 1 (2018): 2.
- ¹² Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 17-21.
- ¹³ Cyril Briggs was a founder of the African Blood Brotherhood. The African Blood Brotherhood was a Marxist anti-racist group of the 1920s. Briggs also edited the Crusader. Daren Salter, "African Blood Brotherhood," <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/african-blood-brotherhood-1919-1924/>.
- ¹⁴ W.E.B. Du Bois was a racial uplift leader and scholar. Du Bois was one of the founders and a leading Spokesperson of the Pan African Congress. Eric King Watts, *Hearing the Hurt: Rhetoric, Aesthetics, and the Politics of the New Negro* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2012), 5.
- ¹⁵ Marcus Garvey, "Aims and Objects of the Movement for Solution of Negro Problem," in *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey or Africa for the Africans Vol II*, ed. Amy Jacques Garvey, (New York, NY, The Universal Publishing House, 1926), 37.
- ¹⁶ "World Now Taking Garvey Movement Seriously—NO Longer A Joke in South Africa, Where the Native Blacks Far Outnumber the Whites and are Rapidly Increasing at an Alarming Rate," *The Negro World*, October 8, 1921.
- ¹⁷ "Negroes Determined to Do For Themselves in Africa What White People Have Done in Europe," *The Negro World*, October 22, 1921.
- ¹⁸ During the "Africa for the Africans" campaign, Marcus Garvey was the President-General of the UNIA, William Ferris was the editor of the UNIA's newspaper the *Negro World* and Henrietta Vinton Davis was the President of the Ladies' Division of the UNIA.

- ¹⁹ Jurgen Habermas *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), 8-10; Catherine Squires, "Rethinking the Black Public Sphere: An Alternative Vocabulary for Multiple Public Spheres," *Communication Theory* 12, no. 4 (2002): 446; Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 166.
- ²⁰ David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 19.
- ²¹ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 38-45. Further, Canonical readings of Hannah Arendt's scholarship highlight that her scholarship is not particularly well suited to capture the experiences of Black people. See Richard H. King, "On Race and Culture: Hannah Arendt and Her Contemporaries," in *Politics in Dark Times: Encounters with Hannah Arendt* ed. Seyla Benhabib (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 113-4. For an updated extension of Dewey's consideration see Lloyd Bitzer, "Rhetorical Public Communication," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4, no. 4 (1987): 425. John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1921), 12
- ²² Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 8-10.
- ²³ Cindy Griffin, "The Essentialist Roots of the Public Sphere: A Feminist Critique," *Western Journal of Communication* 60, no. 1 (1996): 24-30; Sonja Foss and Cindy Griffin, "Beyond Persuasion: A Proposal for an Invitational Rhetoric," *Communication Monographs* 62 (1995): 1-10; Lisa Gring-Pemle, "Writing Themselves Into Consciousness: Creating a Rhetorical Bridge Between the Public and Private Spheres," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 84, no. 1 (1998): 41-50; Michael Schudson, "Was There Ever a Public Sphere? If So, When? Reflections on the American Case," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere* ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 159-62.
- ²⁴ Asen, "Seeking the 'Counter,'" 426; Rita Felski, *Beyond Feminist Aesthetics: Feminist Literature and Social Change* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 1-10.
- ²⁵ Robert Asen, "Critical Engagement through Public Sphere Scholarship," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 101, no. 1 (2015): 135-7; Joseph Yaw Asomah, "Democracy, the Public Sphere, and Power Elites: Examining the Ghanaian Private Media's Role in Political Corruption," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 37, no. 3 (2020): 222.
- ²⁶ Elizabeth Brunner and Sarah Partlow-Lefevre, "#MeToo as Networked Collective: Examining Consciousness-raising on Wild Public Networks," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 17, no. 2 (2020): 177; Mehdi Semati and Piotr M. Szpunar, "ISIS Beyond the Spectacle: Communication Media, Networked Publics, Terrorism" *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 35, no. 1 (2018): 2.
- ²⁷ Stephanie R. Larson, "'Everything Inside Me Was Silenced,': (Re)defining Rape Through Visceral Counterpublicity," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 104, no. 2 (2018): 139.
- ²⁸ Jennell Johnson, "Breaking Down: On Publicity as Capacity," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (2020): 175.
- ²⁹ Robert Asen, "Seeking the 'Counter' in Counterpublics," *Communication Theory* 10, no. 4 (2000): 426; Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," *Social Text* (25/26) (1990): 56-62; Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 166. Scholars have defined many publics by their creation and circulation of discourse and distinguished counter publics by the apprehensiveness of institutional powers towards certain discourses.
- ³⁰ Richard B. Gregg, "The Ego Function of the Rhetoric of Protest," *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 4, no. 2 (1971): 73-5; Randall A. Lake, "Enacting Red Power: The Consummatory Function in Native American Protest Rhetoric," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 69, no. 2 (1983): 128.
- ³¹ Catherine R. Squires, "Rethinking the Black Public Sphere: An Alternative Vocabulary for Multiple Public Spheres," *Communication Theory* 12, no. 4 (2002): 463.
- ³² Oxford English Dictionary delineates satellites by their orbit. Part of my point in launching toward a parallel public is the idea that the UNIA leaders did not imagine themselves as orbiting around any other group but as their own sun. "Satellite" *Oxford Reference*, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100442547#:~:text=1%20A%20natural%20object%20that,See%20also%20remote%20sensing.>
- ³³ Larson and McHendry Jr. "Parasitic Publics," 519.
- ³⁴ Deborah F. Atwater, "A Dilemma of Black Communication Scholars: The Challenge of Finding New Rhetorical Tools," *Journal of Black Studies* 15, no. 1 (1984): 9; Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," 56-62.
- ³⁵ P. Gabrielle Foreman, "Black Organizing, Print Advocacy and Collective Authorship: The Long History of the Colored Conventions Movement," in *The Colored Convention Movement: Black Organizing in the*

Nineteenth Century, eds. P. Gabrielle Foreman, Jim Casey, and Sarah Lynn Patterson (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 34.

³⁶ Glenn Mackin, "Black Lives Matter and the Concept of the Counterworld," *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 49, no. 4 (2016): 471.

³⁷ Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 166.

³⁸ Sylvia Wynter, "Beyond the Categories of the Master Conception: The Counterdoctrine of the Jamesian Poesis," in *C.L.R. James's Caribbean* eds. Paget Henry and Paul Buhle (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), 67.

³⁹ Here, my meaning of design builds with Arturo Escobar's notion of design as a "contrasting of notions of sociability and the world." Arturo Escobar, *Designs for the Pluriverse: Radical Interdependence, Autonomy, and the Making of Worlds* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), 3.

⁴⁰ Judith Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey: Race and Class in Modern Society* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 128; Tony Martin, *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Dover: The Majority Press, 1976), 15-18; Division Records, 1974, Sc Micro R-1571, Box 2, Folder 1, Universal Negro Improvement Association Central Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library.

⁴¹ John Henrik Clarke, *Harlem A Community in Transition* (New York, Citadel Press, 1964), 6.

⁴² George Alexander McGuire, Preface, in *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey or Africa for the Africans* Vol II ed. Amy Jacques Garvey (The Universal Publishing House, New York City, N.Y. 1926), vi. McGuire was a member of the UNIA up until the 1921 convention. At the 1921 convention, McGuire resigned from the UNIA amidst suggestions that he had abused his power to promote his own business and views. "Departmental Reports," *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Vol III September 1920-August 1921, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), 647.

⁴³ John H. Bracey Jr., August Meir, Elliot Rudwick, *Black Nationalism in America* (New York, NY: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1970), Xxvi; Rodney Carlisle, *The Roots of Black Nationalism* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1975), 3; Errol A. Henderson, *The Revolution Will Not Be Theorized: Cultural Revolution in the Black Power Era* (New York: SUNY Press, 2019), 48; Wilson Moses, *Classical Black Nationalism: From the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 20-21

⁴⁴ Henrietta Vinton Davis, "UNIA Meeting in Pittsburgh," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers* Vol. II 27 August 1919 – 31 August 1920, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 29. Henrietta Vinton Davis was one of the most consistent leaders of the UNIA between 1918 and 1926. In circulations Vinton Davis was listed along with other members of the UNIA executive council as both "International Organizer," and, in 1922, "President of Ladies' Division." D.S. Robinson Letter, 1925, Box Miscellaneous, Folder 3, Universal Negro Improvement Association Central Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library.

⁴⁵ Henrietta Vinton Davis, "Meeting of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the African Communities League of the World, Verbatim Report of Speeches by William [F.] Smart," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Vol. I, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 499-500.

⁴⁶ Marcus Garvey, "Opening Convention Speech by Marcus Garvey," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers; Volume IX: Africa for Africans 1921-1922*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 129.

⁴⁷ ed. Jacques Garvey, *Philosophy & Opinions* vol. 1, 22.

⁴⁸ Plea for the African Redemption Fund, Box Miscellaneous, Folder 10, Universal Negro Improvement Association Central Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library.

⁴⁹ Ronisha Browdy, "Strong, Black, and Woman: Examining Self-Definition and Self-Valuation as Black Women's Everyday Rhetorical Practices," *Reflections* (2017-2018): 7-36.

⁵⁰ By had been seen before, I mean to reference the period in world history in which Black people were Kings and Queens of their own independent states. Clarke, *Community in Transition*, 6.

⁵¹ ed. Amy Jacques Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions* Vol. 1, 68.

⁵² Marcus Garvey, "U.N.I.A. Victorious in 1921," *The Negro World*, December 31, 1921.

- ⁵³ William Ferris, “Universal Negro Improvement Association is a World Power—Has Passed Experimental Stage,” *The Negro World*, October 29, 1921.
- ⁵⁴ William Ferris, “Article by William Ferris,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921- 2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 730-2.
- ⁵⁵ Federal Bureau of Investigation, *The FBI A Centennial History, 1908-2008*, (US Department of Justice, 2008), 1-5.
- ⁵⁶ Stephen M. Underhill, *The Manufacture of Consent: J. Edgar Hoover and the Rhetorical Rise of the FBI* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2020), 2.
- ⁵⁷ “Confidential Informant 800 to George F. Ruch,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 246-7; “Russian Revolution,” *History.com*, <https://www.history.com/topics/russia/russian-revolution>.
- ⁵⁸ Ramla Bandele, *Black Star African American Activism in the International Political Economy* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 1-10. The Black Star Line was the name for the shipping company opened by Marcus Garvey; George Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism? The Coming Struggle for Africa*, (England, Dodson, 1956), 100-101.
- ⁵⁹ “Bureau of Investigation Report, New York City, Aug 22, 1919” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Vol. 1 1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 495.
- ⁶⁰ William J. Burns, “William J. Burns to W.B. Matthews, Bureau of Investigation,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921- 2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 4; “William J. Burns, August 22, 1921- June 14, 1924,” FBI, <https://www.fbi.gov/history/directors/william-j-burns>. Burns was the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigations from 1921 until 1924.
- ⁶¹ “Mann Act,” *Cornell Law*, https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/mann_act.
- ⁶² “Report by Special Agent P-138,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921- 2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 14.
- ⁶³ Henrietta Vinton Davis, “Address to Cambridge, Mass., Division 124,” *Negro World*, October 8, 1921; “Report by Special Agent P-138.” In this segment for the *Negro World*, UNIA leader Henrietta Vinton Davis reflected on her trip to Africa and future plans for members to also travel to Africa.
- ⁶⁴ “Report by Special Agent P-138”, 14.
- ⁶⁵ Letter from Colonial Secretary to Chief Secretary of Nigeria, 11 April 1923, Box Miscellaneous, Folder 4, Universal Negro Improvement Association Central Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library.
- ⁶⁶ Letter from Governor of British-Guiana to Winston Churchill, 6 July 1922, Box Miscellaneous, Folder 8, Universal Negro Improvement Association Central Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library. In his *Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*; Volume IX, Robert Hill attributes this letter to Wilfred Colet. However, the letter available at the New York Public Library is only signed “Governor.”
- ⁶⁷ A.J. Waters, “A.J. Waters to C. Thomas Forsbrook,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers; Volume IX: Africa for Africans 1921-1922*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 374.
- ⁶⁸ (Ed.) Hill, *Africa for Africans*, XLVIII.
- ⁶⁹ Francis Russell, *The Shadow of Blooming Grove: Warren G. Harding in His Times* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1968), 1-5; “Warren G. Harding” Whitehouse.gov, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/warren-g-harding/>. Warren G. Harding was the 29th president of the United States. Harding is often remembered as a president that was sympathetic to the causes of race and gender.
- ⁷⁰ Warren G. Harding, “Address of the President of the United States at the Celebration of the Semicentennial Founding of the City of Birmingham, Alabama,” *Voices of Democracy*, paragraph 16. <https://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/warren-g-harding-address-at-birmingham-speech-text/>; Greg Bailey, “This Presidential Speech on Race Shocked the Nation . . . in 1921,” *Narratively*, <https://narratively.com/this-presidential-speech-on-race-shocked-the-nation-in-1921/>.

⁷¹ “President Harding has rendered a signal service not only to America, but to the whole world also, says Marcus Garvey, declaring him a sage and man of great vision, destined to rank with Washington and Lincoln,” *The Negro World*, November 5, 1921.

⁷² William Ferris, “Christmas Message of the President of the United States to the Negro People of the World,” *Negro World*, December 17, 1921.

⁷³ Marcus Garvey, “Marcus Garvey to President Warren G. Harding,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921- 2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 750; George Christian, “George B. Christian, Jr., to Marcus Garvey,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921- 2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 883. George R. Christian, the Secretary to the President wrote back to Garvey. Christian lamented that President Harding was unable to make any appointments that were not about industrial concerns but did suggest that Garvey forward any further concerns for President Harding to him.

⁷⁴ “Report of Cape Town UNIA Meeting,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers; Volume IX: Africa for Africans 1921-1922*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 212; Robert Trent Vinson and Bernard L. Schwartz, *The Americans are Coming! Dreams of African American Liberation in Segregationist South Africa* (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 2011), 78-80; Robert Trent Vinson, “‘Sea Kaffirs’: ‘American Negroes’ and the Gospel of Garveyism in Early Twentieth Century Cape Town,” *The Journal of African History* 47, no. 2 (2006): 292. J. Ceasar, sometimes listed as Seasar, Allen was the Secretary of the Cape Town Branch of the UNIA. Allen was also a member of the West Indian American Association. James G. Gumbs was born in Saint Vincent in the West Indies. Gumbs was a chemist and political activist. Gumbs was a member of the Pick Wick Co-operative as well as a member of the UNIA. William Jackson was the President of the Cape Town branch of the UNIA. Jackson also belonged to the West Indian-American Association.

⁷⁵ Catherine R. Squires, *Dispatches from the Color Line: The Press and Multiracial America* (NY: New York, SUNY Press, 2007), 1-10; Richard Digby-Junger, “The Guardian, Crisis, Messenger, and Negro World: The Early-20th Century Black Radical Press,” *Howard Journal of Communication* 9, no. 3 (1998): 265.

⁷⁶ Leon Trotsky, Interviewed by Comrade Johnson (CLR James), “Leon Trotsky: Self-Determination for the American Negroes,” *International Socialism* (April/May) (1970): 37-8; Laura Grattan, *Populism’s Power: Radical Grassroots Democracy in America*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 8.

⁷⁷ Alexis Clark, “How ‘The Birth of a Nation’ Revived the Ku Klux Klan,” *History.com*, August 18, 2018, paragraph 5-6.

⁷⁸ “Black Star Line ad,” *The Negro World*, August 27, 1921. The Black Star Line was a shipping corporation founded by the leaders of the UNIA. A fuller consideration of the history and significance of the BSL to the UNIA is elaborated in Chapter 3.

⁷⁹ Marcus Garvey, “Great African Programme,”

⁸⁰ Henrietta Vinton Davis, “Address to Cambridge, Mass., Division 124,” *Negro World*, October 8, 1921.

⁸¹ “Convention Reports,” *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921- 2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 937.

⁸² Marcus Garvey, “Will Stand By Slogan ‘Africa for the Africans at Home and Abroad!’,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921- 2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 35.

⁸³ C.L.R. James, *A History of Pan African Revolt* (Chicago, IL: PM Press, 2012), 88. Racial uplift advocates, like CLR James, have lamented and critiqued Garvey’s willingness to meet with the Klan.

⁸⁴ Marcus Garvey, “Hon. Marcus Garvey Tells of Interview with Ku Klux Klan,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921- 2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 708-9.

⁸⁵ Here by Black Press I mean a newspaper or other written circulatory owned and operated by Black people.

⁸⁶ James Weldon Johnson, “Article by James Weldon Johnson,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921- 2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 79.

⁸⁷ W.E.B. Du Bois, "What Du Bois Thinks of Garvey [1921]," in *Call and Response Key Debates in African American Studies*, eds. Henry, L. Gates and Jennifer Burton (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2011), 260.

⁸⁷ Gates, *Debates in African American studies*, 279.

⁸⁸ "Enclosure," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921- 2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 75.

⁸⁹ Cyril Briggs was a founder of the African Blood Brotherhood. The African Blood Brotherhood was a Marxist anti-racist group of the 1920s. Briggs also edited the *Crusader*. Daren Salter, "African Blood Brotherhood," <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/african-blood-brotherhood-1919-1924/>; Cyril Briggs, "Open From Cyril V Briggs to William H. Ferris, Literary Editor, *Negro World*," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 66.

⁹⁰ William Ferris, "William Ferris Letter to Cyril Briggs," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921- 2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 90. At the time of Ferris' letter in 1922, Ferris was the editor of the *Negro World*.

⁹¹ Hill, *Africa for Africans*, 76. The *Baltimore Afro-American* is a Black owned and family run newspaper. The *Afro-American* was founded by John H. Murphy, Sr. As of 2022, the *Afro-American* has been renamed *Afro* and still is published weekly. Afro, "About Us," <https://afro.com/about-us/>.

⁹² Garvey, "Opening to 2nd Universal Negro Association Convention," 130.

⁹³ M.M. Martyn, "M.M. Martyn et al. to the *Negro World*," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers; Volume IX: Africa for Africans 1921-1922*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 564. Dean Picken Williams was a Yale educated Black American. Picken Williams was also a well-established member of the NAACP and co-authored the "Garvey Must GO!" letter sent to United States Secretary of State Harry M. Daughtry. Victor Okocha, "William Pickens (1881-1954)," *Blackpast*, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/people-african-american-history/pickens-william-1881-1954/>.

⁹⁴ "Garvey Denounced at Negro Meeting," *New York Times*, August 7, 1922.

⁹⁵ Jake Hodder, "The Elusive History of the Pan-African Congress, 1919-27," *History Workshop Journal* 91, (2021): 113.

⁹⁶ W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1899), 1-10; W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Oxford: Oxford university Press, 2007 [1903]), 21; W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Talented Tenth*, p. 3; Francesca R. Gentile, "Marketing the Talented Tenth: W.E.B. Du Bois and Public-Intellectual Economies," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 47, no. 2 (2017): 153; Saidiya Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 2019), 88-98; C. Riley Snorton, *Nobody is Supposed to Know: Black Sexuality on the Down Low* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 21. Du Bois' position on the Talented Tenth and racial uplift strategies shifted over his life. No one book could cover all of Du Bois' perspective, but this dissertation works to explain Du Bois' perspective in the 1920s. Though Du Bois continued to work with the Pan-African Congress until his death, his influence in the Congress was strongest in the 1920s..

⁹⁷ Clarence G. Contee, "Du Bois, the NAACP, and The Pan-African Congress of 1919," *The Journal of Negro History* 57, no. 1 (1972): 13; Henry Bishop McNeal Turner was a Black nationalist racial uplift advocate of the late 19th century. Andre E. Johnson, *The Forgotten Prophet: Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and the African American Prophetic Tradition*, (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014), 9-10. Edward Blyden was an African intellectual of the late 19th century. Blyden's arguments for a united Africa and a respect for African history produced a foundation for Du Bois' Pan-Africanism. Thomas H. Herinksen, "African Intellectual Influences on Black Americans: The Role of Edward W. Blyden," *Phylon* 36, no. 3 (1975): 282.

⁹⁸ Aheed Adejumboi, "The Pan-African Congresses, 1900-1945," *Blackpast*, <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/pan-african-congresses-1900-1945/>.

⁹⁹ "New York Tribune," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921- 2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 32.

¹⁰⁰ W.E.B. Du Bois, "W.E.B. Du Bois to Charles Evans Hughes, U.S. Secretary of State," In *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers; Volume IX: Africa for Africans 1921-1922*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 3.

¹⁰¹ Record of Miss Rosalia Phylor's certification as a member of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Box Miscellaneous, Folder 1, Universal Negro Improvement Association Central Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library.

¹⁰² "African Redemption Fund," *Negro World*, September 3, 1921.

¹⁰³ Paul Stob, "Black Hands Push Back: Reconsidering the Rhetoric of Booker T. Washington," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 104, no. 2 (2018): 151.

¹⁰⁴ Frank B. Wilderson, *Red, White, & Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010) 1-5.

¹⁰⁵ Robert Asen and Daniel Brouwer, eds., *Counterpublics and The State* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 1-10; Robert Asen, "Imagining in the Public Sphere," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 35, no. 3 (2002): 345-7; Robert Asen, "Critical Engagement through Public Sphere Scholarship," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 101, no. 1 (2015): 135-7; Robert Asen, "Neoliberalism, the Public Sphere, and a Public Good," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 103, no.4 (2017): 330.

¹⁰⁶ Kara Keeling, "Looking for M--: Queer Temporality, Black Political Possibility, and Poetry from the Future," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 15, no. 4 (2009): 566.

¹⁰⁷ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, Trans. Charles Lam Markmann. (New York: Groves Press, 1967), 229.

¹⁰⁸ G. Mitchell Reyes and Kundai Chirindo, "Theorizing Race and Gender in the Anthropocene," *Women's Studies in Communication* 43, no. 4 (2020): 439.

Chapter 3: UNIA Leaders' Rhetoric of Champions

In 1926, Amy Jacques Garvey published Marcus Garvey's "An Appeal to the Conscience of the Black Race to See Itself," in *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey or Africa for the Africans*. In his "Appeal," Marcus Garvey charged, "Let us not try to be the best or worst of others but let us make the effort to be the best of ourselves."¹ Garvey's direction that members of the UNIA should "make the effort to be the best of" themselves reflected a development toward focusing more on what leaders had done and would do when promoting Black self-determination. Between 1918 and 1922, the UNIA amassed large levels of acclaim.² In his January of 1922 Address to the Brooklyn Division, Marcus Garvey assessed, "In the space of four years it [the UNIA] has made the circuit of the world . . . Others did not make us; we made ourselves. We are first in the history of the race, with the scope and power to be found in the U.N.I.A."³ Garvey's assertion affirmed that UNIA leaders' support of Black self-determination had secured for them a coveted place as a leading racial uplift organization. Yet, from the end of 1922 until 1925, UNIA leaders would have to change tactics to defend their crown by "be[ing] the best" of themselves. As 1921 turned into 1922, Cyril Briggs colluded with multiple levels of the US government to challenge the UNIA by presenting charges against Marcus Garvey for libel and then mail fraud.⁴ As Garvey's legal troubles piled up, fracturing within the UNIA forced leaders to fight battles on multiple fronts.⁵ By 1923, leaders had begun to understand the seriousness of their situation. The July 7, 1923, issue of the *Negro World* reads, "We appeal to and urge you to keep concrete faith with your leader and your organization at this time, more so than ever. We are going through a crisis now." The article continued, "so let those of you who are sincere and honest work toward the accomplishment of the ideals for which our father," Marcus Garvey, "holds dearest to his heart."⁶ William Ferris' inclusion of the "Appeal for

Sincerity” in the *Negro World* reflected the approach of UNIA leaders to the problems persisting as 1923 became 1924. UNIA leaders understood that they were going through a “crisis” but believed their best option was to remain committed to the “ideals” of Garvey.

From 1922 until 1925, UNIA leaders used words to keep envisioning their public as one capable of supporting all Black people as their organization fell apart. As the UNIA began to decline, leaders continued to build on their belief in Black self-determination. In “Refusing to Die,” Rico Self and Ashley Hall contend that “worldmaking” can “challenge, resist, and transform conventional (normative) anti-Black registers.”⁷ Building with Self and Hall, I understand UNIA leaders’ world-making from 1922 to 1925 as an articulation of expectations and evaluations that departed from the “conventional (normative) anti-Black registers” of their time.⁸ Leaders of the UNIA continued to advocate for Black self-determination while being attacked by other racial uplift leaders and the US government.⁹ In “Wild Public Screens,” Kevin Deluca and Elizabeth Brunner note, “Democracy and its accoutrements hamper activism and social change. In practice in the United States, over time, institutional protection has produced domesticated public spheres and tamed free speech.”¹⁰ In 1922-1925, FBI agents worked to protect US institutions by attempting to repress Garvey and domesticate the UNIA.¹¹ Building alongside Deluca and Brunner, in *What Democracy Looks Like*, Catherine Palczewski and Kelsy Harr-Lagin affirm the need to “pay attention to power relations and to the various types of publics that form in one’s society.”¹² Following the separate insights of these authors, this chapter illustrates how UNIA leaders resisted the hampering of their “activism” and engaged “power relations” inside and outside of their organization. In *Check it While I Wreck It*, Gwendolyn Pough argues that “historically” Black people have had to reshape the “public Gaze.”¹³ UNIA

leaders' rhetoric reveals a strategy they passed on to future generations—a rhetoric that shows how to continue to shape one's own gaze while being blitzed. In this chapter, I contend UNIA leaders' rhetoric between 1922 and 1925 exemplified a *rhetoric of champions*.

UNIA leaders produced a rhetoric of champions by evaluating their own worthiness and expecting future success while being attacked on multiple fronts. As I conceive of UNIA leaders' champion rhetoric, I build with the afterimage of the boxing prize-fighters from bygone years. UNIA leaders' rhetoric of champions resembled the struggle of all-time greats like Jack Johnson, Mohammed Ali, and Laila Ali.¹⁴ In their, "Muhammad Ali's Fighting Words," Ellen Gorsevski and Michael Butterworth "recover" Ali's use of "a strategic rhetoric of blackness' to heighten his anti-war stance."¹⁵ Building on Gorsevski and Butterworth, John Jordan explains that David Ortiz' standing as a champion created an opportunity for him to promote "unity."¹⁶ Extending the arguments of these scholars, I illuminate how UNIA leaders used a "strategic rhetoric" born from their belief in Black self-determination to connect Black people and try to sustain a positive view of their public as a good option for all Black people as the organization they built fell apart. What I am calling a rhetoric of champions can be characterized by three criteria: (1) a consistent concern with evaluating one's own actions; (2) an incessant expectation of future success; (3) a response to institutional repression. UNIA leaders' rhetoric showed an awareness of the seriousness of their situation, but an overriding commitment to the belief that they could continue to help Black people. As leaders of the UNIA dealt with the backlash from becoming one of the leading racial uplift organizations of the 1920s, leaders stayed focused

on what the UNIA had done and would do.¹⁷ As with boxing, champions often face challenges.

UNIA leaders were challenged chiefly by Cyril Briggs. Cyril Briggs began to challenge the UNIA in his *Crusader*.¹⁸ Briggs emboldened his challenge by working with the FBI to undermine the UNIA's actions.¹⁹ Briggs was not the only racial uplift leader to challenge Garvey and the UNIA. Other racial uplift leaders like J. W. H. Eason and A. Philip Randolph orchestrated the "Garvey Must Go" campaign in an effort to expel Marcus Garvey from the United States.²⁰ Leaders of the NAACP, like James Weldon Johnson and W.E.B. Du Bois, published and circulated articles that were critical of the UNIA's business practices.²¹ Though Briggs may not be the most well-known challenger of the UNIA, his challenge to the UNIA may have been the most significant. In the introduction to the fourth volume of *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, historian Robert Hill notes, "By a strange irony, considering his communist leanings, Briggs became the first person to supply federal investigators with evidence that led to Garvey's eventual indictment on charges of mail fraud."²² Briggs' challenge may be the most significant as it was the one that took Garvey off the streets.

Turning to how UNIA leaders responded to the challenge posed by the FBI and Cyril Briggs reveals how world-making based on Black self-determination can be used to produce a positive view during troubling times. When responding to the vitriol spilled by Cyril Briggs, UNIA leaders focused on what the UNIA had done and would do. Despite their problems, leaders of the UNIA continued to describe their public as one capable of supporting the hopes and dreams of four hundred million Black people. Following Garvey's conviction, the pages of the *Negro World* made clear the intent of UNIA leaders

to continue to do the work the UNIA was founded to do. The June 23, 1923 issue of the *Negro World* read, “The Universal Negro Improvement Association is capable of doing what it says it will. Four hundred million Negroes are capable of lifting themselves, even after one failure, to many other successes.”²³ William Ferris’ editorial inclusion of Garvey’s belief that the UNIA “is capable of doing what it says it will” even after “one failure” exemplifies a rhetoric of champions. Even after the failure of the Black Star line and the imprisonment of Marcus Garvey, UNIA leaders continued to believe they could lead a public that would succeed in supporting Black self-determination. Leaders’ rhetoric of champions illuminates both how they brought people together and viewed their public as their organization fell apart. Investigating UNIA leaders’ rhetoric of champions illustrates a strategy for racial uplift capable of building without tearing down.

This chapter is broken up into four sections to illuminate how leaders of the UNIA articulated a rhetoric of champions. The first section recounts the events that led to Marcus Garvey’s imprisonment and the challenge posed by Cyril Briggs. The first section sets the stage for the second by explaining the conditions that challenged and eventually overpowered the UNIA. The second section builds on the first by illuminating leaders’ view of their public and focusing on the rhetoric of UNIA leaders as an example of the rhetoric of champions. The second section reveals how UNIA leaders’ rhetoric remained committed to evaluating their own abilities and expecting future success by focusing on the words of Henrietta Vinton Davis, William Ferris, T. Thomas Fortune, William Sherill, Amy Jacques Garvey, and Marcus Garvey.²⁴ This chapter concludes by explicating how UNIA leaders’ espousal of a rhetoric of champions can expand rhetorical scholars’ thinking on racial uplift strategies, world-making, and publics.

Garvey's Bad Business Practices, Briggs' Challenge, and the Decline of the UNIA

The economic failure of the Black Star Line contributed to the decline of the UNIA. After the reincorporation of the UNIA in 1918, Garvey set out to establish a shipping line that would ship goods and allow Black people to be transported back to Africa. As Garvey developed his plans for the BSL, he sought out the advice of a trusted colleague who urged him not to buy boats. Garvey hastily founded the BSL anyway. During the development of the BSL, Garvey made some mistakes in a good faith effort to build a Black shipping line to support a Black nation. Garvey's impertinent business practices during the early days of the BSL bankrupted the business and left the UNIA vulnerable to attack.

While developing plans for the BSL, Garvey sought the advice of more well-established racial uplift leader Ida B. Wells. Wells was born in Holly Spring, Mississippi in 1862. Wells' parents died when she was a teenager, and she was left to raise herself and her younger siblings. Wells began to teach to support her family. Wells parlayed her teaching skills into a career in journalism.²⁵ Wells possessed so much prowess as a journalist that she became known "as Iola, the 'Princess of the Press'" by the end of the 1880s.²⁶ After the death of her friend Thomas Moss, Wells began a successful public speaking career that included her 1893, "Lynch Law in All of its Phases."²⁷ After the 1890s, Wells continued to fight for Black equality. Wells was a founding member of the NAACP. Wells was also appointed as the UNIA's delegate to the Paris Peace Conference that birthed the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.²⁸ Wells' appointment to such an important post for the UNIA suggests that she was well trusted by the person doing the appointing—Marcus Garvey. Though it seems Garvey trusted Wells, he did not always take her advice. One

example of Garvey disregarding Wells' advice is the swiftness with which he founded the BSL. Before the founding of the BSL, Wells warned Garvey against the endeavor. Wells noted, "Mr. Garvey had spent a couple of hours acquainting me with his idea of establishing what he called the Black Star Line . . . I advised him to defer the matter."²⁹ Disregarding Wells' warning, Garvey established the BSL on June 16, 1919. Originally the BSL was planned as a combination of shipping boats and passenger boats that could support the passage of Black people throughout the world back to Africa.³⁰

There were two major problems lurking in the early business practices of the BSL. First, funding for the BSL was solicited by including fliers in the nationally-circulated *Negro World* that promoted a ship the UNIA did not own. The ads for the BSL changed over time. The early BSL ads were cartoonish. For example, in multiple issues of the *Negro World* between August and September of 1921, the BSL ad featured a cartooned Garvey pointing at a world map with a caption that read: "You Work Hard For Your Money Why Not Make it Work For You?"³¹ The early BSL ads seemed to reflect UNIA leaders' commitment to self-determination but were somewhat vague about what the BSL stood to offer potential investors. The change to the BSL ads was the tipping point of trouble for the UNIA. In November of 1921, the look of the BSL ad was distinct. The carton had been left by the wayside, and the ad invited readers to "Book Your Passage Now," "By the S.S. "Phyllis Wheatley."³² The BSL did not own the "Phyllis Wheatley." In fact, the "Phyllis Wheatley" was a ship named the Orion.

Leaders of the UNIA attempted to purchase the Orion from the US government but never completed the purchase. The BSL's attempt to buy the Orion were stifled by an FBI agent's advocacy and the BSL's lack of purchasing power. FBI agent Frank Burke wrote

to the manager of the shipping board, A. J. Frey, suggesting Garvey was “the President of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, the communist party which is affiliated with the Russian Soviet Government and . . . a ra[d]ical agitator.” Burke claimed that Garvey taught “the over-throw of the United States Government by force and violence.”³³ Burke’s butting in on the BSL’s deal suggests that Burke did not want the UNIA to purchase the Orion. Beyond the unsolicited complaints of Bureau agents, the BSL also had a cash flow problem. Leaders of the UNIA were having trouble attaining a loan to complete the purchase of the Orion. In September of 1921, the Manager of the Ship Sales Division, J. Harry Philibin wrote, “On August 2, 1921, the Board by formal resolution accepted the offer of the Black Star Line to purchase the ex-German steamship ORION” but because the UNIA had not secured the necessary loan to pay for the Orion after a “month,” the Board concluded that there were “no indications . . . that the purchasers will be able to carry out their offer.” In response, Philibin “recommended that the Board formally cancel” the “sale.”³⁴ Leaders eventually attained the loan they needed. In January of 1922, Philibin wrote that the legal division was “drawing up appropriate legal documents” and “the closing of the sale” was in process.³⁵ Before the documents could be drawn up, the initial complaint against Garvey for mail fraud was made. In January of 1922, Assistant United States Attorney, Maurice Joyce, filed a complaint against Garvey alleging that he had used the mail to defraud members of the United States.³⁶ Joyce’s complaint brought an end to UNIA leader’s attempts to purchase the Orion. Beyond the problem of raising funds for a ship they didn’t have was the economic burden of the ships the BSL did have.

The second cause of the BSL’s collapse was the purchase of the S.S. Yarmouth. In an October of 1921, internal FBI report, Special agent J.G. Tucker, stated, “It has been

learned that the finances of both the Black Star Line and the Universal Negro Improvement Association are in very bad condition. The employees of both organizations have been unpaid for the past several weeks and money is coming in very slow.”³⁷ The central cause of the UNIA and BSL’s cash flow problems was the S.S. Yarmouth. The S.S. Yarmouth was a steamship built in 1887. The Yarmouth was not the best ship but provided hope across the African diaspora.³⁸ Due to its age, the Yarmouth required an untenable amount of upkeep and maintenance. The cost associated with keeping up with the Yarmouth eventually bankrupted the business.³⁹ As the BSL fought of bankruptcy, enemies of the UNIA leapt at the opportunity to take advantage of the organization’s vulnerability.

Cyril Briggs’ Challenge

Cyril Briggs colluded with US officials to challenge Garvey and the UNIA. The information Briggs provided the FBI gave them the tools they needed to repress Garvey and knock down the UNIA. The UNIA was so easily toppled because of Garvey’s mismanagement of money and people throughout the early years of the UNIA. Garvey’s past mistakes in managing the BSL came back to haunt him and halted the movement.

Cyril Valentine Briggs was a communist, a racial uplift organizer, and a journalist.⁴⁰ As part of his effort to promote Black life, Briggs founded and edited the *Crusader*—an anti-capitalist newspaper. Briggs was also a founding member of the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB).⁴¹ In his work with the ABB, Briggs worked to combine the cause of Black Americans with communists. In the 1920s, Briggs’ ABB never reached the heights of popularity enjoyed by the UNIA.⁴²

As the success of the UNIA grew, Briggs conveyed a concern with making sure leaders of the UNIA failed. Early on, Briggs was critical of the business practices of the UNIA and Marcus Garvey. In the July 1920 issue of the *Crusader*, Briggs devoted over a

third of the issue to the program of the UNIA. Briggs asserted, “That Mr. Garvey has yet to issue a statement on the affairs of the Black Star Line.” Briggs blamed Garvey’s lack of transparency on the “unbusiness-like . . . share-holders who meet at ‘Liberty Hall’” and “the negligence” of Garvey.”⁴³ Briggs’ assessment of UNIA members as “unbusiness-like” alluded to the center of Briggs’ concern.⁴⁴ Briggs’ problem with Garvey and the UNIA was an outgrowth of both jealousy of the UNIA’s quick success and legitimate concern for the US Black masses.

Briggs was jealous of the acclaim the UNIA received. Briggs believed that he deserved credit for originating some of the ideas for which the UNIA had received acclaim. In an open letter to William Ferris, published in the *Crusader*, Briggs wrote, “Will you not whisper into Mr. Garvey’s ear that documentary evidence—such as newspaper files, etc., as to who began the ‘Africa for Africans’ propaganda is still in existence” and therefore it is “unwise for him to attempt to pose as the originator of that philosophy.”⁴⁵ Briggs’ allusion to the idea that he originated the idea of an “Africa for the Africans” is emblematic of his challenger approach.⁴⁶ Briggs’ letter to Ferris foregrounded that he was concerned with others. Briggs characterized his challenger approach when unwittingly speaking to an FBI informant. Reporting to George F. Ruch, Confidential Informant 800 wrote, “In re: Briggs, I have just had a long talk with him” and “He [Briggs] says that his next issue of his magazine will [be] full of propaganda against Garvey.” Informant 800 continued, “He [Briggs] also says that now that he has started the destruction of Garvey’s organization it is now time that he starts the construction of his own.”⁴⁷ Briggs’ preoccupation with the destruction of the UNIA evinces his interest in tearing things down. As the popularity of

the UNIA continued to rise, Briggs became more ardent in his attempts to stifle the UNIA. Briggs concretized his challenge by colluding with the US government to imprison Garvey.

Cyril Briggs actively colluded with the US government to challenge Marcus Garvey and the UNIA. Early in his campaign to challenge Garvey and the UNIA, Briggs filed a complaint of libel against the *Negro World*. On October 22, 1921, the *Negro World* ran an ad that read, “White Man, Negro For Convenience, A White Man in New York by the Name of Cyril Briggs has started the African Blood Brotherhood.”⁴⁸ Briggs was offended that the *Negro World* suggested he was a white man and filed suit in New York against Marcus Garvey. Confidential Informant 800 reported the following to George F. Ruch on the matter, “Cyril Briggs has served a summons on Garvey for criminal libel. I have been telling Briggs that the article in the Negro World about Briggs being a white man was libel, Briggs went to the district attorney and he issued a summons for Garvey.”⁴⁹ Briggs’ initial attempt was unsuccessful. The *Negro World* published an apology for Briggs and confirmed he was a Black man. When libel lawsuits failed, Briggs turned to the post office as an avenue to oust Garvey. A 1921 FBI report notes, “Cyril Briggs, Editor of ‘The Crusader,’ has been endeavoring to get the Post Office Department to take action against Marcus Garvey and the Black Star Line for having used the United States mails to defraud its shareholders.”⁵⁰ Briggs’ inquiry with the post office reflected a concern for how the UNIA was raising so much money so quickly.

Briggs’ suspicion about the business practices of the Black Star Line had basis. According to FBI records, Briggs feared that Garvey was swindling poor Black people to garner money for the Black Star Line. FBI records held by the US government indicate, “His [Briggs’] charge against the subject is based upon copy of a circular issued by the

Black Star Line, the outer page of which carries a photograph of a large freighter with the name ‘Phyllis Wheatley.’” The report continues, “While it is not stated in this circular that the ‘Phyllis Wheatly’ is owned by the Black Star Line, the entire effect is to lead one falsely to that impression.”⁵¹ Briggs’ fears were well grounded. The UNIA did not own the “Phyllis Wheatley.” In fact, the lack of ownership of the Phyllis Wheatley was the catalyst for the culmination of what had been years of attempts by the US government to capture Garvey and weaken the UNIA. Briggs’ complaint about the Black Star Line was the lead the FBI needed to impede the influence of Garvey and the UNIA.⁵²

The FBI Finally Finds Reason to Forestall the UNIA

Before the FBI had a reason to investigate, they were keeping watch on Garvey and other leaders of the UNIA. After Briggs’ complaint to the post office, the FBI had the lead they needed to imprison Garvey. FBI agents took active steps to make sure that Garvey would not get away this time.⁵³

When watching the UNIA, FBI agents were not only interested in Garvey but other members. In his November 5, 1921, report to J. Edgar Hoover, Ruch, wrote, “In discussing the general situation of Garvey’s movements with confidential informant #800” the informant “suggests that Duse Mahammed [sic] Ali, who resides at 230 West 136th Street, be covered to ascertain the nature of his activities. According to 800, Ali is in this country as a representative of some British concern and is endeavoring to interest Garvey and other negroes at Harlem.”⁵⁴ The FBI agent’s interest in Muhammed suggested the seriousness with which they approached shutting down the UNIA. Duse Muhammed Ali was a mentor to Garvey before the founding of the UNIA and played an important role in the early days of the UNIA in Jamaica. The agent’s fear of Muhammed reflected that they were interested in not only Garvey’s movement but who he might turn to for help. Though interested in

more than Garvey, FBI agents were chiefly interested in Garvey's movement building. In a 1921 report, Ruch tracked the movements of Marcus Garvey and expressed concern for the speed at which the message and influence of the UNIA was spreading. Ruch noted, "I will report that he will be in Washington on Dec. 5th and 6th . . . He will hold large meetings in each of the above cities." Ruch continued, "He will flood this country, the West Indies and Africa with all kinds of propaganda, and no doubt will increase his field agents in a great extent."⁵⁵ Ruch's report is an exemplar for the fear champions cause in challengers. Ruch's fear erased any "doubt" that Garvey would succeed in his task. Ruch's apprehension about Garvey spreading "propaganda" was confirmed by Briggs' information on the Black Star Line.

After Briggs' tip, the FBI's fear formed into a forceful case. FBI Agents worked to use Garvey's mismanagement of the BSL as a tool to repress him and weaken the UNIA. First, FBI Agents requested the aid of the post office. In his letter to Chief Inspector of the Post Office Rush D. Simmons, William J. Burns wrote, "I respectfully request you have assigned a competent post office inspector, who can go over the information procured by us and work with our agents" in making a "case against Garvey."⁵⁶ Second, after reaching out to the post office, FBI agents consolidated their evidence. In his report to Ruch, Confidential Informant 800 explained, "I will numerate some of the violations: in the issues [of the *Negro World* in] January and February of this year you will find advertis[e]ments for the sailing of the ship Yarmouth on March 27, 1921" but the "ship has never sailed and books kept by Mason," and "Thompson, secretary of the Black Star Line, will show that only part of this money has been returned to pa[ssengers.]"⁵⁷ Informant 800 concluded, "Again you will find pictures of ships that were suppose[ed to have] been purchased by the

Black Star Line.”⁵⁸ In his statement to the post office inspector, Vice-President of the BSL, Orlando Thompson, corroborated Informant 800’s assessment. Thompson told Special Agent M. J. Davis in front of Post Office Inspector O.B. Williamson that, “The point in the [wh]ole issue as to the Orion is that the Shipping Board until recently was not able to set the exact terms under which we could get the Orion.” When asked, if the Orion was “the ship that was to be named the Phyllis Wheatly,” Thompson responded, “Yes sir.”⁵⁹ Thompson’s statement to the Special Agent supported Informant 800’s supposition. Ships had been misrepresented as property of the BSL, people paid for passage and did not receive it, and Marcus Garvey and the leaders of the BSL were both financially and legally culpable. The dire economic conditions that left the UNIA vulnerable to Briggs and the FBI’s challenge had been coming since 1919. And, with the information informant 800 had amassed on the Black Star Line, the US government had what it needed to challenge Garvey and the UNIA with the incarceration of Marcus Garvey.

Garvey’s Missteps and the Trial that Tore Down the UNIA

More than financial problems led to the UNIA’s fall from prominence in the United States. Before the Black Star Line capsized, infighting amongst UNIA leadership began to spell the end for the UNIA. Infighting between leaders was often a result of differing views of what should be done to help Black people. Throughout the rise and fall of the UNIA, Garvey and UNIA leaders continued to view their public as a strong one created by Black people for Black people. UNIA leaders’ desire to lead Black people led them to sometimes take unnecessary risks. The unnecessary risk of promoting a ship they did not own but were in the process of purchasing prompted the end of the UNIA.

Garvey’s sometimes authoritarian leadership style led some leaders, like W.A. Domingo, to leave the UNIA and become detractors. The thread that ties together the

different versions of the UNIA in the period this project covers is Marcus Garvey's leadership. In many cases, the UNIA was defined by Garvey's views and leaders that could not live with that were shown the door. Domingo was the original literary editor of the *Negro World* from 1918 until 1919.⁶⁰ In October of 1921, after being shown the door, and developing into a foe of the UNIA, Domingo wrote for the *Crusader*, "Ever since Marcus Garvey, president-general of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, president of the African Communities League," rose "into prominence as a race leader, he has sought to give the impression that all the enterprises of which he is virtual dictator, are typical and representative of the best efforts of Negroes."⁶¹ Domingo's description of Garvey as a "virtual dictator," reflects a recurring theme that contributed to the downfall of the UNIA. Sometimes, Garvey's extra hands-on relationship to efforts the UNIA undertook rubbed people the wrong way. For example, Marcus Garvey's inability to bring Bishop George Alexander McGuire back into the fold after their falling out tarnished the UNIA's reputation.⁶²

Bishop George Alexander McGuire's departure from the UNIA made public the cracks in UNIA leaders' unity. Bishop George Alexander McGuire served as the chaplain-general of the UNIA. McGuire was born on March 26, 1866, in Sweets, Antigua. After coming to the United States in 1895, McGuire joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church and eventually founded the African Orthodox Church in New York City. McGuire joined the UNIA in 1919.⁶³ As McGuire rose as a prominent member of the UNIA, he was appointed chaplain-general of the UNIA. In his role as chaplain-general, McGuire was vested with the authority to solicit members for funds for holy purposes. McGuire overused his power to prod UNIA members for money. After "many complaints" from "branches of

the Universal Negro Improvement Association” about McGuire, Garvey wrote to McGuire, “I am reluctant t[o] make a public statement in our paper . . . because I do not want to harm you in the least, but . . . I have to take this medium of asking you to stop circularizing our members and officers.”⁶⁴ Garvey’s reprimand of McGuire suggested that McGuire had overstepped, but that Garvey continued to hold McGuire in a high regard. McGuire responded to Garvey’s remark by leaving the UNIA. McGuire wrote back, “In order that I may be perfectly free to correspond with whom I wish, without accusation from you of unfairness, I herewith resign my position as Honorary Chaplain General and membership.” McGuire continued, “No public statement you may make in ‘The Negro World,’ if based on your letter and my reply, will do me harm. Please publish them both.”⁶⁵ Garvey did exactly that. Garvey and McGuire’s exchange was published in the November 5, 1921, issue of the *Negro World*.⁶⁶ Shortly after McGuire and Garvey’s exchange was exposed in the pages of the *Negro World*, McGuire joined the African Blood Brotherhood. The December 31, 1921, issue of the *Negro World* warned, “Negroes to Beware of African Blood Brotherhood.” The *Negro World* further argued that as a member of the ABB, McGuire was “actively co-operating with soviets.”⁶⁷ The public falling out between Garvey and McGuire was embarrassing yet trivial in comparison to the fracturing that would come from the loss of cordial correspondence with West-Coast UNIA leader Noah Thompson.

The falling out between Marcus Garvey and Noah Thompson forestalled the national force of the UNIA. Thompson was not a national leader for the UNIA.⁶⁸ Instead, Thompson was the leader of the Los Angeles chapter of the UNIA and the California delegate to the 2nd UNIA convention.⁶⁹ Amidst the economic troubles faced by the BSL and

the UNIA, Thompson aggravated Garvey by demanding a financial report on the BSL and the business of the UNIA. A report by Bureau Agent A. A. Hopkins reads, “Noah Thompson, on the floor of the Convention, questioned the financial dealings of Marcus Garvey, both in connection with the Black Star Line and the U.N.I.A.” Hopkins report continued, “[Thompson] forced the publishing of a financial report and attacked the accuracy of the same.”⁷⁰ Thompson’s tirade at the 2nd UNIA convention was a precursor to his full development into a detractor of the UNIA. After Thompson’s performance at the convention, Garvey took action to remove Thompson from leadership of the Los Angeles division. Thompson responded by forming his own racial uplift group, with a strikingly similar name. Thompson named his organization The Pacific Coast Universal Negro Improvement Association.⁷¹ The split between Garvey and Thompson limited the national influence of the UNIA. By losing California, the UNIA in the US context became less of a national and more of a regionally-influential organization. In a last-ditch effort to bring California back under UNIA influence, Garvey sent “American Leader” J.W. Eason to California.⁷² Eason did not succeed in bolstering UNIA leaders’ influence in California. More than just failing at one task, some of Eason’s missteps as an “American Leader” of the UNIA would lead to a messy and deflating departure for Eason from the movement at the 3rd UNIA convention.

J.W. Eason’s break with the UNIA blew up the 3rd UNIA convention. At the first UNIA convention, Eason was named the “American Leader” of the UNIA.⁷³ As American Leader, Eason was vested with authority and oversight over the United States divisions of the UNIA. Eason used his power for personal gain. At the 3rd UNIA convention, there was a trial held to investigate Eason’s practices as American Leader. On the 23rd day of the

third UNIA convention, Marcus Garvey charged Eason with, “1. Issuing checks to divisions and members of the U.N.I.A. in bad faith . . . 2. Borrowing money from members of the U.N.I.A. as an officer without any authority to do so. 3. Disobeying the orders of the President-General in violation of the constitution of the U.N.I.A.” Garvey also charged Eason with “Uttering statements and making charges against the President-General and Administrator that tend to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the U.N.I.A.”⁷⁴ Garvey’s qualm with Eason reflected the milieu of the moment for the UNIA. Eason, like most in the UNIA, was short on money. Beyond being short on cash, Eason had the gall to generate criticism of Garvey. During his trial at the convention, Eason was found guilty of moving money in a way that he was not allowed. Later that same day, “Mr. J.W. Eason” was declared “impeached.”⁷⁵ After being impeached, Eason charged Marcus Garvey with violating the UNIA constitution. As the convention reports reflect, “Eason endeavored to prove that the President General was incompetent to manage the entire affairs of the association.” Specifically, Eason “alleged that moneys raised for special purposes had not been used for the purposes for which they had been raised” and “the President General had violated the constitution in not permitting elected officers of the association to function in their proper positions.”⁷⁶ Eason’s indictment of Garvey centered on his concern about how Garvey too had misappropriated funds and Garvey’s overly hands-on approach to leadership. Eason’s concerns about Garvey were never fully resolved. Instead, the fact that Eason was “behind in his dues” disqualified his indictment of Garvey and the convention moved on. After such an embarrassing experience at the 3rd UNIA convention, Eason moved on as well. Eason left the UNIA to join Austin Norris and form the Universal Negro

Alliance.⁷⁷ Eason and Garvey's falling out was the result of mistakes in managing the Black Star Line. The mismanagement of the BSL was the final nail in the UNIA's coffin.

The practices of leaders of the BSL while staving off bankruptcy brought on legal problems.⁷⁸ Garvey's bad business practices left the UNIA vulnerable to federal prosecution. Garvey's codefendants painted a picture of Garvey's efforts to support the BSL that made him look guilty of mail fraud. Garvey's conviction for mail fraud was the impetus for UNIA leaders' espousal of a rhetoric of champions.

Marcus Garvey, Elie Garcia, Orlando M. Thompson, and George Tobias were indicted for mail fraud.⁷⁹ Assistant US Attorney Maurice Joyce, in front of Hon. Samuel M. Hitchcock, stated, "On and before May 24, 1921, Marcus Garvey," did "unlawfully, willfully and knowingly devise and intend to devise a scheme and artifice to defraud" and "by means of false and fraudulent representations, pretenses and promises induce," individuals "to pay and transmit to him, the said defendant, money and property for purchase of stock in the Black Star Line."⁸⁰ Hitchcock's complaint assumed that Garvey had intentionally aimed to swindle Black Americans into buying stock in the BSL. Moreover, Hitchcock's complaint asserted that Garvey took such actions not to create a country in Africa but for personal gain. During the trial, Garvey's co-defendants corroborated Hitchcock's complaint with distinct yet equally damaging reports of the affairs of the BSL.

Orlando M. Thompson, the Vice-President of the BSL, testified that he never believed in the mission of the UNIA. Thompson was an immigrant who had come to the US in 1907. Thompson had worked with Garvey for two months before being named the Vice-President of the BSL. In his testimony, Thompson stated, "I do not believe in the

methods pursued to effect colonization.” Thompson also testified, “I [th]ink it is absurd to build up an independent government.”⁸¹ Thompson’s testimony weakened the view that the practices of the BSL were a good faith effort to develop a free and unified Africa. Thompson’s, ostensibly, honest opinion suggested that the BSL was not an organization bent toward freedom but instead an economic plot to fill the pockets of Marcus Garvey. The weakening of Garvey’s defense by Thompson’s accusations were buttressed by Elie Garcia’s assessment of BSL business practices.

Elie Garcia explained that the BSL was on its way to bankruptcy well before the trial. Garcia was a Haitian citizen that got involved with the BSL as a stock seller.⁸² Unlike Thompson, Garcia believed in the project the UNIA was attempting to develop. Beyond being the secretary of the BSL, Garcia was also the emissary to Liberia for the UNIA.⁸³ Though Garcia believed in Black self-determination, Garcia was honest when asked about the financial situation facing the BSL. When asked about the finances of the BSL, Garcia confirmed the BSL was “short of cash” because of “the boat.” In January of 1922, Garcia offered, “that since the month of September we have not been paid our salaries.”⁸⁴ Garcia’s account highlighted that the accounts of the BSL were already empty. Garcia’s lamentation illustrated that the idea of buying a new boat was ludicrous at best. In combination, the testimony of Thompson and Garcia drew a damning picture of the BSL. Thompson and Garcia’s testimony provided an account of UNIA leaders’ public as not a beacon for Black hopes but a suck on Black funds. Thompson and Garcia’s perspectives made it seem as if the BSL had no real intention to ascend to being a shipping line capable of carrying the goods and dreams of Black people across the world. And, even if it did, the dire economic

conditions of the BSL highlighted the attempt to purchase the Phyllis Wheatly as foolhardy at best and manipulative at worst.

After months of testimony, only Marcus Garvey was convicted of mail fraud on June 18, 1923.⁸⁵ In convicting Garvey, the court affirmed an evaluation of events different from the one espoused by Garvey and leaders of the UNIA. Directly following Garvey's conviction, UNIA leaders worked to appeal Garvey's conviction on the grounds that he had not intentionally defrauded people. From the perspective of many inside the UNIA, Garvey had not intended to swindle people but faltered in his first attempt to make good on his promise to provide Black people with a ship on which they could place their hopes and dreams.⁸⁶ Despite large amounts of support and advocacy by UNIA leaders and members between 1923 and 1925, Garvey's appeal was denied in 1925. Following the denial of his appeal, Garvey was imprisoned in the Atlanta penitentiary.⁸⁷ The challenge orchestrated by Cyril Briggs with the help of FBI officials made UNIA leaders' public look less like a bastion of Black self-determination and more like plot to swindle poor Black people. UNIA leaders responded to what to them was an inaccurate depiction of Marcus Garvey's efforts and their public by espousing their own evaluations of what had happened and expectations for what was to come. Up to and following Garvey's confinement in Atlanta, leaders of the UNIA expressed their own evaluations and expectations to produce a positive view of their public.

The Champ Is Here: UNIA Leaders Losing Marcus Garvey

Leaders of the UNIA exemplified a rhetoric of champions by incessantly focusing on themselves and remaining committed to a belief in future success. Before Garvey was convicted, UNIA leaders evaluated the previous success of the UNIA and expected that more success was on the horizon. In the immediate aftermath of Garvey's conviction, his

most loyal leaders continued to focus on the success of the UNIA while accounting for the failures of the BSL. As Garvey's appeal dragged on, infighting in the UNIA forced leaders, like Amy Jacques Garvey, to remain focused on themselves and continue to predict success when speaking to people inside and outside of the UNIA. From 1922-1925, UNIA leaders continued to define their past and present for themselves and viewed their public as still capable of supporting Black self-determination while the organization they built broke down.

A diverse set of leaders worked to support Black self-determination as Marcus Garvey's situation went from bad to worse. In 1922, at the 3rd UNIA convention, Marcus Garvey was re-elected President-General of the UNIA, William Sherrill was elected Second Assistant President-General, and Henrietta Vinton Davis was elected Fourth Assistant President-General, effectively making her the leader of the lady's division.⁸⁸ Also at the 3rd convention, William Ferris resigned his post as Assistant President-General. Ferris resigned his post due to "certain causes, among them being that his candidacy for Congress may develop into a real contest."⁸⁹ Ferris' resignation marked a beginning of a decline in his role in the UNIA. Ferris resigned from the *Negro World* in 1923 and was replaced by T. Thomas Fortune. Fortune edited the *Negro World* from September 1923 until his death in 1928. As 1923 turned into 1924 and Garvey's trial became more tenuous, Amy Jacques Garvey took on a more active role in the UNIA. In February of 1924, Jacques Garvey began editing the "Our Women and What they Think" section of the *Negro World*. Though Jacques Garvey did not have an official position on the Executive Council, she exerted so much influence while Marcus Garvey was imprisoned that the 1924 convention passed a resolution to "convey the Convention's thanks to Mrs. Amy Jacques-Garvey for

the valuable assistance rendered her husband.”⁹⁰ Turning to the words of Vinton Davis, Ferris, Fortune, Jacques Garvey, and Sherill alongside Marcus Garvey’s before, during, and after Marcus Garvey’s imprisonment, vivifies how leaders continued to world-make and view of their public as capable of redeeming Africa even as their organization fell apart.

Before the Fall

Before Garvey’s conviction, UNIA leaders espoused a rhetoric of champions. UNIA leaders supplied their own evaluations of present circumstances. Leaders expressed an expectation that the struggle for Black self-determination would sustain. By continuing to believe in self-determination, UNIA leaders buttressed a view of their public as one that would continue to ascend after the downfall of the Black Star Line.

Before Garvey’s imprisonment, William Ferris edited the *Negro World* to aid in UNIA leaders’ efforts to support Black self-determination. Ferris fomented support for Black self-determination by suggesting that each individual had a role to play in the success of the UNIA. In “Is the Negro a Man,” from May of 1921, William Ferris called Marcus Garvey “a leader with world vision” and asked his audience to “Remember that the race is not to the swift nor the strong, but to him who endures unto the end.” Ferris’ argument framed the UNIA as an organization born from Garvey’s leadership while it also put pressure on each individual to “endure.” Ferris continued by instructing his readers to “write a new page in the world’s history.”⁹¹ Ferris’ remarks in the *Negro World* suggested an expectation that every reader of the *Negro World* had a role to play in making a more equitable world. Ferris built on his expectations for the readers of the *Negro World* by producing an evaluation of the conditions that were keeping a more equitable world from being born. In his June 1921 speech at the UNIA’s New York Liberty Hall, Ferris argued

that previous racial uplift programs had “failed because [the] commercial and industrial element was lacking.” Ferris’ framing provided grounds for his assessment of what made the UNIA unique. Ferris asserted that the “U.N.I.A.” was the only organization “among negroes destined to survive and become permanent” because, in his mind, only the UNIA had the “spirit of initiative, audacity and adventure” required to have a lasting effect.⁹² Ferris’ contention concretized UNIA leaders’ belief that Black self-determination was the element that distinguished the UNIA from other racial uplift organizations of the time and made their public of Black people capable of existing in perpetuity. Ferris’ refrain suggested that each individual needed to enact self-determination for the future UNIA leaders had envisioned to come to fruition. Ferris’ sentiments were further substantiated by Lady-President of the UNIA, Henrietta Vinton Davis.

Henrietta Vinton Davis supported UNIA leaders’ press for Black self-determination by suggesting Black self-determination was the solution to Black people being kicked around. On January 22, 1922, in her address to the Brooklyn Division of the UNIA, Davis diagnosed the cause of Black people’s delapidated conditions and explained that the remedy was Black self-determination. Davis described the foundation of Black people’s dire situation as economic subordination. Davis stated, “As I travel from place to place, from city to city, I find . . . that Negroes are the first to lose their jobs” and “As long as we depend on the white man for a job, so long will we be his football.” Davis’ framing of Black people as a “football” foregrounded that as long as Black people did not own things they would be kicked around by owners. Davis followed her evaluation of the cause of Black people’s problems with a solution. Davis reflected, “I feel that every negro should stand firmly and show his stamina now, henceforth and forever. This is the time for the

true men and women; time to weigh ourselves in the balance.” Davis ultimately asserted, “These are the times through which we are passing, yet with the characteristic buoyancy of spring and optimism of the Negro, we shall even go through the valley of the shadow of death.”⁹³ In combination, Davis’ demand that “every negro” “stand firm” and her belief in the “spring of optimism” constructed a compelling place in world affairs for her Brooklyn audience. Davis’ equation summed in the notion that if UNIA members would practice self-determination for themselves and focus on themselves, the future was theirs for the making. Davis’ evaluations and expectations exemplified the world-making of leaders of the UNIA as they spoke like champions. Davis evaluated the present as one filled with problems and saw on the horizon a future in which success was guaranteed. Davis’ view demonstrated that no matter if Marcus Garvey was free or in prison, UNIA leaders continued to envision a public capable of leading all Black people through the “shadow of death.” UNIA leaders’ approach to losing Garvey adapted over time. At the early stages of Garvey’s trial, leaders were optimistic that Garvey would prove his innocence. As it became clear that Garvey would be convicted, the rhetoric of UNIA leaders shifted to instead adjusting to a world without Garvey and focusing on finding funds to defend him.

The Fall

After Garvey’s conviction, leaders of the UNIA presented a type of confidence that exemplifies how champions deal with adversity. During Garvey’s appeal process, UNIA leaders continued to build on ideas espoused by Garvey to support Black self-determination and sustain a view of their public as progressing not regressing. After Garvey’s appeal was denied, leaders worked to keep the UNIA going.

Immediately following Garvey’s conviction, the pages of the *Negro World* suggested that the UNIA would continue to succeed. On June 23, 1923, the pages of the

Negro World showed a commitment to improvement and continued confidence in the ability of the UNIA. On the front page, the *Negro World* reprinted a speech by Garvey in which he stated, “The Black Star Line in name might have failed, but the Black Star Line in spirit has not failed . . . We are going to” work to have “a greater Black star Line, a Black star Line of greater ships, that shall span the seven seas.”⁹⁴ Garvey’s assertion demonstrated that UNIA leaders remained committed to the idea of success even after the legal debacle had befallen the BSL.

William Ferris’ editing of the *Negro World* provides further evidence of how leaders represented the idea that Black self-determination was the key to their success. In the June 23, 1923 issue of the *Negro World*, Ferris editorialized, “Negroes Fight for Liberty has Just Begun—Have got the vision of bigger things.” Ferris’ evaluation that the “Fight for Liberty” had just “Begun” evinced UNIA leaders’ belief that one loss would not mean the end of the UNIA. By arguing that they had a “vision of bigger things,” Ferris foregrounded UNIA leaders’ belief that their public would be greater in the future than it was in the past. In the June 23 issue of the *Negro World*, Ferris editorialized about not only the UNIA’s goals but leaders’ practices in self-determination that had gotten the UNIA to its highest heights. Writing about Marcus Garvey specifically, Ferris offered, “Garvey shows old fighting spirit—is fearless about the outcome of his trial—says the world is ignorant of scope of U.N.I.A.—it cannot silence this great movement by laying low one individual.”⁹⁵ Ferris’ reproduction of Garvey’s assertion that the UNIA would not be silenced by “laying low of one individual” announced that the evaluations and expectations that underwrote UNIA leaders’ view of their public were bigger than Garvey. In his role as editor for the *Negro World*, Ferris evaluated current conditions and still supplied an

expectation that the UNIA would succeed. Ferris' editorialization highlights that the rhetoric of champions is not bound to success but praxis.⁹⁶ Ferris' issue of the *Negro World* after Garvey's indictment, highlights that the confidence that marks a rhetoric of champions is not about succeeding all the time but continuing to endure.⁹⁷

Between Garvey's conviction and his release on bail, UNIA leaders exemplified the endurance of champions.⁹⁸ In the aftermath of Garvey's conviction, leaders continued to detail the strength they saw in their public of Black people. On June 30, 1923, the report of the June 24th meeting at Liberty Hall in the *Negro World* appeared under the editorialization, "Enemies are astounded and disappointed—The U.N.I.A. is Stronger Now than Ever—Members are More Determined to Carry on the Work."⁹⁹ The *Negro World's* framing of the UNIA as "Stronger . . . than Ever" suggested that the spark of self-determination that had fueled the UNIA was still shining. In her speech at the June 24th meeting at Liberty Hall, Amy Jacques Garvey exemplified how champions relate to dire circumstances. Jacques Garvey counseled her audience members to "be calm and quiet in all . . . words and in all . . . actions." Jacques Garvey continued, "It is that attitude of yours that can help Mr. Garvey and not the spirit of vengeance."¹⁰⁰ Jacques Garvey's directions to her audience instructed them to not focus on blaming others, but to endure their current struggle and extend the project of the UNIA. Henrietta Vinton Davis elaborated on the need for UNIA members to endure in her July 1 speech at Liberty Hall. Davis described the goals of detractors as "not only seeking to destroy the leader of" the UNIA but also "seeking to destroy the organization itself." Davis built on her evaluation of the situation by espousing an expectation for whether the UNIA would wither away. Davis exclaimed, "It [the UNIA] can never be destroyed while the love of liberty remains in the Negro's

heart.” Davis’ remark foregrounded that as long as the flame of self-determination remained lit, the leaders of the UNIA would always have the last word. Davis’ statement established her view of that leaders’ public was incapable of being destroyed as long as “love of liberty” remained in Black people’s hearts. Davis then turned to Marcus Garvey as an example for her audience. Davis elaborated, “Our great leader is showing us an example of endurance; he is showing us how sublime a thing it is to suffer and be strong.” By taking Garvey as an example, Davis conveyed to her audience that they needed to practice endurance in the absence of their “great leader.”¹⁰¹ The words of Davis and Jacques Garvey at Liberty Hall established that when things looked bad but seemed like they could get better, UNIA leaders remained committed to defining their battle for themselves and expecting success—like champions.

As Garvey’s conviction set in, Garvey and other leaders of the UNIA espoused expectations that the UNIA would continue to fight for Black people’s right to a self-determination with or without him. In “The Negroes Place in World Reorganization,” Marcus Garvey stated, “The mission of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is to arouse the sleeping consciousness of Negroes everywhere to the point where we will, as one concerted body, act for our own preservation.”¹⁰² Garvey’s assertion that “the mission” was to “arouse the sleeping consciousness of Negroes everywhere” emphasized that there was still a path to success even while Garvey was behind bars.¹⁰³ Garvey’s proclamation affirmed that, despite present circumstances, UNIA leaders remained committed to espousing a view of their public as one made for the express purpose of supporting all Black people’s “preservation.” As the likelihood of winning his appeal seemed low, Marcus Garvey began to frame the struggle of the UNIA as a longitudinal one. For instance,

in July of 1923, in “Insistence for Justice,” Garvey wrote, “Whether your effort is successful or not will not disturb me in the conclusion I have reached. Our struggle for right and justice is eternal.”¹⁰⁴ Garvey’s framing of the “struggle” as “eternal” highlighted that success for the UNIA need not be measured by his own freedom. Garvey’s remark reflected that while the UNIA was pushing for him to be freed, the battle that was being waged was larger than himself. Amy Jacques Garvey affirmed the scope of the struggle UNIA leaders had led in her assessment of world affairs in the *Negro World*. In “World in Turmoil,” Jacques Garvey recounted, “Some people ask the question. Will Africa be redeemed? This question we are not going to answer for them: but we answer for ourselves.” Jacques Garvey continued, “Africa will redeem itself when we can get black men to think black, work black and act black all the time. I repeat, the world is in turmoil, and it is well to realize it.”¹⁰⁵ Jacques Garvey’s argument advanced a view that remained committed to the importance of redeeming Africa but also suggested that it was only by the efforts of Black people that Africa would be redeemed. Jacques Garvey’s view supported the idea that though the UNIA was originally led by Marcus Garvey, the self-determined struggle for Black life was larger than one man.

UNIA leaders bolstered the idea that the UNIA was bigger than one man by keeping Garvey in their thoughts while continuing to promote Black self-determination.¹⁰⁶ Leaders emphasized the goal of the UNIA was to continue to fight for racial justice while resisting the injustice of Garvey’s imprisonment. In the June 30, 1923 issue of the *Negro World*, beneath headlines that read, “Marcus Garvey Will Rise like the Phoenix,” William Sherrill placed a charge before readers of the *Negro World*. Sherrill asserted, “It is up to the members of this organization to carry on and from the mistakes of the past, to emerge a more

powerful and useful race organization, commanding the respect of the world.”¹⁰⁷ Sherrill’s argument reflected an expectation that UNIA leaders’ public of Black people would “emerge” from present problems “more powerful” than before. Sherill’s supposition suggested that in the wake of Garvey’s imprisonment, UNIA members should remain committed to the ideals of self-determination that had brought the UNIA so much acclaim. Henrietta Vinton Davis echoed Sherill’s evaluation that a united effort would be required to resist injustice in her July speech at Liberty Hall. The July 7, 1923 issue of the *Negro World* recounts that in her speech at Liberty Hall, Davis described “Negroes throughout the length and breadth of the world” as “protesting against the unjust incarceration” of Marcus Garvey. Davis declared, “the seed implanted by the Universal Negro Improvement Association as represented by its leaders has found good soil” and that leaders were “determined as free men and women to step forth in” their “new liberty and say we shall forever be free.”¹⁰⁸ Davis’ assertion that the seed of the UNIA had “found good soil” articulated a view that the public leaders of the UNIA had worked to produce would continue to grow even while Garvey was imprisoned. Leaders worked to help the UNIA grow by developing a fund to help Garvey get out and stay out of prison.

UNIA leaders set up and executed a Marcus Garvey defense fund. Beginning in the *Negro World* issue that announced Garvey’s conviction there were weekly ads for the “Marcus Garvey’s Defense Fund.” The ad for the “Marcus Garvey’s Defense Fund” that appears in the June 23, 1923, issue of the *Negro World* lists the previous contributors to the fund.¹⁰⁹ As Garvey’s imprisonment became protracted, Garvey found it necessary to delegate authority over the fund. In the version of the “Fund for Marcus Garvey’s Defense” ad published in the July 14, 1923, issue of the *Negro World*, Garvey enumerated who

should be allowed to manage the fund. Garvey stated, “I, Marcus Garvey, have appointed Mrs. Amy Jacques-Garvey, Mr. William Sherrill, and Mr. Clifford Bourne, as a committee to receive and disburse all moneys for my Appeal and Defense fund.”¹¹⁰ The publication of an ad for Garvey’s defense reveals that one solution leaders produced for losing Garvey was trying to raise money to get him back. During the development of different strategies to support Garvey, patriarchy began to protrude more forcefully than previous moments in UNIA history. Garvey’s listing of Amy Jacques Garvey as a member of the Garvey defense fund management committee ruffled the feathers of some people within the UNIA.¹¹¹

While Marcus Garvey’s grip on the UNIA loosened, some within the UNIA worked to downplay the role of Amy Jacques Garvey. In response to an ad that suggested that Marcus Garvey had turned “over the organization to his wife following his conviction,” TWA exclaimed, “These statements are absolutely and entirely false, . . . The president-general has not turned the organization over to Mrs. Garvey. He has not turned the organization over to any one [sic]. Further, it is not his [to] turn over.” TWA’s remarks then turned toward belittling Amy Jacques Garvey. TWA stated, “Mrs. Garvey is not on the executive council. Mrs. Garvey is not an officer of the association. Mrs. Garvey does not actively or passively control the organization. It is beneath the dignity of common decency to attempt to drag the name of an innocent and helpless woman into an arena where she cannot properly defend herself.”¹¹² TWA’s remarks downplayed the role Jacques Garvey had played in putting together and circulating the *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* and her efforts as Executive Assistant to Marcus Garvey. For her part, Jacques Garvey took direct issue with the framing of herself as “helpless.”

Amy Jacques Garvey responded to the denigration of her role in the UNIA by evaluating the validity of the report and focusing on what she had done. Jacques Garvey opened her response by stating that “the article” that alleged the UNIA had been handed over to her was “shown to” her but she “ignored the article, because the news in itself” was a “clumsy, unvarnished lie.”¹¹³ Jacques Garvey’s disregard for the original news report reflected the kind of independent focus that was common of leaders who espoused a rhetoric of champions. Jacques Garvey then responded to the substance of TWA’s letter by recounting her experience with the UNIA. Jacques Garvey noted, “I am not “innocent”” and “My four and a half years of active service in the Universal Negro Improvement Association under the personal direction of Marcus Garvey has given me a fair knowledge of men and the methods they employ in the organization and out of it.” Jacques Garvey’s rejoinder reflected the confidence in her own ability and a lack of concern for the perspective of people that would oppose her that marks the rhetoric of a champion. Appropriately, attempts to accost Amy Jacques Garvey failed. The Marcus Garvey Defense Fund was somewhat successful. On September 10, 1923, Marcus Garvey was released from Tombs Prison pending his appeal.¹¹⁴ After Marcus Garvey was released on bail, in February of 1924, Amy Jacques Garvey was empowered as an assistant editor of the *Negro World* and chief editor of the “Our Women and What They Think” section.¹¹⁵ That Jacques Garvey’s needed to defend herself, even within the UNIA, exemplifies the delapidated state the UNIA was in leading up to Garvey’s 1925 imprisonment. Like any organization, there had been infighting in the UNIA for years. As Marcus Garvey’s sway in the everyday scene waned leaders worked to continue to produce a bright account of their public by developing a broader account of Black oppression.

As Garvey's appeal began to look unlikely, UNIA leaders continued their push for Black self-determination by continuing to expect future success and developing a more diverse set of evaluations of the past and present. In 1924, when visiting Jamaica as a representative of the UNIA, Henrietta Davis "emphasized the fact that the U.N.I.A. is stronger today than ever in its history." Davis also "pointed to U.N.I.A. ideals and told how the movement was going and growing."¹¹⁶ Davis' description of the UNIA as stronger "than ever" and "going and growing" demonstrated that even after Garvey's conviction, she still had an optimistic view of the public UNIA leaders were working to build. Davis' view described UNIA leader's public as still capable of supporting Black people's efforts in self-determination. Thomas Fortune built alongside Davis' perspective in the *Negro World* by developing a broader evaluation of what was impeding Black people's progress while still suggesting that success was on the horizon.¹¹⁷ Fortune argued that Black people needed to make the most of the opportunities that presented themselves and if they did the future could be determined by them. In "How Often Does Opportunity Knock at the Door," Fortune forecasted, "There are thousands of Negroes coming North and going West, who know much about farming, who could do better by working as truck-h[f]arm hands . . . than by settling in the large cities and depending on the uncertainties of city employment."¹¹⁸ Fortune's assessment that Black people could do better suggested to his audience that they use the skills they already had to create success for themselves. Fortune's evaluation elaborated on UNIA leaders' approach to including everyday Black people in the struggle for Black liberation. Fortune's assessment emphasized that the knowledge the Black masses already possessed was the knowledge they needed to determine their own future. Fortune followed his evaluation with an expectation of what it

would take for ordinary Black people to enjoy the fruits of their employment. Fortune concluded, “But they will have to go to the Opportunity, as Riley Rogers did; it will not come to them.”¹¹⁹ Fortune’s view departed from the common sense of the 1920s that the best life was to be found in the city. Fortune broadened the evaluations offered by leaders of the UNIA to include specificity about geographic and skills-based concerns while continuing to contend that Black self-determination was the key to Black liberation. Amy Jacques Garvey added texture to UNIA leaders’ evaluations of the 1920s by thinking about and through the perspectives of women in the UNIA.

Amy Jacques Garvey’s editing and accompanying editorials in the “Our Women and What They Think” section of the *Negro World* concretized the experiences of Black women in the UNIA and helped produce a view of UNIA leaders’ public. In the February 9, 1924, issue of the *Negro World*, Amy Jacques Garvey contended, “Women are the great architects of the world” and “They should be encouraged in such a noble task and be given every opportunity to develop intellectually.”¹²⁰ Jacques Garvey’s framing of women as “the great architects of the world” emphasized that the women of the UNIA had been and continued to be integral in the development of the future Jacques Garvey envisioned. Jacques Garvey’s refrain established the importance of women while highlighting the inefficacy patriarchy pushed onto the world and Black movements. Jacques Garvey built on her evaluation to articulate an expectation for what would and could come from giving Black women an opportunity to lead as equals. In “Women as Leaders,” Jacques Garvey argued, “Women of all climes and races have as great a part to play in the development of their particular group as the men . . . Africa must be for Africans, and Negroes everywhere must be independent.” Jacques Garvey made clear in these passages that women of the

UNIA had an important role to play if there was to be a free and redeemed Africa. Jacques Garvey continued by predicting that “Ethiopia’s queens will reign again.” She also predicted that if Black men would not “strengthen” their “shaking knees,” Black women would “displace” them and “lead on to victory and to glory.”¹²¹ Jacques Garvey’s charge intimated that if Black men stumbled in their support of self-determination, Black women would succeed for them. Jacques Garvey’s editorials expressed a view of UNIA leaders’ public as one in which Black women played an equally important role to men in achieving a free and redeemed Africa for all Black people. Jacques Garvey’s editorials espoused an expectation that Africa would be redeemed while evaluating the devaluation Black women had experienced and would no longer accept.

After the Fall

As 1924 turned into 1925, Marcus Garvey continued to hold out hope for the success of the UNIA and his appeal. After Garvey’s appeal was officially denied, Garvey was imprisoned in the federal penitentiary in Atlanta. Garvey’s “Letter from Atlanta Prison,” gave a last gasp to the world-making UNIA leaders had undertaken since in 1914.

As Garvey’s appeal process carried on in 1924, UNIA leaders continued to herald future success and aim for a redeemed Africa. In his June 4, 1924, speech at Liberty Hall, Marcus Garvey argued, “We are making history tonight. It is the brightest chapter in the history of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Tonight we finally send away to Africa a serious and well prepared group . . . to the historic country of Liberia.”¹²² Though Garvey framed 1924 as “the brightest chapter” in UNIA history, the forces that would lead to Garvey’s conviction continued to encroach on UNIA engagement. For instance, during the 4th UNIA convention in August of 1924, Garvey was arrested and arraigned for perjury and tax evasion but released without bail being set.¹²³ At the 4th UNIA convention, despite

Garvey's mounting legal troubles, delegates affirmed that against the "inhuman and debasing system" of racial inequality in the United States, "a powerful and unceasing struggle must be waged to secure the complete economic, political, and civil equality of our people."¹²⁴ Delegates framing of their struggle as a "powerful and unceasing struggle" for "equality" foregrounded their belief that though the UNIA was going through torrid times, their public still possessed the power to promote self-determination for Black people. The words of delegates to the fourth UNIA convention suggest that as the UNIA leaders' organization was falling apart, they remained focused on defining their past and future for themselves and expecting success for their public. As UNIA leaders continued to struggle for success, Marcus Garvey's appeal was officially denied on February 3, 1925.¹²⁵ With his appeal denied, Garvey's sentence for mail fraud would have to be served. Garvey was arrested on February 5th after returning from a trip to Detroit to promote the UNIA.¹²⁶ After his arrest, Garvey was imprisoned in Tombs prison and then transferred to Atlanta federal penitentiary on February 8, 1925.

While in the Atlanta federal penitentiary, Garvey rejoined the champion rhetoric of leaders of the UNIA by remaining confident in the redemption of Africa and affirming his enduring commitment to the struggle for justice. In his 1925 "Letter from Atlanta Prison," Marcus Garvey espoused the rhetoric of a champion by continuing to define the fight for himself and being committed to future success as state repression took its toll. In the introduction to his letter, Garvey evaluated the dire conditions of Black people as something that would soon be a relic of the past. Garvey noted, "Suffice to say that the history of the outrage shall form a splendid chapter in the history of Africa redeemed. When black men will no longer be under the heels of others, but have a civilization and culture

of their own.”¹²⁷ Garvey’s assertion that “the history of outrage shall form a splendid chapter” framed the suffering of his moment as temporary and something that would be replaced by success. Garvey’s assessment defined success as Africa having “a civilization and culture of” its own. Garvey followed his evaluation with an expectation that success would come with or without him. Garvey prophesized, “Our day may be fifty, a hundred or two hundred years ahead, let us watch, work, and pray, for the civilization of injustice is bound to crumble and bring destruction down upon the heads of the unjust.”¹²⁸ Garvey’s prediction that “the civilization of injustice is bound to crumble” emphasized UNIA leaders’ belief that Black self-determination would bring “destruction down upon the heads of the unjust” and open space for a more just world. Garvey’s expectation exemplifies the confidence of a champion. Garvey guaranteed success even if he did not foresee himself getting to bask in that success. In the conclusion of his letter, Garvey asserted the lasting implications of the UNIA’s struggle. Garvey contended, “If I die in Atlanta my work shall then only begin, but I shall live, in the physical or spiritual to see the day of Africa’s glory.”¹²⁹ Garvey’s conjecture that if he should “die,” his “work shall then only begin” captured that even after the fall of the UNIA, Garvey was imagining UNIA leaders’ public as one that one day would produce freedom for all Black people. Even from inside prison, Garvey continued to steadfastly believe in the ability for Africa to be redeemed and the UNIA to play a significant role in constructing the future. Garvey’s continued belief in future success even amid adversity demonstrated the rhetoric of a champion. Garvey remained focused on and confident in himself even when the chips were down.

Conclusion: Champions and Challengers

Leaders of the UNIA espoused a rhetoric of champions in response to the challenge levied by Cyril Briggs colluding with the FBI. Amidst being accosted by peers and the FBI,

UNIA leaders' rhetoric remained focused on the capacity of the UNIA to work for racial uplift and the impending day when the struggle for Black freedom would be realized. UNIA leaders' rhetoric crystalizes that a rhetoric of champions reflects a focus on oneself and confidence in future success amid repression from outside forces. UNIA leaders' rhetoric of champions provides an opportunity to extend scholarly perspectives on racial uplift, world-making, and publics.

The champion rhetoric of UNIA leaders is instructive for thinking about strategies for racial uplift at the turn of the twentieth century. In their moment, UNIA leaders led the UNIA with a logic founded and focused on Black self-determination. UNIA leaders' approach differed from the one authored by Cyril Briggs by focusing on what the UNIA had done and would do. The world-making words leaders used, even as their organization fell apart, supplies an answer to three research questions of this project. First, UNIA leaders' rhetoric of champions evinces that one strategy leaders used to represent their belief in Black self-determination was defining for themselves their issues and staying focused on their own success and failure. Second, UNIA leaders' suppositions show that while they were world-making, UNIA leaders continued to view their public as capable of producing future success. Third, UNIA leaders' response to repression reveals that one way leaders adapted their rhetoric was by shifting to a focus on what the UNIA had already done as they defended the acclaim they had amassed from 1914-1921. UNIA leaders' world-making while their organization waned reveals a strategy to keep a positive view of a public while an organization falls apart. Throughout their troubles, leaders of the UNIA continued to espouse a view that their public was one capable of supporting the hopes and dreams of Black people around the world. UNIA leaders' rhetoric shows that even when

times are hard, it is possible to continue to build a positive view of one's public by espousing evaluations of the past and present and expectations for the future.

Despite leaders' best efforts, 1925 marked the end of a version of the UNIA. Alongside sending petitions to have Garvey pardoned, Amy Jacques Garvey originally published *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey Vol II* in December of 1925.¹³⁰ Amy Jacques Garvey's second publication puts a fitting punctuation mark on a certain version of the UNIA. Jacques Garvey's *Philosophy and Opinions Vol II* reflects the power and importance of the self-determined rhetoric of leaders of the UNIA between 1918-1925. After Garvey's imprisonment in the United States in 1925, the UNIA was never the same in the US context or internationally. Following Garvey's imprisonment in the Atlanta prison, things went from bad to worse for the UNIA. After 1925, the UNIA in the United States and the world took on a different shape. With Garvey's appeal denied and his possibility of a pardon far off, funds became so scarce that the UNIA was in need of money just to hold on to what had become the home for the UNIA—Liberty Hall.¹³¹ As Liberty Hall slipped away, the most concrete representation of the organization UNIA leaders had created vanished. Vestiges of the UNIA continue to this day, but none of them have had the force of the UNIA between 1914-1925.¹³² Accordingly, this project now turns to the rhetoric of Amy Ashwood Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey as they reminisced about the height of the UNIA and pushed a view of UNIA leaders' public forward by producing a *rhetoric of falling forward*.

¹ Marcus Garvey, "An Appeal to the Conscience of the Black Race to See Itself," in *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey or Africa for the Africans Vol II*, ed. Amy Jacques Garvey (New York, NY: The Universal Publishing House, 1926), 24.

² John Henrik Clarke, "The American Antecedents of Marcus Garvey," in *Garvey Africa, Europe, The Americas*, eds. Rupert Lewis and Maureen Warner-Lewis (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc., 1994), 15; Melissa Castillo-Garsow, "Afro-Latin@ Nueva York: Maymie De Mena and the Unsung Afro-Latina

Leadership of the UNIA,” in *Afro-Latin@s In Movement: Critical Approaches to Blackness and Transnationalism in the Americas*, eds. Petra R. Rivera-Rideau, Jennifer A. Jones, and Tianna S. Paschel, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 142; Jeffrey D. Howison, “‘Let Us Guide Our Own Destiny’: Rethinking the History of the Black Star Line,” *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 28, no. 1 (2005): 29; Theodore Vincent, *Black Power and the Garvey Movement* (Berkeley, CA: Ramparts Press, 1971), 33; Theodore Vincent, “The Evolution of the Split Between the Garvey Movement and the Organized Left in the United States 1917-1933,” in *Garvey Africa, Europe, The Americas*, eds. Rupert Lewis and Maureen Warner-Lewis (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc., 1994), 165-7.

³ Marcus Garvey, “Report of Brooklyn UNIA Meetings,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 455.

⁴ “Confidential Informant 800 to George F. Ruch,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 74.

⁵ Emory Tolbert, “Outpost Garveyism and the UNIA Rank and File,” *Journal of Black Studies* 5, no. 3 (1975): 235.

⁶ *The Negro World*, “Appeal for Sincerity,” July 23, 1923.

⁷ Rico Self and Ashley R. Hall, “Refusing to Die: Black Queer and Feminist Worldmaking Amid Anti-Black State Violence,” *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking* 8, no. 1 (2021): 124.

⁸ Sylvia Wynter and Katherine McKittrick, “Unparalleled Catastrophe for our Species? Or to Give Humanness a Different Future: Conversations,” in *Being Human as Praxis*, ed. Katherine McKittrick, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 18.

⁹ “Confidential Informant 800 to George F. Ruch,” 74; Robert Hill, “Introduction,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), xxxiii.

¹⁰ Kevin Michael Deluca and Elizabeth Brunner, “Activism in the Wake of Events of China and Social Media Abandoning the Domesticated Rituals of Democracy to Explore the Dangers of Wild Public Screens,” in *What Democracy Looks Like: The Rhetoric of Social Movements and Counterpublics*, eds. Christina R. Foust, Amy Pason, and Kate Zittlow Rogness (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2017), 233.

¹¹ William J. Burns, “William J. Burns to Rush D. Simmons, Chief Inspector, Post Office Department,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 271.

¹² Catherine Helen Palczewski, Kelsey Harr-Lagin, “Pledge-a-Picketer, Power, Protest, and Publicity,” in *What Democracy Looks Like: The Rhetoric of Social Movements and Counterpublics*, eds. Christina R. Foust, Amy Pason, and Kate Zittlow Rogness, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2017), 134; Pheadra C. Pezzullo, “Resisting ‘National Breast Cancer Awareness Month’: The Rhetoric of Counterpublics and Their Cultural Performances,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 89, no. 4 (2003): 348. Pezzullo’s text is the text that Palczewski and Harr-Lagin are quoting in-text.

¹³ Gwendolyn Pough, *Check It While I Wreck It: Black Womanhood, Hip-Hop Culture, and the Public Sphere* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004), 17.

¹⁴ Ellen W. Gorsevski and Michael L. Butterworth, “Muhammad Ali’s Fighting Words: The Paradox of Violence in Nonviolent Rhetoric,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 97, no. 1 (2011): 53; Eric W. Jentsch, “Jack Johnson, The First Black Heavyweight Boxing Champions,” *Smithsonian*, February 22, 2022, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/blogs/national-museum-american-history/2022/02/22/jack-johnson-boxing-champion/>; Sanjit Misra, “How Successful Was Boxer Laila Ali—The Daughter of Muhammad Ali,” *Essentially Sports*, October 19, 2021, <https://www.essentiallysports.com/boxing-news-how-successful-was-boxer-laila-ali-the-daughter-of-muhammad-ali/>. Jack Johnson was the first Black man to be the boxing Heavy-weight champion of the world. Muhammad Ali is often regarded as the best boxer of all time. Laila Ali, Muhammad Ali’s daughter, is also regarded as one of the best female boxers of all time.

¹⁵ Victoria J. Gallagher, “Black Power in Berkeley: Postmodern Constructions in the Rhetoric of Stokely Carmichael,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 87, no. 2 (2001): 146; Gorsevski and Butterworth, “Muhammad Ali’s Fighting Words,” 51. Gallagher’s text is quoted in Gorsevski and Butterworth’s argument.

¹⁶ John W. Jordan, "Profanity From the Heart as Exceptional Civic Rhetoric," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 106, no. 2 (2020): 114; Brad Mangin, "David Ortiz," *National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum*, <https://baseballhall.org/hall-of-famers/ortiz-david>. David Ortiz is a Hall of Fame baseball player. Ortiz played for the Minnesota Twins and Boston Red Sox. Ortiz won a championship and Most Valuable Player award with the Red Sox in 2007.

¹⁷ Judith Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey: Race and Class in Modern Society* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 128; Tony Martin, *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Dover: The Majority Press, 1976), 15-18; Division Records, 1974, Sc Micro R-1571, Box 2, Folder 1, Universal Negro Improvement Association Central Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library.

¹⁸ "Confidential Informant 800," 74.

¹⁹ "Confidential Informant 800 to George F. Ruch," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 125.

²⁰ "'Garvey Must Go' Negroes Declare, Three Harlem Mass Meetings Hear Leader of Improvement Association Criticised," *New York Times*, September 11, 1922. J.W. H. Eason was a former member of the UNIA that was removed from the organization at the 1922 conference. A. Philip Randolph was a racial uplift organizer that founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and led the AFL-CIO.

²¹ W.E.B. Du Bois, "Marcus Garvey," *The Crisis* 21, no. 3 (1921): 112; D'Weston Haywood, *Let Us Make Men: The Twentieth-Century Black Press and a Manly Vision for Racial Advancement* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 71; James Weldon Johnson, "James Weldon Johnson to Robert L. Vann," in *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Vol V, September 1922- August 1924, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 489. Robert L. Vann was the editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*. Weldon Johnson and Vann had a correspondence about an article Garvey published and turning it over the United States government.

²² Hill, "Introduction," xxxiii.

²³ "We Will Do," *Negro World*, June 23, 1923.

²⁴ Emma Lou Thornbrough, *T. Thomas Fortune: Militant Journalist* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 1-5. T. Thomas Fortune was born in Florida into slavery in 1856. Before joining the *Negro World*, Fortune edited the *People's Advocate*, the *New York Globe*, the *New York Freeman*, and the *New York Age*. Fortune became the "Assistant Editor" of the *Negro World* between September and October of 1923. After Garvey's release from Tombs prison on bail, Garvey took editorial control of the *Negro World* for a brief time. As Garvey's trial become more complicated, Fortune took over most decision making for the *Negro World*. Fortune edited the *Negro World* until his death in 1928.

²⁵ Linda O. McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 3-5.

²⁶ McMurry, *Keep the Waters Troubled*, 102.

²⁷ Saidiya Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 2019), 40; Ida B. Wells, "Lynch Law in All Its Phases," *Blackpast*, January 29, 2007, <https://www.blackpast.org/uncategorized/1893-ida-b-wells-lynch-law-all-its-phases/>; Thomas Moss was a Black mail carrier at the turn of the 20th century. Moss got into an altercation with a white person in a saloon. After besting the white person in a fight, Moss was taken to the local jail. A mob broke into the jail, absconded with Moss and then lynched him.

²⁸ Ida B. Wells and Alfreda M. Duster, eds., *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 381.

²⁹ Wells, *Crusade for Justice*, 380.

³⁰ Jeffrey D. Howison, "'Let Us Guide Our Own Destiny': Rethinking the History of the Black Star Line," *Review* (Fernand Braudel Center) 28, no. 1 (2005): 38.

³¹ "Black Star Line ad," *Negro World*, August 27, 1921; "Black Star Line ad," *Negro World*, September 17, 1921.

³² "Black Star Line ad," *Negro World*, November 19, 1921. Vincent Carretta ed., *The Writing of Phillis Wheatley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), xii. The naming of the ship the Phillis Wheatly is likely not accidental. Wheatley was and continues to be well-remembered for her poetry. Phillis Wheatly was

born in West Africa in 1753. In 1773, she published *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, one of the earliest books of poems written by a Black person.

³³ Frank Burke, "Frank Burke to A.J. Frey, United States Shipping Board," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 4.

³⁴ J. Harry Philibin, "J. Harry Philibin to the United States Shipping Board," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 28-9.

³⁵ J. Harry Philibin, "J. Harry Philibin to the Treasurer, United States Shipping Board," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 330.

³⁶ "Complaint Against Marcus Garvey," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 340.

³⁷ "Report by Special Agent J.G. Tucker," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 96.

³⁸ Ramla M. Bandele, *Black Star: African American Activism in the International Political Economy* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 56-65. Edmund David Cronon, *Great Lives Observed Marcus Garvey* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1973), 6-10.

³⁹ Elie Garcia, "Statement of Elie Garcia," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 391.

⁴⁰ Cathy Bergin, "'Unrest Among the Negroes': The African Blood Brotherhood and the Politics of Resistance," *Race & Class* 57, no. 3 (2016): 46.

⁴¹ Minkah Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism From Harlem to London, 1917-1939* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 46.

⁴² Cornelius L. Bynum, *A. Philip Randolph and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 76.

⁴³ Cyril Briggs, "Editorial," *The Crusader*, July 1920, p. 11.

⁴⁴ "Confidential Informant 800 to George F. Ruch," 74. Despite his early criticism of Garvey, initially, Briggs wanted to build a coalition with the UNIA. In a September 23, 1921, report to George F. Ruch, confidential information 800 relayed, "I have just come in from a meeting of the African Blood Brotherhood and I learned from Briggs that he is starting a very vigorous campaign against Garvey. You will remember several weeks ago I reported that if Briggs was unable to join hands with Garvey, Briggs would start a campaign against him."

⁴⁵ Cyril Briggs, "Open Letter From Cyril V Briggs to William H. Ferris, Literary Editor, Negro World," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 66.

⁴⁶ Joseph Booth, *Africa for the African* ed. Laura Perry (Zomba, Malawi, Kachere Series, [1897] 2007), 9; John Henrik Clarke ed., *Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa* (Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, 1974), loc. 685. It is unclear whether Briggs or Garvey said the phrase "Africa for the Africans" first. It is however clear that neither man was the first to espouse the idea. For example, Australian Missionary Joseph Booth wrote a book on the necessity of their being an Africa for Africans in 1897. Despite not originating the phrase, Garvey and the UNIA are often heralded as the primary popularizers of the phrase during the 1920s. For example, well-respected historian and participant in the Harlem renaissance, John Henrik Clarke, attributes the phrase to Marcus Garvey.

⁴⁷ "Confidential Informant 800 to George F. Ruch," *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 246-7. There is less than conclusive but strong evidence that Confidential Informant 800 was James Wormley Jones, the first Black man to be an Agent of the FBI. Samuel Momodu, "James Wormley Jones (1884-1958)," *Black Past*. <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/people-african-american-history/james-wormley-jones-1884-1958/#:~:text=Jones%20was%20assigned%20undercover%20work,and%20headed%20by%20Cyril%20Briggs>.

⁴⁸ "White Man Negro For Convenience," *Negro World*, October 22, 1921.

- ⁴⁹ “Confidential Informant 800 to George F. Ruch,” 125.
- ⁵⁰ FBI Records, “Marcus Garvey Part 01 of 12,” *FBI Records: The Vault*, November 15, 1921, p. 11.
- ⁵¹ FBI Records, “Garvey Part 01,” p. 11
- ⁵² Ramla Bandele, *Black Star African*, 1-10.
- ⁵³ “William J. Burns to Rush D. Simmons, Chief Inspector, Post Office Department,” 271.
- ⁵⁴ George F. Ruch, “George F. Ruch to J. Edgar Hoover,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 163.
- ⁵⁵ FBI Records, “Garvey 01” p. 29.
- ⁵⁶ “William J. Burns to Rush D. Simmons,” 271. William J. Burns was the director of the bureau of Investigation, predecessor to the FBI from 1921 until 1924. FBI, “William J. Burns, August 22, 1921 - June 14, 1924,” <https://www.fbi.gov/history/directors/william-j-burns>.
- ⁵⁷ Informant 800 was most likely referring to Orlando Thompson, whom in his statement during the subsequent trial described himself as the Vice-President of the Black Star Line. It is still somewhat unclear who “Mason” is in this context.
- ⁵⁸ “Confidential Informant 800 to George F. Ruch,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 272.
- ⁵⁹ Orlando M. Thompson, “Statement of Orlando M. Thompson,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 386.
- ⁶⁰ W.A. Domingo, “W.A. Domingo,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Vol I ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 527.
- ⁶¹ Harvard University, “Colloquium with Peter Hulme: ‘Wilfred A. Domingo: ‘One of the chief trouble-makers among the Negroes,’” *Hutchins Center for African & African American Research*, October 10, 2018, <https://hutchinscenter.fas.harvard.edu/event/colloquium-peter-hulme-wilfred-domingo-one-chief-trouble-makers-among-negroes>; W.A. Domingo, “Article By W.A. Domingo,” 153; Daren Salter, “Wilfred A. Domingo (1889-1968),” Blackpast, January 21, 2007, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/domingo-wilfred-1889-1968/>; Caroline Kreiger, “Messenger (1917-1928),” Blackpast, June 29, 2008, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/messenger-1917-1928/#:~:text=The%20Messenger%2C%20an%20independent%20magazine.help%20of%20the%20Socialist%20party>. Wilfred Adolphus Domingo was a Jamaican born writer, activist, and socialist. Domingo was the original editor of the *Negro World*. Garvey and Domingo had a falling out over Domingo’s increasingly socialist beliefs and Garvey’s demand that Domingo publish what he wanted in the *Negro World*. Domingo resigned his post as editor of the *Negro World* in 1919. After leaving the *Negro World*, Domingo worked for the A. Philip Randolph and Charles Owen founded *Messenger*.
- ⁶² “Confidential Informant 800 to George F. Ruch,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 274
- ⁶³ Rachel Gallagher, “George Alexander McGuire (1866-1934),” Blackpast, May 31, 2008, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/mcguire-george-alexander-1866-1934/>; John Kersey, “Commemoration of St. George Alexander McGuire,” *San Luigi*, August 23, 2012, <https://san-luigi.org/2012/08/23/commemoration-of-st-george-alexander-mcguire/>;
- ⁶⁴ Marcus Garvey, “Marcus Garvey to Bishop George Alexander McGuire,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 129.
- ⁶⁵ Bishop George Alexander McGuire, “Bishop George Alexander McGuire to Marcus Garvey,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 130.
- ⁶⁶ “Bishop George Alexander McGuire No Longer Connected with the Universal Negro Improvement Association,” *Negro World*, November 5, 1921.
- ⁶⁷ “Special Christmas Service Held in Liberty Hall Attract Thousands to Great Amphitheatre—Hon. Marcus Garvey, In Appropriate Xmas Address Extends Good Wishes and Good Cheer to Negro Peoples of the World,” *Negro World*, December 31, 1921.
- ⁶⁸ Tolbert, “Outpost Garveyism,” 235; Casey Nichols, “Noah Thompson (1878-?),” Blackpast, November 14, 2007, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/thompson-noah-1878/>. Noah Thompson was

born in Baltimore, Maryland in 1878. Thompson found himself in league was a well-educated member of the UNIA. After his split with the UNIA, Thompson continued to organize for racial uplift efforts in Los Angeles. Thompson was eventually elected to the Chamber of Commerce in Los Angeles.

⁶⁹ “Article in the California Eagle,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 133.

⁷⁰ “Report by Bureau Agent A.A. Hopkins,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 194.

⁷¹ Emory J. Tolbert, *The UNIA and Black Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, 1980), 63-9.

⁷² “Article in the California Eagle,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 171.

⁷³ African American Registry, “James Walker Hood Easton, Activist Born,”

<https://aaregistry.org/story/james-walker-hood-easton-activist-born/#:~:text=James%20Walker%20Hood%20Eason%20was,their%20bishop%2C%20James%20Walker%20Hood.> Kevin Everson, “Eason,” Great Migration Project, <https://greatmigrationphl.org/node/14>, “UNIA Petition to the Speaker and Congress of the United States,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 329; William S. Powell, “J.W. Hood (James Walker), 1831-1918,” Documenting the American South, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/church/hood/bio.html>. James Walker Hood Eason was born in Salisbury, North Carolina in October 1886. Eason was both a minister and early member of the UNIA. Eason joined the UNIA in 1919.

⁷⁴ “Convention Reports,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 953.

⁷⁵ “Convention Reports,” *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV, 979.

⁷⁶ “Convention Reports,” *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV, 981.

⁷⁷ “Convention Report,” *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV, 921. Barbara Krauthamer and Chad Williams, eds., *Major Problems in African American History, Loose-Leaf Version* (Ebook, Cengage Learning, 2017), 400; Chad L. Williams, “Vanguards of the New Negro: African American Veterans and Post-World War I Racial Militancy,” *The Journal of African American History* 92, no. 3 (2007): 363. In note three on of page 921, Robert Hill assess Eason’s founding of the Universal Negro Alliance as well as Eason’s critical remarks about Garvey and the UNIA in a French newspaper. Austin Norris was also a former member of the UNIA. Norris was a prominent member of the African Legion, the military arm of the UNIA. Norris was also an active member in the Philadelphia division of the UNIA.

⁷⁸ “Statement of Elie Garcia,” 391.

⁷⁹ United States of America v. Marcus Garvey, Elie Garcia, Orlando M. Thompson, and George Tobias. National Archives, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/7388866>. George Tobias, “Statement of George Tobias,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 422. George Tobias was the Treasurer of the Black Star Line. Though not focused on as deeply in this chapter, Tobias also provided a statement. Tobias’ statement centered on the accounting practices of the BSL.

⁸⁰ “Complaint Against Marcus Garvey,” 340.

⁸¹ “Report by Special Agent Mortimer J. Davis,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 383. Despite being the Vice-President of the BSL, Thompson was not a leader of the UNIA. Thompson was an employee of the BSL.

⁸² Kenneth Jackson and David S. Dunbar, eds., *Empire City: New York Through the Centuries* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2005), 516.

- ⁸³Jonathan Goldman, "Elie Garcia of U.N.I.A. Writes to C.D.B. King of Liberia," *New York 1920*, June 8, 2020, <https://www.ny1920.com/jun-8>; Vashti Lewis, "Marcus Garvey's Impossible Dream," *Negro History Bulletin* 40, no. 6, (1977): 770. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44176408>.
- ⁸⁴"Statement of Elie Garcia," 391.
- ⁸⁵United States V. Marcus Garvey, Elie Garcia.
- ⁸⁶John Bruce, "John E. Bruce to George B. Christina, Jr., Secretary to President Warren G. Harding," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 396; Aaron P. Prioleau, "Aaron P. Prioleau, UNIA National Political Director General, to Harry M. Daughtry," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 394.
- ⁸⁷"Registration Form, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol VI, September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 95.
- ⁸⁸"Convention Reports," *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 996.
- ⁸⁹"Convention Report," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 943.
- ⁹⁰"Convention Reports," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Volume V, September 1922-August 1924, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 719.
- ⁹¹William Ferris, "Is the Negro a Man," *Negro World*, May 7, 1921.
- ⁹²"Liberty Hall Crowds Augmenting as Second Convention Draws Near—Cradle of Liberty Continues as Harlems Centre of Attraction," *Negro World*, June 25, 1921.
- ⁹³"Brooklyn Meeting of the UNIA," 455.
- ⁹⁴Marcus Garvey, "Gentlemen, Can You Let the Tiger Loose?," *Negro World* June 23, 1923.
- ⁹⁵"Garvey the Greatest Negro Leader Black Men Have Ever Seen and Had," *Negro World*, June 23, 1923.
- ⁹⁶Wynter, *Being Human*, 18.
- ⁹⁷William J. Burns, "William J. Burns to W.W. Husband, Commissioner General of Immigration," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association papers, Vol. V September 1922-August 1924*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 384, note 2; Arnold Josiah Ford, "Negro World, August 25, 1923, p.2," Jamaica's Forgotten Journalists, <http://jamaicasforgottenjournalists.weebly.com/negro-world-1923.html>. There were changes in the *Negro World's* organizational structure in the Summer of 1923. Ferris was demoted from Literary editor to contributing editor in July of 1923. William J. Stephenson joined the staff as the managing editor in July of 1923. Soon after, well-renowned racial uplift leader Thomas Fortune took over the post as managing editor for the *Negro World* in October of 1923. William A. Stephenson was a Jamaican born man that moved to Harlem during the 1920s. Stephenson also published the *Daily Negro Times*, a short-lived Newspaper. After the failure of the *Times*, Stephenson came to work for the *Negro World*.
- ⁹⁸Mail Fraud, though a Felony, is a non-violent crime. In the case of non-violent crimes, it is not uncommon for a defendant to be released on bail pending an appeal. Shortly after Garvey's initial conviction, the UNIA began the process of appealing Garvey's case. As his appeal progressed, Garvey was released on bail.
- ⁹⁹"Marcus Garvey Still Leads the Universal Negro Improvement Assn," *Negro World*, June 30, 1923.
- ¹⁰⁰"Marcus Garvey Still Leads,"
- ¹⁰¹"Negroes Everywhere are Manifesting,"
- ¹⁰²Marcus Garvey, "The Negroes Place in World Reorganization, Written March 24, 1923," in *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey or Africa for the Africans* Vol II, ed. Amy Jacques Garvey (New York: NY: The Universal Publishing House, 1926), 34.
- ¹⁰³Lisa M. Corrigan, *Prison Power: How Prison influenced the Movement for Black Liberation* (Jackson, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 2016), 88; Cory Fischer-Hoffman, "The Voice of the Prison and 'Wars of Position': A Discourse Analysis of a Venezuelan Prison Newspaper," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 37, no. 1 (2020): 16-18.

- ¹⁰⁴ Marcus Garvey, Insistence for Justice, July 16, 1923, MSS 1066, Box 19, Folder 15, Universal Negro Improvement Association records, 1916, 1921-1989, Rose Library, Atlanta, GA,
- ¹⁰⁵ Amy Jacques Garvey, "World in Turmoil," *Negro World*, June 6, 1925.
- ¹⁰⁶ The Negro World, "Garvey Found Guilty," *Negro World*, June 23, 1923.
- ¹⁰⁷ "Like Other Great Leaders Garvey Pays the Price He Submits to His Fate Stoically, Knowing His Teachings Will Triumph," *Negro World*, June 30, 1923.
- ¹⁰⁸ "Negroes Everywhere Are Manifesting Increased Interest in the Universal Negro Improvement Assn," *Negro World*, July 7, 1923.
- ¹⁰⁹ "Marcus Garvey's Defense Fund," *Negro World*, June 23, 1923.
- ¹¹⁰ "The Marcus Garvey Appeal and Defense Fund," *Negro World*, July 14, 1923; "Special Announcement," *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association papers, Vol. V September 1922-August 1924*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 99; Nicholas Mayers, "Bajan Garveyites," *Bajan Things*, October 24th, 2019, <https://www.bajanthings.com/bajan-garveyites/>; Frederick Douglass Opie, "Garveyism and Labor Organization on the Caribbean Coast of Guatemala, 1920-1921," *The Journal of African American History* 94, no. 2 (2009): 166. Clifford Bourne was the High chancellor of the UNIA. Bourne was an immigrant from Trinidad. Bourne also established the first branch of the UNIA in Guatemala. Bourne remained High Chancellor from his appointment by Garvey in 1923 until he was asked to resign in 1926.
- ¹¹¹ "Look Out for Mud!" *Negro World*, July 14, 1923.
- ¹¹² "Look Out for Mud!"; Randall K. Burkett, *Garveyism as a Religious Movement: The Institutionalization of a Black Civil Religion* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1978), 130; "Convention Reports," 794 note 9. The article in the Negro World is signed TWA. The author is incapable of saying with certainty whom TWA was. However, it is likely that TWA was Thomas W. Anderson. Anderson was born in Virginia. He originally played an important role as commissioner to Louisiana for the UNIA. Eventually, Anderson became the assistant secretary-general before being appointed minister of labor and industry.
- ¹¹³ Amy Jacques Garvey, "Mrs. Marcus Garvey Replies to Article in Negro World," *Negro World*, July 21, 1923.
- ¹¹⁴ Marcus Garvey, "Statement by Marcus Garvey," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association papers, Vol. V September 1922-August 1924*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 446.
- ¹¹⁵ Jinx Coleman Broussard, *Giving a Voice to the Voiceless: Four Pioneering Black Women Journalists* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 87; Mark D. Matthews, "'Our Women and What They Think,' Amy Jacques Garvey and 'The Negro World,'" *The Black Scholar* 10, no. (8/9) (1979): 4.
- ¹¹⁶ "Lady Davis and Mr. Haynes in Jamaica," *Negro World*, August 16, 1924.
- ¹¹⁷ Shawn Leigh Alexander, "Black Journalist T. Thomas Fortune Prophetically Predicts Today's Political Climate," *African American Intellectual History Society*, September 24, 2016, <https://www.aaihs.org/black-journalist-t-thomas-fortune-prophetically-predicts-todays-political-climate/>; Walter Greason, "T. Thomas Fortune (1856-1928)" *Black Past*, January 18, 2007, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/fortune-t-thomas-1856-1928/>;
- ¹¹⁸ A truck-farm is a farm that produces vegetables or other goods meant to be sold at a Market.
- ¹¹⁹ T. Thomas Fortune, "How Often Does Opportunity Knock at The Door?" *The Negro World*, February 9, 1924.
- ¹²⁰ Amy Jacques Garvey, "Women as Cannon Fodder," *Negro World*, February 9, 1924.
- ¹²¹ Amy Jacques Garvey, "Women as Leaders," *Negro World*, October 25, 1925.
- ¹²² "Speech by Marcus Garvey," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association papers, Vol. V September 1922-August 1924*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 586.
- ¹²³ "Report by Special Agent Joseph G. Tucker," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association papers, Vol. V September 1922-August 1924*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 689.
- ¹²⁴ Record of Universal Negro Improvement Association 4th Annual Convention, Universal Negro Improvement Association Central Division, New York, Records 1918-1959, New York Public Library Archives & Manuscripts, Harlem, New York. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 1, Folder 5.

¹²⁵ “Judgement of Appeal, Marcus Garvey V. United States U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Second Circuit,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol VI, September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 82.

¹²⁶ “Registration Form, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary,” 95; Jessica Russell, Hilda Little, Steve Jones Sr., *The Life of Louise Norton Little, An Extraordinary Woman Mother of Malcom X and his 7 Siblings* (Our Hidden Gem LLC, 2021), 112.

¹²⁷ Marcus Garvey, “Marcus Garvey’s Letter From Atlanta Prison February 10, 1925,” *Africa for Africans*, accessed April 21, 2020, <https://africafortheafricans.org/index.php/marcus-garvey-s-vision/133-marcus-garvey-s-letter-from-atlanta-prison-february-10-1925> Paragraph 2.

¹²⁸ Garvey, “Letter from Prison,” Paragraph 3.

¹²⁹ Garvey, “Letter from Prison,” Paragraph 8.

¹³⁰ “Ad for Philosophy and Opinions Vol II,” *Negro World*, December 5, 1925; “Negro World Advertisement,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol VI, September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 277.

¹³¹ “Hon. Fred A. Toote, In Inspiring Address Calls on Membership to Unite and Save Their Liberty Hall, Negro Nationhood Birthplace,” *Negro World*, April 2, 1927. Fred Toote was the Secretary General of the UNIA. Toote was also a leader of the New York division of the UNIA in 1929.

¹³² Stephen Cooper, “The Case for a Posthuman Pardon of Marcus Garvey,” *The Hill*, October 13, 2016, <https://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/crime/300847-the-case-for-a-posthumous-pardon-of-marcus-garvey>.

**Chapter 4: A Rhetoric of Falling Forward: Amy Ashwood
Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey Reminiscing on the
Universal Negro Improvement Association**

On October 06, 2017, as part of celebrating what would have been Fannie Lou Hamer's 100th birthday, Congresswoman (D-TX) Shelia Jackson Lee reproduced Hamer's famous quote, "Sometimes it seem like to tell the truth today is to run the risk of being killed. But if I fall, I'll fall five feet four inches forward in the fight for freedom. I'm not backing off."¹ Jackson's reproduction of Hamer's quotation recreated the "wisdom, fortitude and caring" that can be found in the everyday talk of some Black women.² A similar logic of care to Jackson's was palpable when Amy Jacques Garvey and Amy Ashwood Garvey spoke to historian Lerone Bennet as he composed, "The Ghost of Garvey." Bennet's "Ghost of Garvey" was an article on the life of Marcus Garvey published in the March 1960 issue of *Ebony*. In 1960, when remembering Marcus Garvey, Amy Jacques Garvey asserted, "He was no damn, fool," and "He was no buffoon or clown. American Negroes will find out that he was right. Integration is not enough."³ Jacques Garvey's evaluation of Marcus Garvey exemplified her continuous struggle to determine for herself how to remember Marcus Garvey. Amy Ashwood Garvey offered a similar evaluation of Marcus Garvey. Amy Ashwood Garvey remarked the same year that, "His [Marcus Garvey's] spirit is still a dynamic force in the world. The seeds he scattered in the 1920s are beginning to bear fruit."⁴ Ashwood Garvey's remark reflected the influence Garvey's ideas continued to have on the world after the organization UNIA leaders had built fell apart. Jacques Garvey's and Ashwood Garvey's reminiscences foregrounded their views on Marcus Garvey and the UNIA. Jacques Garvey's and Ashwood Garvey's recollections of Marcus Garvey reflected a version of care, wisdom, and fortitude that opened space for them to project a picture of UNIA leaders' public as one for Black people by Black people into the future. Amy Jacques Garvey and Amy Ashwood Garvey's

centering of their own perspective and planting of seeds for future resistance, exemplifies what I call a *rhetoric of falling forward*.

A rhetoric of falling forward is a rhetorical practice in reminiscing. In *Memories of Lincoln and the Splintering of Political Thought*, Shawn J. Parry-Giles and David S. Kaufer define a reminiscence “as a complete text containing a first-person memory (or memories).”⁵ Building with Parry-Giles and Kaufer, I conceive of a rhetoric of falling forward as a rhetorical strategy in which people articulate their own memories of the past to help build the future while confronted by the reality that the force they are fighting against will likely outlive them. I offer a rhetoric of falling forward as a catachresis for practices in remembering that remain committed to providing a self-determined account of the past as a tool to help those in the future—like a time capsule waiting for the right people to unearth it. A rhetoric of falling forward is marked by two distinct characteristics: (1) attempting to articulate the past and present for oneself; (2) understanding that oppression will likely outlive the speaker. Amy Jacques Garvey and Amy Ashwood Garvey exemplified a rhetoric of falling forward as they worked to pass on the lessons of the UNIA. Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey presented caring, wisdom, and fortitude as they reckoned with their memories of Marcus Garvey and limned a future that they would never experience.

Amy Ashwood Garvey’s and Amy Jacques Garvey’s practices of reminiscing about Marcus Garvey and the UNIA were caring engagements in world-making. Building on Toni Cade Bambara’s words in *The Black Woman: An Anthology*, Tamika Carey contends, “Revolution begins with the self, in the self.”⁶ Carey continues, “With their ability to tap into otherworldly resources, healers held the capacity to challenge forms of systemic

authority and remedy cultural as well as material wounds.”⁷ By practicing fortitude in their recollections, Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey “challenged systemic authority” and remedied “cultural” wounds. In their reminiscences, Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey revisited some of the suffering and success they felt as women leaders of the UNIA. Ashwood Garvey’s and Jacques Garvey’s return to their memories of the UNIA reveals a strategy they used to push a positive view of the public UNIA leaders worked to establish forward. In “Strong, Black, and Woman,” Ronisha Browdy argues that “Black women’s practices of naming and interpreting their identities” creates an opportunity for “Black women” to “use both language and lived experience to resist misperceptions of their identities.”⁸ In their interviews, Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey articulated evaluations and expectations for the past and present that resisted “misperceptions of their” and the UNIA’s legacy. Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey departed from the assumption that the UNIA was a flash in the pan and Marcus Garvey was a fool.⁹ Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey used their understanding of their lived experience, their wisdom, to correct misconceptions about the UNIA’s past in hopes of influencing the path for Black people in the future. In their assessment of the Movement for Black Lives, Rico Self and Ashley Hall contend, “worldmaking processes are necessary tools because they grant us opportunities to” resist anti-Black registers.¹⁰ Jacques Garvey and Ashwood Garvey transformed the “conventional” and “anti-Black register” of remembering Marcus Garvey and the UNIA by caring for the legacy of the UNIA. In “The Black Press and the State,” Catherine Squires argues, “from the year 1917 to 1945, the Black public sphere mainly,” progressed by projecting “previously enclaved ideas toward the state.”¹¹ Looking back on their experiences, Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey outlined a view of UNIA

leaders' public as not primarily concerned with projecting "ideas toward the state" but including and empowering all Black people. Jacques Garvey and Ashwood Garvey's evocation of care, wisdom, and fortitude, their rhetoric of falling forward, extends understandings of the relationship between world-making, Black Nationalism, and circulation.

To illuminate Ashwood Garvey's and Jacques Garvey's production of a rhetoric of falling forward, this chapter is broken up into four sections. The first section provides a robust definition of a rhetoric of falling forward. The second section sets the stage for the third by illustrating the growth of the UNIA in the US and globally alongside the death of Marcus Garvey. The third section builds on the second by examining Lerone Bennett Jr.'s interviews of Amy Ashwood Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey. Attuning to Ashwood Garvey's and Jacques Garvey's accounts of Marcus Garvey illuminates the care, wisdom, and fortitude present in their evaluations of the past and expectations of the future as they invoked a view of UNIA leaders' public as one built from Black self-determination for all Black people. This chapter concludes by assessing how the recollections of Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey evince the capacity of world-making to push a productive view of a public into the future.

A Rhetoric of Falling Forward: Defined

A rhetoric of falling forward is an individual recollection of the past built to outlast the speaker's life. This section begins by describing how a rhetoric of falling forward builds with communication literature about Black women's talk. After establishing the roots of a rhetoric of falling forward, this section outlines how the notion of falling forward embraces the imminent fall of those that fight systemic oppression. Finally, this section distinguishes a rhetoric of falling forward from practices in public memory.

A rhetoric of falling forward is a name for the way some Black women have practiced care, wisdom, and fortitude for themselves and future generations. My definition of a rhetoric of falling forward builds alongside the way some communication scholars have described different methods of Black women's talk. In "Feminist Theory and Black Women's Talk," Marsha Houston argues that "Emancipating Black women" is the primary goal of "Liberatory scholarship."¹² Black women have amassed an archive of research about the ways that Black women speak about themselves and work in the struggle for Black life.¹³ For instance, in "Performing Memory as Survival," Olga Davis argues that through articulating a historical narrative, Black women can construct the resources to sustain themselves.¹⁴ Scholars like, Renata Ferdinand, Rondee Gaines, Natalie Hopkinson, and Taryn Myers have extended on Davis' argument and explained that by creating an inclusive and accurate recollection of the past, Black women can change the social environment.¹⁵ In "Multiple Perspectives," building on Patricia Hill Collins' *Black Feminist Thought*, Marsha Houston explains one strategy some Black women have used to shift social relations. Houston argues that in their everyday talk, Black women often espouse "wisdom, fortitude, and caring."¹⁶ Some communication scholars have built on Houston to develop further understandings of Black women's abilities to resist oppression.¹⁷ For example, in "Taking Back the Power," Sharde Davis laments that "power and discourse theories posit that communication serves as a resource for US Black women to manage, resist and/or subvert "systems of power," but "scholars have not detailed what this looks like in everyday practice." Davis offers a corrective by analyzing "the specific resistance strategies Black women employ."¹⁸ In this chapter, I build alongside Davis by focusing on how Amy Jacques Garvey and Amy Ashwood Garvey practiced care, wisdom,

and fortitude as they wrote themselves into the UNIA's past to tailor the vision of the UNIA's public for the future.¹⁹ Jacques Garvey's and Ashwood Garvey's advocacy provides an example of the first condition for a rhetoric of falling forward: a self-determined definition of the past and present. Jacques Garvey and Ashwood Garvey evince how some Black women have used their words to construct a different evaluation of the past to liberate future generations.

Amy Jacques Garvey's and Amy Ashwood Garvey's concentration on future generations foregrounds the importance of falling in falling forward. Unlike the MSNBC ad campaign of yester year that asked people to "lean forward," a rhetoric of falling forward centers and celebrates the incapacity to continue on.²⁰ In her segment of the interview with Lerone Bennett, Amy Jacques Garvey asserted that "[Marcus] Garvey's immortality is assured." She continued, "He knew that he had made a contribution and he knew that what he had done was worth it."²¹ Jacques Garvey's refrain highlighted that Marcus Garvey would not see the final conclusion of UNIA leaders' labor but knew what he had done was worth it. Jacques Garvey's praise of Marcus Garvey's endurance illustrates the utility in embracing incapacity. Opposed to seeing forced incapacity as a fault, this chapter understands incapacity as an inevitability for many struggling against oppression. Incapacity becomes an inevitability because activists are not immortal and the problems that many of them face are systemic and often outlive them.²² The falling part of falling forward draws attention to the enduring fortitude laden in Jacques Garvey's and Ashwood Garvey's willingness to fight for a future that they would likely not experience.²³ Attending to Ashwood Garvey's and Jacques Garvey's advocacy illustrates that though systemic

oppression often outlives people, there are strategies with which to fight against imminent oppression for future generations.

The recollections that made up Amy Ashwood Garvey's and Amy Jacques Garvey's resistance for future generations were less public and more private articulations of their evaluations of the past and expectations for the future. Rhetorical scholars have become comfortable with the idea of rhetors struggling over public and collective memory.²⁴ For instance, recent studies of collective memory have concentrated on how a group remembers an event or figure and struggles to create *the* memory of the person, place or thing.²⁵ Ashwood Garvey's and Jacques Garvey's recollections on Marcus Garvey are better described as private reminisces than productions of public memory. Jacques Garvey's and Ashwood Garvey's rhetoric reflected a concern for how they, the individuals, remembered Marcus Garvey. In this way, Ashwood Garvey's and Jacques Garvey's advocacy foregrounds falling forward as an analytic better suited to particularize as opposed to universalize individual recollections of the past.²⁶ Focusing on the first-person character of Jacques Garvey's and Ashwood Garvey's memories opens a space to assess their individual reactions to Marcus Garvey's death and contributions to the UNIA's legacy.²⁷ Returning to Jacques Garvey's and Ashwood Garvey's advocacy highlights how they offered their own evaluations and expectations to redefine the UNIA's past and future.

The UNIA After Marcus Garvey

Marcus Garvey's imprisonment in Atlanta ended a certain version of the UNIA. Yet, the spark of self-determination that drove the UNIA from 1914-1925 persisted. In the United States, William Sherill's leadership hastened the deterioration of the US UNIA. As the US UNIA fell apart, Garvey was released from prison on the condition that he would be deported to Jamaica. Marcus Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey fought ardently to give

the UNIA new life. In 1940, Marcus Garvey's lifeforce ran out. Even Garvey's expiration could not extinguish the flames of Black self-determination. As the 1960s neared, success in the global struggle for Black rights suggested that the ideals of Garvey and leaders of the UNIA lived.

US UNIA: Getting over the Loss of Garvey

As Marcus Garvey sat in the Atlanta Penitentiary, William Sherrill was appointed interim president-general of the UNIA. Sherrill quickly lost the faith of many division leaders. As the UNIA continued to crumble, Marcus Garvey was released but deported.

Marcus Garvey's mistreatment by prison staff and William Sherrill's lack of engagement with Garvey made Garvey's time in Atlanta prison particularly troubling. Reflecting on his time in Atlanta Prison, Garvey recalled, "From what I could gather it seemed that they [my enemies] had reached even the Deputy Warden of the prison with their influence, with the suggestion of making it hard for me whilst there." Garvey continued, "the Deputy Warden of the institution made every effort to carry out the wishes of my enemies. When I was drafted for work he gave me the hardest and dirtiest tasks in the prison."²⁸ The consistent aggravation Garvey experienced while in prison was exacerbated by a lack of engagement with the man he put in charge in his stead: William Sherrill. While Garvey was in prison, Sherrill only came to visit him sparingly and often to complain about in-fighting in the organization.²⁹ Sherrill's distance from Garvey added to the discontent that was building amongst division leaders during Sherrill's stint as president-general. Sherrill's inability to stand in for Garvey diminished the deteriorating organization.

William Sherrill's leadership of the UNIA further weakened the organization. In May of 1925, William Sherrill was empowered as the interim president-general of the

UNIA. Writing from Atlanta Prison, Garvey penned, “The Honorable William L. Sherrill is now Acting President-General, and he shall be held responsible to the organization and to me for the administration of affairs.”³⁰ Sherrill struggled with his newly-appointed position on two fronts. First, unlike his predecessor, Sherrill lacked the ability to instill belief in his followers. By October of 1925, multiple division presidents of the UNIA had lost faith in Sherrill. In a letter delivered directly to Marcus Garvey while he was in prison, Fred A. Toote, William Ware, Samuel Haynes and J.A. Craigen wrote, “THE PRESIDENTS FEEL THAT THE PEOPLE HAVE LOST CONFIDENCE IN THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION, AS HEADED BY THE ACTING PRESIDENT GENERAL. THEIR JUDGEMENT IS THAT A CHANGE SHOULD BE MADE IN SAID ADMINISTRATION AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE.”³¹ Toote, Ware, Haynes, and Craigen’s letter conveyed, in no uncertain terms, that members were largely unhappy with Sherrill’s leadership. Beyond local leaders’ lack of belief in him, Sherrill’s second stumbling block was the bad business situations he had inherited from Marcus Garvey.

Sherrill had trouble effectively managing the boating business of the UNIA. In late 1925, a ship owned by the UNIA, the S.S. General George W. Geothals, was set to be forcibly “sold at auction” due to “unpaid wages.”³² Anthony Crawford, a ship seller in the employ of the UNIA, updated Garvey on the situation of the Geothals. Crawford wrote, “SITUATION RE GOETHALS SERIOUS. MUST HAVE NOT LESS THAN SEVEN THOUSAND DOLLARS TO PREVENT MARSHALL SALE ON NOVEMBER 2.”³³ Crawford’s concern conveyed that under Sherrill’s leadership the UNIA was yet again in line to lose another ship. Crawford and Sherrill mishandled the stalling of the sale of the Geothals. In November, with an air of frustration, Garvey wrote to Crawford and Sherrill,

“I am sorry not knowing the circumstances and facts after nine months of time to on such urgent notice impress others to do what you request. I am unable to properly and intelligently advise at this time when all detailed facts of nine months are not at hand. Officers and directors should use their best judgement.”³⁴ Garvey’s letter suggested that he was growing tired of a lack of engagement and fixing problems from inside the penitentiary. Sherrill’s struggle in postponing the sale of the Geothal punctuated a less than successful time as acting president-general of the UNIA. Sherrill had not shown an ability to galvanize members like Garvey or an ability to succeed in business where Garvey had failed. Sherrill’s unsuccessful time as acting president-general of the UNIA underwrote the splintering of the US UNIA.

As William Sherrill’s shortfalls became clearer, power struggles between leaders further separated the struggling organization. As dissatisfaction with Sherrill’s leadership settled in, leaders of the New York local division grabbed for power. Based on the constitution of the UNIA established in 1918, all divisions were to be beholden to the president-general.³⁵ In Garvey’s absence, leaders of the New York local division bucked at that burden. UNIA Executive Secretary, D.S. Robinson reported to the Executive Council of the UNIA that leaders in New York “are doing their very best to set up here a division independent to the Parent Body as they are preaching that instead of the Local reporting to the Parent Body The Parent Body Should report to the New York Local.”³⁶ Robinson also relayed how vice-president of the New York local, George A. Weston, concretized leaders of the New York Local’s dissent. Robinson “further” begged “to state that Mr. Weston has openly declared that the constitution is ~~not~~ unconstitutional and that no one should pay any attention to it.”³⁷ Robinson’s report revealed that some in the New

York Local, Weston for example, were in open rebellion against the executive council of the UNIA. As the struggle for power in New York waged on, Weston founded a new organization, the U.N.I.A. Inc. (formerly the New York local) and declared it separate and not beholden to the UNIA incorporated by Marcus Garvey.³⁸ A legal battle ensued over who should receive the collected dues and which organization should receive the profits of the *Negro World*.³⁹ With the split between the UNIA founded in 1918 and the U.N.I.A. Inc., there were now many UNIAs and the divided organizations were vulnerable to the US government's finishing blow to the fragile group.

Marcus Garvey's deportation represented the knockout blow for USA UNIA. Throughout the time that Marcus Garvey had been imprisoned, Amy Jacques Garvey and others tirelessly petitioned President Calvin Coolidge for a pardon.⁴⁰ In the first year of petitioning, District Attorney John Sargent advised Coolidge "that the [Garvey's] application be denied as premature."⁴¹ After a year of consistent petitioning, Sargent was swayed by the support Garvey received. On November 12, 1927, Sargent wrote to Coolidge,

The situation as presented in the Garvey case is most unusual. Notwithstanding the fact that the prosecution was designed for the protection of colored people, whom it was charged Garvey had been defrauding by means of exaggerated and incorrect statements circulated through the mail, none of these people apparently believe that they have been defrauded, manifestly retain their entire confidence in Garvey, and instead of the prosecution and imprisonment of the applicant being an example and warning against a violation of law, it really stands and is regarded by them as a class as an act of oppression of the race in their efforts in the direction of race progress and of discrimination against Garvey as a negro.⁴²

Sargent's assessment suggested that the consistent efforts of UNIA members and leaders to define Garvey's acts for themselves had unsettled his belief that Garvey should serve the entirety of his sentence. Though Sargent could see the overwhelming support for

Garvey, he was hesitant to support Garvey's "release" "unconditionally." Sargent reflected, "The question arises to whether or not the sentence should be commuted upon condition of deportation and upon the further condition that if he ever returns to the country the commutation shall thereupon become null and void, and he shall be returned to the penitentiary." Ultimately, Sargent summated, "In the view of the wide spread sympathy for Garvey, and since he is bound to be deported anyway, I think it is better to merely commute the sentence."⁴³ Sargent's report suggested that he could see the effect Garvey had on Black people but thought it best to make sure Garvey never step foot in the US again. On November 21, 1927, Calvin Coolidge followed Sargent's advice and commuted Garvey's sentence with the condition of Garvey's deportation.⁴⁴

Grieving Garvey

Marcus Garvey's deportation was a harbinger of his death. After Marcus Garvey was deported, he and Amy Jacques Garvey worked ardently to turn the UNIA around in Jamaica. Like in 1914, despite his efforts, Garvey could not find solid ground for the UNIA in Jamaica. In 1935, Garvey moved to Britain in hopes of having one more chance to build a great Black nation. Before Garvey could reclaim his place as a globally recognizable racial uplift leader, death claimed him.

In 1927, Marcus Garvey hit the ground running toward a rejuvenated UNIA. In *Garvey and Garveyism*, Amy Jacques Garvey recounts that after arriving back in Jamaica, Marcus Garvey said, "I never look back; there is no time for that; besides it would make me cautious."⁴⁵ Garvey continued to throw caution to the wind by beginning again as he had before. Like before, one of Garvey's first projects was to build a home for his followers. Garvey bought and began remodeling a building on 76 King Street in Kingston, Jamaica. His building on King Street was meant to be the new Liberty Hall for the UNIA.⁴⁶

After buying a building, Garvey built on his foundation by getting back to public speaking in Jamaica. Garvey gave speeches at the Jamaican Liberty Hall and Edweiss Park. In *Negro With a Hat*, Colin Grant assesses the effect Garvey's speeches had on the people that had known Garvey before his time as a great race leader. Grant writes of Garvey's former friend Rose who was "'Proud'" of Garvey and "impressed" by "what he [Garvey] had to say with his 'commanding voice.'"⁴⁷ As Garvey got back to using his words to work toward Black self-determination, governments got back to deterring Garvey's message. Garvey's efforts to rebuild the UNIA from Jamaica were stifled by governments in Central America refusing to allow Garvey to visit.⁴⁸ Amy Jacques Garvey recounts, "None of the consuls for the Central American countries would vize his passport for entry."⁴⁹ Functionally, Garvey was free yet contained within England's jurisdiction.⁵⁰

Despite Garvey's entrapment, Garvey loyalists held out hope that he could lead the UNIA back to its highest heights. For example, Ethel Collins and Henrietta Vinton Davis, and Maymie De Mena continued consistent correspondence with Marcus Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey during the torrid period between 1927 and 1929.⁵¹ Marcus Garvey's standing was reaffirmed by his reelection as president-general of the UNIA. On August 24, 1929, the *Negro World* reported that at a session in Kingston, Jamaica "attended by fifteen thousand delegates, and marked by an undercurrent of opposition, Marcus Garvey, president general and founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, was re-elected head of" the UNIA.⁵² Garvey's reelection confirmed that there were still many that remained loyal to him and believed in his vision. Though there was some cause for celebration, the elements that had hindered the growth of Garvey's UNIA continued to influence the convention. The *Negro World's* report continued, "In accepting the

presidency of the organization Garvey declared that it had no official relations with the incorporated association in New York.”⁵³ Garvey’s remark at the sixth convention illustrated that there were deep divisions between Garvey’s incarnation of the UNIA and the UNIA Inc. that had taken hold in New York. Despite Garvey’s concessions of deference to the UNIA Inc., people loyal to Garvey in the United States continued to have expectations for Garvey.

Some people in the United States continued to expect greatness from Garvey after the UNIA had become many UNIA’s. In a letter to Garvey’s emissary in the United States, E.B. Knox, Cecil Waters expressed disappointment at the treatment received by US UNIA divisions that remained loyal to Garvey.⁵⁴ Waters wrote, “Mr. Garvey has committed many grievous errors, the worst of which is ‘refusing to acknowledge sums of monies sent him by Divisions and individuals.’ His excuse that he cannot acknowledge these because all divisions have not supported him and the Parent Body is too feeble for a man of Mr. Garvey’s repute and character.”⁵⁵ Waters’ framing of Garvey’s “excuse” as “too feeble” for someone of Garvey’s “character” implied that Waters believed Garvey was better than he was acting. Waters’ criticism evinces that the distance between Garvey and people loyal to him in the United States had begun to put a strain on would-be Garvey supporters. Waters closed his critique by offering a solution. Waters suggested “an immediate conference of DeMena, yourself [E.B. Knox] and Presidents loyal to Mr. Garvey and the organization to agree upon a program of procedure.”⁵⁶ Waters’ letter suggested that the grace some in the United States had shown Garvey during the troublesome years of 1925-1929 was wearing thin. Garvey tried to live up to the greatness he had previously displayed by once again traveling to England in hopes of getting a new start.

In 1935, Garvey moved to England without his family to give his career as a racial uplift leader one last reboot but died before he could realize his dream.⁵⁷ By the time Garvey moved to England, the curtain had mostly been closed on his version of the UNIA. In 1935, Joseph H. Rainey described Garvey as a “daring, courageous, militant Negro” that “came to Harlem, mecca of Negro culture and with adroit swiftness swept the Negro masses off their feet with his slogan ‘Africa for the Africans.’” Despite his honorific opening, Rainey’s column ended with a sanguine somberness. Rainey reflected, “Since his [Garvey’s] departure the organization he founded has disintegrated.”⁵⁸ Rainey’s report framed the UNIA Garvey created as already gone. Garvey gave getting the UNIA back on track his best shot. Garvey traveled around England giving speeches, but with less and less attention.⁵⁹ As Garvey’s descent into obscurity accelerated, he would experience one last disrespect before his death. After having a stroke in 1940, Garvey experienced the sublime reality of reading his own obituary. On May 18, 1940, George Padmore, the London Correspondent for the *Chicago Defender*, wrote that, “Marcus Garvey Dies in London.” Marcus Garvey’s assistant, Daisy Whyte, recalled showing Garvey the obituary and the ones that followed.⁶⁰ After Garvey received the news, he was dejected. Amy Jacques Garvey recalled that upon seeing the news, “he [Garvey] uttered a loud groan, held his head, and slumped in his chair.”⁶¹ Padmore’s reporting on Garvey’s death was only slightly premature. On June 10, 1940, Garvey died less than a month after the hasty publishing of his demise.⁶² Though Garvey’s life came to a tragic end for a person once known as a magnetic enigma, it did not end the circulation of Garvey’s ideas. The influence of Garvey’s life and struggle continued in the United States and globally until and beyond the days Amy Jacques Garvey and Amy Ashwood Garvey sat down with Lerone Bennett.

Garvey's Ideas Live

The vestiges of the ideas that invigorated the UNIA from 1914-1925 were palpable in the world as people touched by the UNIA struggled for Black rights between 1940 and 1960. In the United States context, the Nation of Islam (NOI) built on Marcus Garvey and the UNIA's messaging to the Black masses to build momentum. Internationally, Kwame Nkrumah heralded Garvey and the UNIA's heroic efforts as an inspiration. And, in 1960, the Year of Africa symbolized that on some level, the call of UNIA leaders for a free and redeemed Africa had arrived.

The NOI was founded by Wallace D. Fard in Detroit, Michigan in 1930.⁶³ In *The Black Muslims in America*, C. Eric Lincoln summarized, "By the late 1920s, then, Noble Drew Ali was dead and Marcus Garvey deported. Their movements, shorn of their charismatic leadership, were in rapid decline. But there was no change in the experience that gave rise to both movements—the experience of being black among a white majority."⁶⁴ Lincoln's assessment captures the conditions that gave rise to Garvey were the preconditions for the foundation of the NOI. The NOI built on the inroads Garvey and leaders of the UNIA made with the Black masses. Many of the earliest followers of Fard were former members of the UNIA.⁶⁵ In fact, the person that would take over for Fard as the leader of the NOI, Elijah Muhammed, was a former member of the UNIA.⁶⁶ Elijah Muhammed was born Elijah Poole. Before Poole became Muhammad, he was a Corporal of the Chicago division of the UNIA before Garvey's deportation in 1927.⁶⁷ After meeting Fard in 1930, Muhammad joined the nation in 1931 and became the leader of the NOI in 1934.⁶⁸ When reflecting on Garvey's legacy, Muhammed called Garvey a "brother" and argued that neither he nor Garvey "preached hate."⁶⁹ Muhammed's confirmation of the connection between himself and Garvey concretized that Garvey's ideas were invigorating

to Muhammed. Muhammed's embrace of Garvey was outshined by Kwame Nkrumah's identification of Marcus Garvey as an inspiration.

Kwame Nkrumah was a scholar, politician, and revolutionary. Nkrumah was born in Nkroful, Gold Coast (present day Ghana) in 1909.⁷⁰ In 1942, Nkrumah received his Masters' degree in Education from the University of Pennsylvania.⁷¹ Throughout and after his graduate education, Nkrumah read with fervor the texts of many leaders, including Vladimir Lenin.⁷² Nkrumah noted that his readings were efforts to uncover "the technique of organization" that would solve the "whole colonial question and the problem of imperialism."⁷³ Nkrumah turned his reading into action as a participant in Gold Coast Politics. Alongside others, like George Alfred "Paa" Grant, Nkrumah promoted Gold Coast self-government as a member of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC).⁷⁴ After disagreements with the UGCC arose, Nkrumah broke with the organization and founded his own political party.

Nkrumah was inspired by Garvey to push for a free Ghana and redeemed Africa. After breaking with the UGCC, Nkrumah founded the Convention People's Party (CPP).⁷⁵ Reminiscent of the height of the UNIA, the slogan for the CPP was "self governance now."⁷⁶ As founder and leader of the CPP, Nkrumah participated alongside other activists in the Gold Coast to advocate for independence. In 1957, The Gold Coast (present day Ghana) gained independence.⁷⁷ At the height of Ghana's revolution, Nkrumah reflected on the role Garvey's legacy played in his life. In *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, Nkrumah wrote, "of all the literature that I studied, the book that did more than any other to fire my enthusiasm was 'Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, published in 1923. Garvey with his philosophy of Africa for the Africans and his 'Back to

Africa' movement, did much to inspire the Negroes of America in the 1920's."⁷⁸ Nkrumah's assessment that no other text "did more" to "fire" his enthusiasm than *Philosophy and Opinions* provided evidence that the influence of Garvey and the UNIA could still be felt around the world in 1957. Nkrumah's praise highlighted that UNIA leaders' advocacy from the 1920s for an "Africa for the Africans" was alive even after the prime of the organization had passed. The most visible vestige of the legacy of Garvey and the UNIA in Africa and globally was the "Year of Africa" in 1960.

From January 1960 to December 1960, 17 former colonies in Africa gained independence from colonial rule.⁷⁹ One strand that tied together many of the movements toward freedom in Africa was a perception popularized by the UNIA in the 1920s and generative for leaders' view of their public: the idea that Black people should be able to determine their future for themselves. For example, Cameroon's establishment of itself as an independent nation came from years of organizing around the belief that the people of Cameroon could rule themselves. In 1956, the Union of the Peoples of Cameroon (UPC) began an armed conflict with French colonial soldiers over sovereignty for would be Cameroon.⁸⁰ UPC engagement did not end until after Cameroon was declared independent by the United Nations in 1960.⁸¹ Shortly following Cameroon's independence, in June of 1960, the colony formerly known as the Belgian Congo gained independence and was renamed The Democratic Republic of the Congo.⁸² The influence of Garvey and UNIA leaders' ideology was palpable in the arguments Patrice Lumumba leveraged to construct his claim for Congo's independence.⁸³ In "African Unity and National Independence," Lumumba argued, "The aspirations of colonized and enslaved peoples are everywhere the same; their lot too is the same. Moreover, the aims pursued by nationalist movements in

any African territory are also the same. The common goal is the liberation of Africa.”⁸⁴ Lumumba, the first prime minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, advanced his argument for the Congo’s independence by, like Garvey and UNIA leaders before him, emphasizing the necessity of connectedness and Black self-determination to the success of African nations. The swell of support and success for Black self-determination in the year that Amy Jacques Garvey and Amy Ashwood Garvey spoke to Lerone Bennett solidified the last piece of context for how they would reminisce over Garvey. Successful independence movements in Africa suggested that the struggle UNIA leaders had suffered through was supporting and creating a better future. When speaking to Bennett, Amy Jacques and Amy Ashwood returned to the past of the UNIA to buttress the ongoing struggle for a beautiful future.

Falling Forward: Amy Ashwood and Amy Jacques

Amy Ashwood Garvey’s and Amy Jacques Garvey’s recollections of Marcus Garvey reflect a commitment to determining the past of Marcus Garvey and the UNIA for themselves and future generations. Both Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey practiced caring, wisdom, and fortitude as they reminisced over Garvey and the UNIA. Attuning to Ashwood Garvey’s and Jacques Garvey’s lives with and without Marcus Garvey and then their reminiscences illustrates how they pushed a view of UNIA leaders’ public as one capable of including all Black people into the future.⁸⁵

Amy Ashwood: Caring for a Former Husband and Fallen Enemy

Amy Ashwood Garvey was central to the founding of the UNIA. Ashwood Garvey’s time in the UNIA was only the beginning of a long career of fighting for racial uplift. Late in her life, when Ashwood Garvey sat down with Bennett, her care, wisdom, and fortitude shined through as she reflected on what Garvey had achieved and what he

would have done. Ashwood Garvey's rhetoric of falling forward displays how even memories of a torrid past can be used to buttress a beautiful future.

Amy Ashwood Garvey was born in Jamaica in 1897 to a well to do family that owned a bakery.⁸⁶ During her teen years, Amy Ashwood had her care for Africa awakened by a conversation with her grandmother. Leaning on Lionel Yard's conversation with Amy Ashwood Garvey, Tony Martin notes,

Many years after her audience with Grannie Dabas, Amy wrote, of her immediate reaction to her great-grandmother's story, 'a fiery-feeling engulfed me, which threatened to choke and smother me, and I suddenly knew the meaning of race, and felt the power of Blood. From this time onwards I nursed a passion in my heart for Africa.'⁸⁷

Amy's recollection of her racial awakening highlights that stories her grandmother told her changed Ashwood's evaluations of the past and expectations for the future. Not so long after her racial awakening, Amy Ashwood met Marcus Garvey in 1912. Recounting her initial meeting with Marcus Garvey, Amy Ashwood recalled, "'At last,' he said in his rich deep voice, 'I have found my star of destiny! I have found my Joesephine!' . . . I was seventeen years old upon the occasion of this unusual tribute of affection, an age when I could have easily been swept off my feet. Yet somehow I managed to keep my balance and, I remember courteously declining his offer that evening to see me home."⁸⁸ Despite the chilled initial engagement, by 1914 Amy Ashwood and Marcus Garvey together founded the UNIA.

Yet, by the end of 1920, Amy Ashwood was out of the UNIA. Marcus Garvey set up the headquarters of the UNIA in Harlem in 1919.⁸⁹ In that same year, Amy Ashwood and Marcus Garvey got married.⁹⁰ The Amy Ashwood and Marcus Garvey marriage did not last long. By the middle of 1920, the marriage was over. After the break-up, Ashwood Garvey and Marcus Garvey had a spurious relationship to say the least—filled with

lawsuits and petty squabbles.⁹¹ However, Ashwood Garvey's life did not end when she left the UNIA. In fact, Ashwood Garvey spent the majority of her life fighting for Pan-Africanist causes and producing literature.⁹²

Amy Ashwood Garvey was a writer and Pan-African Feminist.⁹³ Reflecting on her time in the UNIA, in "The Foundation of the UNIA," Ashwood Garvey asserted, "The birth of what was to grow into a world-wide mass movement could not have been simpler or less pretentious. It began with a membership of two, but grew eventually like a grain of mustard seed into an organic whole of several millions."⁹⁴ In addition to writing about her time in the UNIA, Ashwood Garvey co-wrote and produced the musicals *Brown Sugar*, *Hey! Hey!*, and *Black Magic*.⁹⁵ Beyond her writings, Ashwood Garvey founded multiple Pan-Africanist movements. After her break with the UNIA, Ashwood Garvey returned to Britain where she founded the Nigerian Progress Union (NPU).⁹⁶ In 1934, alongside C.L.R. James and George Padmore, Ashwood Garvey founded the International African Friends of Abyssinia (present day Ethiopia).⁹⁷ By 1960, Ashwood Garvey had settled into her role as a well-renowned person in London and operated the Afro-People's Centre.⁹⁸ As her life writing about and working for Pan-African causes came toward its twilight, Ashwood Garvey reflected on what the UNIA had achieved and meant for future generations.

Amy Ashwood Garvey opened her reminiscence by practicing care as critique.⁹⁹ Ashwood Garvey practiced care that looked like criticism by evaluating both what Garvey and the UNIA offered to the world and where Garvey fell short. Ashwood Garvey asserted, "Africa was slumbering when Garvey struck. At that time, the American negro did not want to hear the word Africa." Ashwood Garvey continued, "More than any other man of his time, Garvey made a contribution towards awakening the masses of the world to racial

insecurity.”¹⁰⁰ Ashwood Garvey’s recollection established a view of UNIA leader’s public as one that awakened “the masses.” Ashwood Garvey’s refrain framed Garvey’s ability to construct a connection between Black Americans and Africa as remarkable. Ashwood Garvey’s assessment gave credit where credit was due to Garvey. Ashwood Garvey’s care began to sound more like critique as she assessed what stopped Garvey from reaching his goals. Ashwood Garvey stated, “His [Marcus] chief failing was his inability to share responsibility.”¹⁰¹ Ashwood Garvey offered a caring critique by being honest about both what the UNIA had achieved and how Garvey’s inability to “share responsibility” short circuited the organization. Ashwood Garvey’s highlighting of Garvey’s flaws performed care for more than Garvey by outlining the shortfalls of a great leader.¹⁰² Ashwood Garvey’s evaluation of the UNIA’s success and failure pushed a particular view of the public UNIA leaders worked to build into the future. Ashwood Garvey’s perspective illustrated that from the top-down the UNIA was not perfect. Ashwood Garvey built on her initial care for Garvey and the UNIA by using her wisdom to articulate her view of how Garvey’s perspectives would have changed if he had lived to see the 1960s.

Amy Ashwood Garvey practiced wisdom by predicting how Garvey and the UNIA would have changed if they had been given the chance. Ashwood Garvey stated, “I don’t believe the back-to-Africa movement would be valid for American Negroes today. I rather think that the Booker T. Washington philosophy of drop-your-bucket-where-you-are should permeate American Negroes.” Ashwood Garvey punctuated her point by predicting that Marcus Garvey would agree with her. Ashwood Garvey prophesized, “if Garvey had lived, he would have studied the conditions in Africa even more than in the New World and he would have realized that the return to Africa had taken place—that the black man

in the New World could make a greater contribution to Africa by remaining in America, rather than migrating.”¹⁰³ Ashwood Garvey’s evaluation revealed that, in her view, Garvey would have “studied the conditions” and “realized” that a change in tactic was necessary. Ashwood Garvey’s point displays the overlap between care and wisdom. Ashwood Garvey practiced wisdom by building on the beliefs she gained from her experience and then asserting how Garvey would have behaved. Ashwood Garvey’s statement connected care and wisdom by evaluating Garvey, a person whom she also described as “autocratic,” as one that would be open to and capable of necessary change. Ashwood Garvey’s articulation of evaluations of and expectations for Marcus Garvey highlights that remembering an imperfect past in its own particularity can provide a clearer view of changes that need to be made in the present and future. Ashwood Garvey leveraged her evaluations of the distant past and expectations for what would have happened in the recent past to produce an account of the UNIA leaders’ public for future generations.

Ashwood Garvey closed her reminisce about Garvey and the UNIA by interweaving care, wisdom, and fortitude. Ashwood Garvey began to conclude her reminisce by crystalizing her view of who Garvey was and what he had accomplished. Ashwood Garvey remarked, “He was an enigma,” and “He was a prophet, student of mass psychology and something of a healer.”¹⁰⁴ Ashwood Garvey’s condensation of Garvey carried with it care in the form of a bright but realistic view of Garvey. Ashwood Garvey continued her recollection by using her wisdom to assess what made Garvey successful. Ashwood Garvey judged, “He was also a racialist in the sense that he conceived it his duty to stimulate in the members of his race something which was a source of great anger to their oppressors—and that something was pride in their origin.” Ashwood Garvey

elaborated, “Because he could speak to the masses in a language they could understand, he was able to assume the mantle of Black Moses. Among his contemporaries were many better educated men, but most of them lacked the common touch.”¹⁰⁵ Ashwood Garvey’s account leaned on the years of racial uplift work she had done with, and without Marcus Garvey, as support for her claim that how “he [Garvey] could speak” was distinct and created room for him to stimulate “pride” in Black people. Ashwood Garvey made use of her practices of care and wisdom by practicing fortitude for Garvey and future generations. In her last words in her reminisce, Ashwood Garvey predicted,

He [Garvey] must be resting peacefully and joyously in the certainty that history will give the verdict that he neither lived nor labored in vain and that his success by far outweighed his faults and mistakes. Ghana’s Black Star Line is a living compliment to Garvey. Nkrumah hasn’t forgotten him.¹⁰⁶

Ashwood Garvey’s recollection reflected fortitude in her willingness to remain committed to her view of Marcus Garvey’s past and its effect in the present and future. Ashwood Garvey’s connection of Garvey to contemporaries like “Nkrumah,” outlined a view of the public UNIA leaders had worked to create as one that instigated Black self-determination and was important to her present.¹⁰⁷ By framing Marcus Garvey’s efforts as a “success” that “outweighed his faults,” Ashwood Garvey pushed a view of UNIA leaders’ public as one that included all Black people into the future. Ashwood Garvey’s reflection on Marcus Garvey was filled with care, wisdom, and fortitude, and highlighted that the strategies employed by leaders of the UNIA from 1914-1925 were something to build on.

Ashwood Garvey’s reminisces about Marcus Garvey represented the complicated interplay of care, wisdom, and fortitude when recalling times in the past that were not perfect. Ashwood Garvey and Marcus Garvey clearly did not have the perfect interpersonal relationship. However, Ashwood Garvey still saw the beauty in what the UNIA did for the

world and articulated that beauty in her recollection of Marcus Garvey. Ashwood Garvey evoked a rhetoric of falling forward by offering sometimes conflicting evaluations of Garvey's temperament and actions as an act of recalling the past in the service of the future. Though Ashwood Garvey's account emphasizes the contours of a rhetoric of falling forward when a person is separated from the public they are recalling, Amy Jacques Garvey's perspective provides an example of a rhetoric of falling forward when a person sees themselves as still connected to that public.

Amy Jacques Garvey: Reminiscing on Her Life's Work

Amy Jacques Garvey was integral in keeping the UNIA going. Amy Jacques Garvey's actions and words demonstrate her production of care, wisdom, and fortitude from the time she joined the UNIA until shortly after she met with Lerone Bennett. Jacques Garvey's rhetoric of falling forward pushed a positive view of the public UNIA leaders imagined into the future.

Amy Jacques Garvey had a private and strict upbringing in Kingston Jamaica. In *The Veiled Garvey*, Ula Taylor notes, "though we do not have much information on" Jacques Garvey's early life, "it is important to underscore what we do know, since it gives us some thin threads that were woven into the tapestry of her later life."¹⁰⁸ There are a few things about Jacques Garvey's early life that can be said with some certainty. Jacques Garvey was born into a middle-class family in Kingston, Jamaica in 1895.¹⁰⁹ Jacques Garvey attended St. Patrick's on Windward Road, Kingston. She also attended Deaconess High School and Wolmer's Girls School.¹¹⁰ After completing her schooling in Jamaica, Jacques Garvey moved to the United States in 1918.

Amy Jacques Garvey was the foremost historian of the UNIA. Jacques Garvey joined the UNIA as a clerk in 1919. Jacques Garvey rose from her position as clerk to be

the private secretary to Marcus Garvey. As the relationship between Ashwood Garvey and Marcus Garvey soured, Jacques Garvey and Marcus Garvey grew closer. Jacques Garvey and Marcus Garvey were married in 1922. If it is fair to say that Amy Ashwood Garvey started the UNIA, it is also fair to say that Amy Jacques Garvey kept it going. Jacques Garvey played an indispensable role in keeping the UNIA afloat between 1922 and 1927.¹¹¹ In fact, while Marcus Garvey was in the thick of his legal battles, Jacques Garvey managed the Marcus Garvey defense fund and co-edited the *Negro World*.¹¹² After the US government deported Marcus Garvey, Jacques Garvey and Marcus Garvey moved back to Jamaica.

When Marcus Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey returned to Jamaica, Jacques Garvey struggled alongside Marcus Garvey as their version of the UNIA sank into relative oblivion. Initially, Jacques Garvey was disappointed in the swiftness with which Marcus Garvey forgot his promises of a temporary reprieve for them both after his release from prison. In *Garvey and Garveyism*, Jacques Garvey lamented, Garvey had no “remembrance of the promised vacation together alone. If the last three strenuous years did not warrant it, then what more would?”¹¹³ Instead of a reprieve, Jacques Garvey experienced more stress in 1929. In an article for the *Jamaica Journal*, Jacques Garvey remembered, “The year 1929 was one of the most striking and agonizing 365 days.” Jacques Garvey continued, “Subtle, silent, systematic efforts were made to crush” Garvey and the UNIA.¹¹⁴ After the torrid conditions of 1929, from 1930-1935, Marcus Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey’s relationship began to deteriorate.¹¹⁵ After Marcus Garvey’s death in 1940, some that thought of themselves as heirs to Marcus Garvey turned to Jacques Garvey for advice and support.

As the years went by, Amy Jacques Garvey continued to give advice and help steer those that saw themselves as tethered to the 1914-1925 UNIA. In a February 12, 1958, letter to William Sherrill, Jacques Garvey updated Sherrill on her most recent efforts to support those that carried on the ideas of the 1914-1925 UNIA. Jacques Garvey wrote, “Two Ghanaians are here now;-- Messrs Konu and Otoo, a member of Parliament, Studying our literacy campaign social services and rural education systems.”¹¹⁶ Jacques Garvey’s evaluation evinced that after the fall of the 1914-1925 UNIA, her house was an institution for the ideas of the UNIA. Jacques Garvey elaborated on her recent experience by relaying the praise her guests bestowed upon the 1914-1925 UNIA. Jacques Garvey recalled, “When Mr. Otoo rose to speak he was moved almost to tears, and said so, he further said, . . . when the question of the black star to be placed on the flag came up in parliament, the Opposition wanted a blue star, Dr. Nkrumah rose, and in pressing for a black star, told the story of Marcus Garvey, how he suffered and struggled to keep the black star-emblem of our Race—as a beacon of African Nationalism.” Jacques Garvey’s recollection of Mr. Otoo’s speech highlighted how Garvey’s struggle had been used by “Dr. Nkrumah” as a resource to “keep the black star-emblem.” Jacques Garvey continued her letter to Sherrill by asserting the role she believed the UNIA played in Nkrumah’s development. Jacques Garvey argued, “Dr. Nkrumah was studying and working in America, when the U.N.I.A. was in its zenith, forging ahead for Africa, and Africans at home and abroad, he heard M.G. speak, and he knew. . . .” Jacques Garvey’s evaluation suggested that the height of the UNIA had inspired in Nkrumah the ideas that were helping Ghana establish and maintain its independence in 1958. Jacques Garvey did not restrain her instruction to successful nationalist movements in Africa.

Jacques Garvey also offered advice to UNIA leaders in the United States that hoped to carry on the work of the 1914-1925 UNIA. In December of 1961, Thomas Harvey wrote a letter to Jacques Garvey offering an opinion on what steps she should take as she worked to recirculate *Philosophy and Opinions*. Harvey wrote, "Please permit me to say that I think that in the event that you decide to have this work done" then "Officers of the organization should volunteer their services for help in the distribution and handling of the philosophy and opinion without cost to satisfy a world wide demand and in so doing reactivate Garveyism everywhere."¹¹⁷ After the conversation on republishing *Philosophy and Opinions* stalled, Jacques Garvey wrote to Harvey with a directive. Jacques Garvey instructed, "By this you have received a complimentary copy of 'Garvey and Garveyism' if not wait until it arrives (as it is registered), then, act on the following suggestion." Jacques Garvey continued, "In view of the fact that the book is a text-book of the U.N.I.A. and the Organization is the foundation of all this struggle for full American rights and African Nationalities, I suggest that the Parent Body buy some of these books and present one to the Head of each of the African and Asian Delegation to the United Nations."¹¹⁸ Jacques Garvey's suggestion revealed that she was still working to shape the narrative of the UNIA and Marcus Garvey. Jacques Garvey's structuring of people's perspectives on Garvey and the UNIA before and after her conversation with Bennet conveyed her commitment to determining for herself how Marcus Garvey and the height of the UNIA should be remembered. Jacques Garvey made a succinct statement on what Marcus Garvey had done and illustrated her view of UNIA leaders' public as one that supported Black self-determination in the 1920s and strong enough to support Black freedom in the future in her conversation with Lerone Bennet Jr.

Amy Jacques' Garvey began her reminiscence about Marcus Garvey by caring for his memory. Jacques Garvey practiced care by curating the view of what Garvey and leaders of the UNIA accomplished in the 1920s. Jacques Garvey asserted, "He gave to millions of people who had no ambition, who felt they were born with a handicap, a new sense of dignity and personal worth."¹¹⁹ Jacques Garvey's assessment emphasized how leaders of the UNIA from 1914 to 1925 had attempted to shift the masses perception of past and future consequences. Jacques Garvey evaluated and cared for Marcus Garvey's past by arguing that he "gave to millions of people" a "new sense" of "personal worth." Jacques Garvey continued by describing how Garvey made the Black masses feel. Jacques Garvey contended, "He made the masses feel proud of their black skin, their kinky hair and their thick lips. He made them feel that they were something of value. Garvey told them, 'God made you black and He didn't make a mistake.'¹²⁰ Jacques Garvey's evaluation extended the world-making that had been undertaken by Garvey and other leaders of the UNIA in the 1920s. Jacques Garvey leveraged the evaluations and expectations articulated by Garvey and underlined that one contribution of the UNIA was to instill the feeling that there was "something of value" in being Black and that it wasn't a "mistake." Jacques Garvey's description distilled that leaders' world-making underwrote a view of their public as one in which all Black people could embrace that their blackness as something that wasn't a "mistake." Jacques Garvey continued her recollection by using her wisdom to articulate an evaluation of UNIA leaders' goals for Africa and an expectation for what was needed in the United States to achieve freedom for African Americans.

Amy Jacques Garvey continued to reflect on Garvey and the UNIA by using her wisdom. Jacques Garvey leaned on her own experiences as a leader of the UNIA and

participant in racial uplift work since the fall of the 1914-1925 UNIA to correct the record on the UNIA's past. Jacques Garvey noted, "Migration was planned to Liberia because concessions were given there. The idea was to take only enough to establish a township as an example and pattern for Africans."¹²¹ Jacques Garvey's evaluation of the past leveraged her wisdom gained from being there to correct the common misperception that the UNIA was a mass migration movement.

Jacques Garvey continued to work with her wisdom to establish why Garvey approached repatriation to Africa with such vigor and what would happen to Black Americans without it. Jacques Garvey assessed, Garvey's program was based on reuniting "the three units: the people of the homefront in Africa, American Negroes and Negroes in the West Indies." Jacques Garvey continued, "He [Marcus Garvey] knew that once a strong African nation was established Negroes everywhere would automatically gain added prestige and strength."¹²² Jacques Garvey's account provided an evaluation of Garvey's knowledge based on her experiences with Marcus Garvey. What Jacques Garvey knew about Marcus Garvey created an opportunity for her to articulate what Marcus Garvey "knew." Jacques Garvey built on her evaluation of Marcus Garvey's knowledge to espouse an expectation for what would happen to "American Negroes" without a strong and independent nation. Jacques Garvey argued, "The important thing is nationhood. American Negroes will eventually win their fight for integration, but it will be a hollow victory. Even if the Negro is allowed to participate in a small way, he will be swamped as a personality in the body politic. And in the years to come the practical realization will be absorption." Jacques Garvey summated, "If the American Negro is to gain national prestige and racial prestige and economic stability, he must become part and parcel of a united race." Jacques

Garvey's assessment leaned on her years of experience with racial oppression to illustrate an understanding of the fate faced by Black Americans. Jacques Garvey's argument illustrated her expectation that becoming a "united race" was vital to achieving "racial prestige." Jacques Garvey's espousal of evaluations of Garvey and the UNIA's past and expectations for the future of Black Americans, her world-making, provided a view of the public UNIA leaders as one that was built for supporting Black freedom. Jacques Garvey pushed her view of UNIA leaders' public into the future by practicing fortitude.

Amy Jacques Garvey practiced fortitude by becoming a living prophet for Marcus Garvey. Reflecting on what could be framed as evidence of Jacques Garvey's fortitude, Lerone Bennet editorialized,

Few things are more alive to Amy Jacques Garvey than her late husband. 'When I talk,' she says, 'I talk for Garvey, I feel I can interpret how he would feel if he were alive.' The dynamic woman, who has edited a book of Garvey speeches, has at her fingertips almost everything Garvey said and did . . . All around her, in the handsome house on Kingston's Mona Road, are Garvey paraphernalia—old books, busts and pictures. Mrs. Garvey, . . . raised their boys, Marcus Jacques and Julius, and put them through school by dabbling in real estate and disposing of inherited property.¹²³

Jacques Garvey's appointment of herself as a living medium for the past, "I talk for Garvey," highlights how Amy Jacques Garvey practiced fortitude to bring the past of the UNIA with her into the future. Jacques Garvey's conversion of her home into an archive highlights that she was wholly committed to keeping the vision of the UNIA made by Garvey and other leaders of the UNIA alive even if she had to do it herself. Jacques Garvey's willingness to push a positive view of the UNIA's past into the future illustrates how by remaining committed to her own evaluations, and developing expectations from those evaluations, she was able to keep pristine a certain recollection of Garvey and the UNIA.

Amy Jacques Garvey concluded her reminiscence by interweaving care, wisdom, and fortitude to produce an account of the UNIA's past and future. Jacques Garvey stated,

'He [Garvey] laid the foundation so that a superstructure could be built on it. And he did it the only way it could be done—by meeting the masses where they were, by dealing with their hopes, their frustrations and their fears. And so today, Nkrumah and Kenyatta give him credit for the work he did.'¹²⁴

Jacques Garvey's contention conveyed care by describing the legacy left by Garvey and the UNIA as one that was made possible by "meeting the masses" and lived on in them. By leaning on the wisdom gained from years of racial uplift experience, Jacques Garvey established an evaluation of what Garvey had built and how. Jacques Garvey's experience working for racial uplift within and beyond the UNIA equipped her with an understanding of how the success of the UNIA from 1914-1925 "laid the foundation" for movements for Black rights of the 1950s and 1960s. Jacques Garvey's fortitude for fighting for the UNIA, her becoming the living voice of Marcus Garvey, highlights that the UNIA was not only Marcus Garvey's life work but also hers. Jacques Garvey's interweaving of care, wisdom, and fortitude exemplified a rhetoric of falling forward by producing a praxis for pushing a positive view of the public imagined by leaders of the UNIA forward.¹²⁵ Jacques Garvey helped push the public of empowered Black people UNIA leaders longed for into perpetuity by using reminiscences that created a self-fulfilling prophecy. Jacques Garvey kept a view of UNIA leaders' public as one that included all Black people alive by the very process of her saying the words and keeping her recollection of deeds alive.

A Rhetoric of Falling Forward: Concluded

Amy Ashwood Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey articulated their own evaluations and expectations to push a productive view of the UNIA's public forward. Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey practiced a rhetoric of falling forward by establishing their

own account of the past and present of the UNIA as a tool for future generations. Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey practiced Black self-determination by determining for themselves the legacy of the UNIA and sharing it with others. Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey offered their own evaluations of Marcus Garvey's past and expectations for the future. Ashwood Garvey's and Jacques Garvey's return to the legacy of the UNIA in their reminiscences provides an opportunity to extend contemporary thinking about world-making and publics and punctuate the story of the UNIA from 1914-1925.

Amy Ashwood Garvey's and Amy Jacques Garvey's recollections revealed how world-making can be used to concatenate a view of a public. In *Publics and Counterpublics*, Micheal Warner defines "concatenation" as a dispersal of discursive material.¹²⁶ For Warner, concatenation describes the way discourse spreads and is picked up by intended and unintended audiences. Building alongside Warner, in *Talking to Strangers*, Danielle Allen argues, "Citizens know the deep rules of their society by intuition and habit and become expressly conscious of those rules only when the order they secure is disintegrating."¹²⁷ Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey concatenated, picked up and spread, UNIA leaders' vision of their public as one capable of supporting all Black people by articulating their own evaluations and expectations of the UNIA's past and future. Ashwood Garvey's and Jacques Garvey's perception of consequences disturbed the "deep rules" of their time that racism and colonialism should continue and instead offered a view that centered the importance of Black self-determination. Recently, in "Black Lives and Justice with the Archive: A Call to Action," Angela Aguayo, Danette Patton, and Molly Bandonis pushed scholars to "purposefully, and with deliberate consciousness," use "the transformational and political power of the archive to explore its capacity to prompt

societal change.”¹²⁸Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey created and curated the archive of the UNIA to prompt social change. Ashwood Garvey’s and Jacques Garvey’s articulation of evaluations and expectations produced a view of UNIA leaders’ past and Black people’s future in the name of procuring a better future. Ashwood Garvey’s and Jacques Garvey’s rhetoric respond to conditions, though shifting, that did not seem as if they were going to change completely unless somebody made them change. Years of racial uplift work with and without Marcus Garvey, equipped Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey with wisdom to be well aware of the calcified nature of anti-Black oppression in their times and that systemic oppression would likely outlive them. Ashwood Garvey’s and Jacques Garvey’s consistent efforts to determine the past and future of the UNIA for themselves put on display in word and deed a way of speaking in which if they fell, they would fall forward toward freedom.

Ashwood Garvey’s and Jacques Garvey’s rhetoric of falling forward put a punctuation mark on the UNIA from 1914-1925. When Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey spoke to Bennet in 1960, the UNIA of 1914-1925 had been long gone. Marcus Garvey, the man they reminisced over, had been dead for nearly 20 years. Ashwood Garvey’s and Jacques Garvey’s recollections pushed the past forward in history. Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey offered sets of evaluations and expectations that distilled the developments and down-turns of the UNIA from 1914-1925. The depictions of the UNIA offered by Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey drew an image of the UNIA from 1914 to 1925 as not perfect, not lead by people without egos, but instead an organization grown from an interest in and commitment to Black self-determination seeking to uplift the Black masses. Ashwood Garvey’s and Jacques Garvey’s conception of the UNIA provides a

connection to this project's conclusion. This project concludes by illustrating how UNIA leaders' practices in world-making and envisioning their public illuminate the world-making of Black nationalists in the 1960s and what world we are making now.

¹ Shelia Jackson Lee, "Remembering Fannie Lou Hamer, Courageous and Tireless Fighter for Voting Rights and Social Justice Who Spoke Truth to Power and Touched the Conscience of the Nation," *Congressional Records*, <https://www.congress.gov/congressional-record/2017/10/6/extensions-of-remarks-section/article/E1344-1>.

² Marsha Houston, "Multiple Perspectives: African American Women Conceive Their Talk," in *African American Communication & Identities: Essential Readings*, ed. Ronald Jackson (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2004), 162. Building alongside Houston, this chapter understands caring as sympathetic protection, wisdom as thinking based on past experiences, and fortitude as a continued commitment to a goal.

³ Amy Jacques Garvey "The Ghost of Marcus Garvey," interview by Lerone Bennett Jr., *Ebony*, March 1960, https://books.google.com/books?id=BPpYDAS_oUUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. 53

⁴ Amy Ashwood Garvey "The Ghost of Marcus Garvey," interview by Lerone Bennett Jr., *Ebony*, March 1960, https://books.google.com/books?id=BPpYDAS_oUUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. 53.

⁵ Shawn J. Parry-Giles and David S. Kaufer, *Memories of Lincoln and the Splintering of American Political Thought*, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), 3.

⁶ Toni Cade, "Preface," in *The Black Woman: An Anthology*, ed. Toni Cade (New York: New American Library, 1970), 7; Tamika L. Carey, *Rhetorical Healing: The Reeducation of Contemporary Black Womanhood* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2016), 15.

⁷ Carey, *Rhetorical Healing*, 18.

⁸ Ronisha Browdy, "Strong, Black, and Woman: Examining Self-Definition and Self-Valuation as Black Women's Everyday Rhetorical Practices," *Reflections* (2017-2018): 9.

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W.E.B. Du Bois, "What Du Bois Thinks of Garvey [1921]," in *Call and Response Key Debates in African American Studies*, eds. Henry, L. Gates and Jennifer Burton (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2011), 260.

¹⁰ Rico Self and Ashley R. Hall, "Refusing to Die: Black Queer and Feminist Worldmaking Amid Anti-Black State Violence," *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking* 8, no. 1 (2021): 124.

¹¹ Catherine Squires, "The Black Press and the State: Attracting Unwanted (?) Attention," in *Counterpublics and the State*, eds. Robert Asen and Daniel C. Brouwer (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001), 112.

¹² Marsha Houston, "Feminist Theory and Black Women's Talk," *Howard Journal of Communications* 1, no. 4, (1988): 22.

¹³ Debra Atwater, "Editorial: The Voices of African American Women in the Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of Black Studies* 26, no. 5 (1996): 539; Brenda J. Allen, "Goals for Emancipatory Communication Research on Black Women," in *Centering Ourselves: African American Feminist and Womanist Studies of Discourse*, eds. Marsha Houston and Olga Idriss Davis (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2002), 23; Elsa Barkley Brown, "Negotiating and Transforming the Public Sphere: African American Political Life in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom," in *The Black Public Sphere: A Public Culture Book*, eds. The Black Public Sphere Collective (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 113; Keisha Blain, *Set the World on Fire: Black Nationalist Women and the Global Struggle for Freedom* (Philadelphia: PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 7-10; Houston, "Multiple Perspectives," 162; Cantice Greene, "Chapter 4: Writing For Ourselves," in *Underserved Women of Color, Voice, and Resistance: Claiming a*

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²⁶ Elaine B. Richardson and Ronald L. Jackson II, "Preface" in *African American Rhetoric(s): Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, eds. Elaine B. Richardson and Ronald L. Jackson II (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2007), XIV; Keith Gilyard, "Introduction: Aspects of African American Rhetoric as a Field," in *African American Rhetoric(s): Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, eds. Elaine B. Richardson and Ronald L. Jackson II (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2007), 2; Shirley Wilson Logan, "Black Speakers, White Representations: Frances Ellen Watkins Harper and the Construction of a Public Persona," in *African American Rhetoric(s): Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, eds. Elaine B. Richardson and Ronald L. Jackson II (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2007), 24.

²⁷ Williams, "Toward a theorization," 4.

²⁸ Marcus Garvey, "Marcus Garvey," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 3, 1930, 14.

²⁹ Colin Grant, *Negro With a Hat: The Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), 394.

³⁰ "Negro World Notice," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 151.

³¹ "Fred A. Toote, William Ware, Samuel Haynes, and J.A. Craigen to Marcus Garvey," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 250; Marcus Garvey, "Marcus Garvey to William Ware," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 301; "UCLA Professor Robert Hill Lectures about Belize's Phenomenal Samuel Haynes," *Amandala*, <https://amandala.com.bz/news/ucla-professor-robert-hill-lectures-about-belizes-phenomenal-samuel-haynes/>; Thomas P. Lennon, "'Lower Types of Cranks, Crooks and Racial Bigots'? The Universal Negro Improvement Association and Black Political Violence in the United States 1918-1930," *Radical Americas*, (2020): Paragraph 28; Notable Kentucky African Americans Database, "Ware, William, Sr.," *Notable Kentucky African Americans Database*, <https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/1238>; Nicholas Patsides, "Marcus Garvey, Race Idealism and his vision of Jamaican Self-Government," *Caribbean Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (2005): 47; PBS, "Universal Negro Improvement Association," <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/garvey-unia/>; "Universal Negro Improvement Association Philadelphia Division Records 1919-1920," *Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division*, <https://archives.nypl.org/scm/21178>; Kip Vought, "Racial Stirrings in Colored town: The UNIA in Miami During the 1920s," *Tequesta* 1, no. 60 (2000): 67; Fred A Toote was an Assistant- President General of the UNIA. Toote was also the president of the Philadelphia division of the UNIA. After the fall out with Sherrill, and Garvey's deportation to Jamaica, William Ware was born in Lexington Kentucky. Ware was the president of the Cincinnati, Ohio division of the UNIA. Samuel Haynes was born in Belize. Haynes was also president of the Pittsburgh division of the UNIA. J.A. Craigen was the Executive Secretary of the Detroit UNIA division.

³² "Article in the Panama Star and Herald," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 247; C. A. Harrigan, "C.A. Harrigan to William J. Donovan, Assistant Attorney General," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 100; Robert Hill, "Introduction," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), xxxvi. Particularly, the Geothals was owned by the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company. The Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company was the reincarnation of the defunct Black Star Line. The Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company had purchased the Geothals in early 1925. After the purchase, the Geothals was renamed the S.S. Booker T. Washington. The Geothal set out for its first voyage in the middle of the year. The first trip was mired by many crisis including a lack of wages paid to crew members.

³³ Anthony Crawford, "Anthony Crawford to Marcus Garvey," In *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 257; Marcus Garvey, "Marcus Garvey to Anthony Crawford," in *The*

Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 228, n.1. Blackpast, “The Crusader,” Blackpast, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/crusader-1918-1922/>. Anthony Crawford was a West Indian merchant. Crawford provided seed money to help Cyril Briggs establish the *Crusader*. Crawford was also a member the African Blood Brotherhood. After the Black Star Line capsized, Garvey reached out to Crawford to be a sort of middle person between the UNIA and other shipping businesses that would no longer entertain their business.

³⁴ Marcus Garvey, “Marcus Garvey to Anthony Crawford and William Sherrill,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 262.

³⁵ “Constitution and Book of Laws,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol.1:1826-August 1919*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 273.

³⁶ D.S. Robinson Letter to Executive Council, 1925, Box Miscellaneous, Folder 3, Universal Negro Improvement Association Central Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library. D.S. Robinson was the Executive Secretary of the UNIA. Before becoming Executive Secretary, Robinson was a member of the New York Local UNIA. Robinson signed the 1922 letter to the shipping board in support of Marcus Garvey.

³⁷ D.S. Robinson Letter to Executive Council, 1925, Box Miscellaneous, Folder 3, Universal Negro Improvement Association Central Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library; Jeffrey D. Howison, “‘Let Us Guide Our Own Destiny’: Rethinking the History of the Black Star Line,” *Review* (Fernand Braudel Center) 28, no. 1 (2005): 38; “Open Letter from the New York UNIA Local,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922* ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), 371; G. Emonei Carter, “G.Emonei Carter to Marcus Garvey,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927* ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 203; Geo Weston was George Weston. Before Weston joined the UNIA, he spent his youth sailing the Atlantic. Weston was the vice-president of the New York Local division. The quoted text is from the archive held at the New York Public Library. The cross-outs are from the original text.

³⁸ George Weston, “Deposition of George Weston, UNIA, Incorporated V. Marcus Garvey, Amy Jacques Garvey, et al,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 433.

³⁹ “Affidavit by Marcus Garvey, UNIA, Incorporated V. Marcus Garvey, Amy Jacques Garvey, et al.” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 441-4.

⁴⁰ William Sherrill, “William Sherrill to President Calvin Coolidge,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 144; “Marcus Garvey Pardon Delegation to John Sargent,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 145; George Gordon, “George Gordon Battle to John Sargent,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 152; Calvin Coolidge ed. Amity Shlaes, *The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge: Authorized, Expanded, and Annotated* (Ebook, Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2021), 1-10; “Calvin Coolidge,” *The American Presidency Project*, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/people/president/calvin-coolidge>. Calvin Coolidge was the 30th president of the United States. Coolidge was a Republican. Coolidge was President from 1923 following Warren G. Harding’s death until 1929. Coolidge is often remembered as one of the quietest Presidents in US history.

⁴¹ John Sargent, “John Sargent to President Calvin Coolidge,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 313.

⁴² John Sargent, “John Sargent to President Calvin Coolidge,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 607.

⁴³ “John Sargent to President Calvin Coolidge,” 608.

⁴⁴ “Commutation of Sentence,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 609.

⁴⁵ Amy Jacques Garvey, *Garvey and Garveyism* (Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, 1963), Loc. 3195.

⁴⁶ Grant, *Negro With a Hat*, 417.

⁴⁷ Grant, *Negro With a Hat*, 418.

⁴⁸ Grant, *Negro With a Hat*, 419; Jacques Garvey, *Garvey and Garveyism*, Loc 3186.

⁴⁹ Jacques Garvey, *Garvey and Garveyism*, Loc 3186.

⁵⁰ Jamaica was a territory held by the English until 1962. As a Jamaican citizen, Garvey was able to travel around Jamaica and England but not allowed to travel anywhere else without a passport. Jamaica Information Service, “The History of Jamaica,” <https://jis.gov.jm/information/jamaican-history/>; Jamaica Information Service, “Independence,” <https://jis.gov.jm/information/independence/>.

⁵¹ “Enclosure: Marcus Garvey to George Williams,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 117-18, n.1; Marcus Garvey, “Marcus Garvey to Ethel Collins,” in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 572; Keisha N. Blain, “Black Nationalist Women and the Global Struggle for Freedom,” *Black Perspectives*, December 8, 2017, <https://www.aaihs.org/black-nationalist-women-and-the-global-struggle-for-freedom/>; Keisha N. Blain, “Black Nationalist Women’s Activism in 1920s Harlem,” *The Gotham Center for New York History*, May 28, 2018, <https://www.gothamcenter.org/blog/black-nationalist-womens-activism-in-1920s-harlem/>; Natanya Duncan, “If Our Men Hesitate Then the Women of the Race Must Come Forward,” Henrietta Vinton Davis and the UNIA in New York,” *New York History* 95, no. 4 (2014): 558; Kami Fletcher, “Migration, Diasporic Self-Making, and Madame De Mena: An Interview with Courtney Morris,” *Black Perspectives*, January 12, 2017, <https://www.aaihs.org/migration-diasporic-self-making-and-madame-de-mena-an-interview-with-courtney-morris/>; Melissa Castillo-Garsow, “Afro-Latin@ Nueva York: Maymie De Mena and the Unsung Afro-Latina Leadership of the UNIA,” in *Afro-Latin@s In Movement: Critical Approaches to Blackness and Transnationalism in the Americas* eds. Petra R. Rivera-Rideau, Jennifer A. Jones, and Tianna S. Paschel, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 142; Lisa Levenstein, “Feminism, Gender Politics, and Black Nationalist Women,” *Black Perspectives*, September 27, 2018, <https://www.aaihs.org/feminism-gender-politics-and-black-nationalist-women/>; Courtney Desiree Morris, “Becoming creole, Becoming Black: Migration, Diasporic Self-Making, and the Many Lives of Madame Maymie Leona Turpeau de Mena,” *Women, Gender, and Families of Color* 4, no. 2 (2016): 171; Ethel Maud Collins was born in Brown’s Town, Jamaica. Collins came to the United States in 1892. Ethel Collins began her membership in the UNIA in 1920. In 1927, Collins worked in the Secretary General’s office for the UNIA. By 1929, Collins had been elected Executive Secretary of the UNIA. Maymie Leona Turpea De Mena was born in Martinsville, Louisiana. De Mena played multiple roles for the UNIA. De Mena was Garvey’s representative to the Richmond, Virginia, Miami, and New Orleans divisions in 1925 while Garvey was imprisoned. De Mena was also a delegate to the UNIA convention in Jamaica in 1929.

⁵² The Negro World, “U.N.I.A. Again Names Marcus Garvey Its Head,” *The Negro World*, August 24, 1929, p.1.

⁵³ “U.N.I.A. Again Names Marcus Garvey,” 1.

⁵⁴ E.B. Knox, “E.B. Knox to Sen. Charles Deneen,” *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 546, n.1; “Marcus Garvey to E.B. Knox,” *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume VI September 1924-December 1927*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 572; “Hon. Marcus Garvey on Eve of Departure For Europe Sends Greetings to Members,” *The Negro World*, April 21, 1928; E.B. Knox was the U.N.I.A. Commissioner of Illinois, Indiana & Wisconsin. In the years that Garvey was imprisoned in the United States Knox was one of Garvey’s closest confidants. Knox was appointed as Garvey’s representative to the meeting of the New York Local Division. Despite the author’s best efforts, further information about Cecil Waters has yet to be uncovered.

⁵⁵ Letter from Cecil Waters to E.B. Knox, Box Miscellaneous, Folder 1, Universal Negro Improvement Association Central Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library

⁵⁶ “Letter from Cecil Waters”

⁵⁷ Grant, *Negro With a Hat*, Loc. 7991;

⁵⁸ Joseph H. Rainey, "Devotees of Garvey Plan Mass Meeting," Division Records, 1974, Sc Micro R-1571, Box 2, Folder 1, Universal Negro Improvement Association Central Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library.

⁵⁹ Jacques Garvey, *Garvey and Garveyism*, 4725.

⁶⁰ Rupert Lewis, "Marcus Garvey's Vision of Pan-Africanism," *Black Perspectives*, September 14, 2018, <https://www.aaihs.org/marcus-garveys-vision-of-pan-africanism/>; George Padmore, "Marcus Garvey Dies in London: Lost Wealth and Prestige Before Death, Obscurity Marks End of the Once Powerful Founder of UNIA," *Chicago Defender (National Edition)*, May 18, 1940; Daren Salter, "George Padmore (1901-1959)" *Blackpast*, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/padmore-george-1901-1959/>; P. Kiven Tunteng, "George Padmore's Impact on Africa: A Critical Appraisal," *Phylon* 35, no. 1 (1960): 33; George Padmore was born Malcom Nurse in Trinidad in 1901. Padmore was a writer, journalist, and activist. Padmore is remembered for his struggles for Black liberation globally. Daisy Whyte was Marcus Garvey's secretary during the twilight of his life. During the period in which Marcus Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey's relationship had soured, Whyte took on the role of nursing Garvey back to health after his first stroke in May of 1940. Whyte also took on the role of writing many of Garvey's letters in the last days of his life.

⁶¹ Jacques Garvey, *Garvey and Garveyism*, 4729.

⁶² "Marcus Garvey, Negro Ex-Leader," *The New York Times*, June 12, 1940.

⁶³ Patrick D. Bowen, "'The Colored Genius' Lucius Lehman and the Californian Roots of Modern African-American Islam," *The Graduate Journal of Harvard Divinity School*, Spring (2013): paragraph 1; Duke University Libraries Archives & Manuscripts Collection Guide, "Nation of Islam Muhammad's Temple records, 1972-1983," <https://archives.lib.duke.edu/catalog/muhammadstemplenoj>; Rachel Gallagher, "Wallace Fard (CA. 1891-1934)," June 11, 2008, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/fard-wallace-ca-1891-1934/>; Elijah Muhammed, *Fard Muhammed Allah (God) In Person* (Secretarius Publications, 1996), 1-5; National Archives, "The Nation of Islam," *Archives.gov*, <https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/black-power/nation-of-islam>. Wallace Fard also known as W. Farad Muhammad was the founder of the Nation of Islam. Farad Muhammad's lineage is unclear. For example, Elijah Muhammad argues that Fard was from Mecca. The US FBI argues that Fard was from New Zealand. What can be said with some certainty is that Fard met Elijah Poole in 1930, worked with Poole to build support and then passed away in 1934. After Fard's death, Elijah Muhammad became the leader of the Nation of Islam.

⁶⁴ C. Eric Lincoln, *The Black Muslims in America* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1973), 61-2; Scott J. Varda, "Drew Ali and the Moorish Science Temple of America: A Minor Rhetoric of Black Nationalism," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 16, (2013): 686. Noble Drew Ali was a Black religious leader of the 1920s. Ali was the founder of the Moorish Science Temple. In some ways, Ali's Moorish Science Temple provided the groundwork for the religious part of the Nation of Islam's message.

⁶⁵ Lincoln, *The Black Muslims*, 61-2.

⁶⁶ Lonna O'Neal Parker, Sylviane Diouf, and Zaheer Ali, "A History of African American Muslims," *The Washington Post*, November 5, 2011. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/metro/african-american-muslims-timeline.html>. Before he was Elijah Muhammad, Elijah Poole was a Corporal for the Chicago division of the UNIA before Garvey's deportation in 1972.

⁶⁷ National Archives, "Elijah Muhammad (October 7, 1897- February 25, 1975)," *Archives.gov*, <https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/individuals/elijah-muhammad>; Jamie J. Wilson, "'Come Down Off the Cross and Get Under the Crescent': The Newspaper Columns of Elijah Muhammad and Malcom X," *Biography* 36, no. 3 (2013): 496-7.

⁶⁸ Claude A. Clegg, III "Message from the Wilderness of North America: Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam, C. 1960," *The Journal of Multi Media History* 1, no. 1 (1998): <https://www.albany.edu/jmmh/vol1no1/elijahmuhammad.html>; Femi Lewis, "Elijah Muhammad: The Leader of the Nation of Islam," *ThoughtCo*, May 30, 2019, <https://www.thoughtco.com/elijah-muhammad-leader-of-nation-of-islam-45450>.

⁶⁹ "Whites Barred as 'Messenger' Elijah Speaks to Faithful," *California Eagle*, August 13, 1959, 3.

⁷⁰ Stanford, "Nkrumah, Kwame," *Stanford*, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/nkrumah-kwame>.

⁷¹ Etim E. Okon, "Kwame Nkrumah: The Fallen and Forgotten Hero of African Nationalism," *European Scientific Journal* 10, no. 17 (2014): 52.

⁷² Okon, “Kwame Nkrumah,” 52; Dmitri Volkogonov, *Lenin: A New Biography* Ed. and Trans. Harold Shukman (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1994), 1-5; Bertram D. Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution: A Biographical History of Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin* (New York, NY: Cooper Square Press, 2001 [1948]), 39-45. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was one of the architects behind the Russian revolution of 1917.

⁷³ Okon, “Kwame Nkrumah,” 52.

⁷⁴ Michael Eli Dokosi, “Paa Grant, the Forgotten Father of Ghana’s Independence Whose Tomb was turned into a Drinking Spot,” Face 2 Face Africa, September 5, 2019, <https://face2faceafrica.com/article/paa-grant-the-forgotten-father-of-ghanas-independence-whose-tomb-was-turned-into-a-drinking-spot>; Edward A. Ulzen Memorial Foundation, “August 4, 1947: The United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) Was Formed,” Edward A. Ulzen Memorial Foundation, August 4, 2017, <https://www.eaumf.org/ejm-blog/2017/8/4/august-4-1947-the-united-gold-coast-convention-ugcc-was-formed>; Ghanaian Museum, “George Alfred Grant, the founder and the first President of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) in 1947,” *Ghanian Museum*, December 15, 2019, <https://ghanaiamuseum.com/alfred-george-grant-the-father-of-gold-coast/>. George Alfred “Paa” Grant was another political leader in the Gold Coast before it became Ghana. Grant was the chairman of the UGCC. Since his death, Grant has been heralded by president of Ghana Nana Akufo-Addo as the ‘father’ of Gold Coast politics.

⁷⁵ Ryan Hurst, “Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972),” Blackpast, May 14, 2009, <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/nkrumah-kwame-1909-1972/>;

⁷⁶ David Afriyie Donkor, *Spiders of the Market: Ghanaian Trickster Performance in a Web of Neoliberalism* (Ebook, Indiana University Press, 2016), 30; Ghana-net, paragraph 3; World History Edu, “Kwame Nkrumah: History, Major Facts & 10 Memorable Achievements,” *World History Edu*, April 10, 2020, <https://www.worldhistoryedu.com/kwame-nkrumah-10-memorable-achievements/>, paragraph 19.

⁷⁷ Miles Larmer, “Was the Gold Coast ‘decolonised’ or did Ghana win its independence?” *University of Oxford*, <https://www.history.ox.ac.uk/was-the-gold-coast-decolonised-or-did-ghana-win-its-independence>.

⁷⁸ Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: International Publishers, 1957), 45.

⁷⁹ Katherine Everett, Emily Hardick, Damarius Johnson, “The Year of Africa,” *Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective*, December 2020, https://origins.osu.edu/article/year-of-africa-1960-rumba-pan-africanism-Kariba?language_content_entity=en; France 24, “1960: A Wave of Independence Sweeps Across Africa,” France24, September 07, 2020, <https://www.france24.com/en/20200709-1960-a-wave-of-independence-sweeps-across-africa>; Adom Getachew, “It Was the Year of Africa,” *New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/02/06/world/africa/africa-independence-year.html>, accessed July 3, 2022; On January 1, 1960, Cameroon gained independence from France. Togo achieved full independence from France on April 27. Just under two months later, on June 26th, Madagascar also convinced the French government to recognize their independence. Less than five days later, on June 30th, years of violent and non-violent engagement between the Belgian Congo and Congolese leaders resulted in the independence and founding of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. On July 1st, an Italian colony called Somalia merged with a British protectorate named Somaliland to form the Somali Republic. One month later, on August 1st, then the Dahomey, now called Benin, executed the agreement of a 1958 referendum, and became independent from French rule. Two days later, another French Colony, Niger, officially declared independence. In the same week, on August 5th, a former French protectorate, the republic of Upper Volta, gained full independence. Two days later, the Ivory Coast declared full independence but maintained close relationships with France. Also in August, on the 11th, Chad won its independence. Two days later, on the 13th, the former French colony of Ubangi-Chari proclaimed independence as the Central African Republic. ON August 15th, despite choosing to be a part of the French Community in 1958, The Republic of the Congo became an independent nation. Another French colony, Gabon, gained its independence two days later on August 17th. After the failed experiment of the Federation of Mali, Senegal and Mali separated and became independent nations on August 20th and September 22nd respectively. In October, the former British Colony of Nigeria declared its independence. Finally, on November 28th, Mauritania declared independence.

⁸⁰ Embassy of the Republic of Cameroon, “Cameroon History,” *Cameroon Embassy*, <https://www.cameroonembassyusa.org/mainFolder/history.html>, accessed July 3, 2022;

⁸¹ Global Security, “Union of the Peoples of Cameroon (Union des populations du Cameroun, UPC),” *Global Security*, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/upc-cameroon.htm>, accessed on July 3, 2022; Ernest Harsch, “Cameroon Celebrates its 50th Anniversary,” *Africa Renewal*, <https://www.un.org/africarenewal/web-features/cameroon-celebrates-its-50th-anniversary>, accessed July 3,

2022; University of Central Arkansas, “8. British/ French Cameroon (1948-1961),” *University of Central Arkansas*, <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/britishfrench-cameroon-1948-1961/>, accessed July 3, 2022; The Union of the Peoples of Cameroon was a political party founded in 1948. The UPC functioned as a vanguard for Cameroon’s struggle for independence. Due to the sometimes-violent tactics of the UPC, the party was officially banned in the 1950s but continued in a clandestine manner until the 1990s.

⁸² Office of the Historian, “The Congo, Decolonization, and the Cold War, 1960-1965,” *Office of the Historian*, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1961-1968/congo-decolonization>, accessed July 3, 2022; David Zhou, “Congolese Win Independence from the Belgian Empire, 1959-60,” *Global Nonviolent Action Database*, December 3, 2012, <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/congolese-win-independence-belgian-empire-1959-60>;

⁸³ African American Registry, “Patrice Lumumba, Congolese Politician born,” *African American Registry*, <https://aaregistry.org/story/patrice-lumumba-born/>, accessed July 3, 2022; South African History Online, “Patrice Emery Lumumba,” *South African History Online*, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/patrice-emery-lumumba>, accessed July 3, 2022. Patrice Emery Lumumba was born in the Sankuru district of the present-day Democratic Republic of Congo. Lumumba was a writer, activist, and politician. Lumumba played an important role in wresting the Democratic Republic of Congo from Belgian colonial influence. For his efforts, Lumumba was elected as the first Prime-Minister of DRC. Lumumba was assassinated by political rivals in 1961.

⁸⁴ Patrice Lumumba, “African Unity and National Independence, 1959” *Black Past*, <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/1959-patrice-lumumba-african-unity-and-national-independence/>, paragraph 7.

⁸⁵ Shirley Wilson Logan, “Literacy as a Tool for Social Action among Nineteenth-Century African American Women,” in *Nineteenth-Century Women Learn to Write*, ed. Catherine Hobbs (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 181. Building alongside Logan’s argument that it is important to contextualize the lives of women that have been forgotten or diminished by history, in this chapter, I elaborate on the lives of Amy Jacques Garvey and Amy Ashwood Garvey before returning to their words about Marcus Garvey and the UNIA.

⁸⁶ Lionel M. Yard, *Biography of Amy Ashwood Garvey 1897-1969, Co-Founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Associated Publishers, Inc., 1988), 2.

⁸⁷ Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey*, 18.

⁸⁸ Amy Ashwood Garvey, “The Birth of the Universal Negro Improvement Association,” in *The Pan-African Connection: from Slavery to Garvey and Beyond*, ed. Lionel Yard (Dover, MA: The Majority Press, 1984), 221; National Gallery of Victoria, “Napoleon & Josephine,” National Gallery of Victoria, <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/napoleon/napoleon-and-josephine/who-was-josephine.html>, accessed July 5, 2022; Marie de Bruchard, “Empress Josephine (1763-1814),” *Napoleon.org*, January 2016, <https://www.napoleon.org/en/young-historians/napodoc/limperatrice-josephine-1763-1814/>. In this context, it is likely that Garvey’s reference to Josephine is a reference to Josephine Bonaparte, the wife and Empress during the Napoleon Bonaparte reign in France.

⁸⁹ Arnold Rampersad, *The Life of Langston Hughes. Volume I, 1902-1941. I, Too, Sing America* (Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002), 44.

⁹⁰ Yard, *Biography of Amy Ashwood*, 52.

⁹¹ Yard, *Biography of Amy Ashwood*, 65; Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey*, 88; Grant, *Negro With A Hat*, 394. The turmoil between Ashwood Garvey and Marcus Garvey spanned much of their adult lives. From the outset, Ashwood Garvey was unhappy with the legitimacy of the divorce between her and Marcus Garvey. Her trepidation stemmed from a belief that her being out of the country at the time of the divorce should render it null and void. For his part, Marcus Garvey did not make many attempts to resolve Amy Ashwood Garvey’s concern. As with many relationships, it is hard to assess the nature of a romance turned sour, but it seems that at the least there was some blame for the discord to be shared on both sides.

⁹² Martin, *Amy Ashwood*, 16; Yard, *Biography of Amy Ashwood*, 52.

⁹³ Martin, *Amy Ashwood*, 16; Yard, *Biography of Amy Ashwood*, 52; Allison Espiritu, “Amy Ashwood Garvey (1897-1969),” *Blackpast*, February 25, 2007, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/garvey-amy-ashwood-1897-1969/>; Robbie Shilliam, “Theorizing (with) Amy Ashwood Garvey,” (pp. 158-178) in *Women’s International Thought: A New History* (Eds.) Patricia Owens and Katharina Rietzler (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 159.

⁹⁴ Amy Ashwood Garvey, “The Birth of the Universal Negro Improvement Association,” in *‘Look For Me All Around You,’ Anglophone Caribbean Immigrants in the Harlem Renaissance*, ed. Louis J. Parascandola (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2005), 106.

⁹⁵ Louis J. Parascandola ed., “Amy Ashwood Garvey,” in *‘Look For Me All Around You,’ Anglophone Caribbean Immigrants in the Harlem Renaissance*, (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2005), 99.

⁹⁶ Hakim Adi, “Amy Ashwood Garvey and the Nigerian Progress Union,” in *Gendering the African Diaspora: Women, Culture and Historical Change in the Caribbean and Nigerian Hinterland*, eds. Judith A. Byfield, Laray Denzer, and Anthea Morrison (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010), 199; Hakim Adi and Marika Sherwood, *Pan-African History: Political Figures from Africa and the Diaspora Since 1787* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2003), 70. The Nigerian Progress Union (NPU) was an organization founded to develop resources for Nigerians in Britain. One of the earliest ventures of the NPU was to raise money for Nigerian students to attend University.

⁹⁷ “Appeal for Funds,” ‘Abyssinia: Italian Dispute’ The Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, MSS.292/964/2, <https://www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/oms/transcontinental-activism-in-inter-war-britain>; Aboymi Azikiwe, “Amy Ashwood Garvey: A forerunner in Pan-Africanist Feminist of the 20th Century,” *Pambuzuka News*, March 2, 2017, <https://www.pambuzuka.org/pan-africanism/amy-ashwood-garvey-forerunner-pan-africanist-feminism-20th-century>; “Photograph of Amy Ashwood Garvey Campaigning with the International African Friends of Abyssinia.” *British Library, UK*, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/photograph-of-amy-ashwood-garvey-campaigning-with-the-international-african-friends-of-abyssinia>, accessed on July 4, 2022; Zinn Education Project, “Oct. 3, 1935: Ethiopia Invaded by Italy,” *Zinn Education Project*, <https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tdih/ethiopia-invaded/#:~:text=Ethiopia%2C%20one%20of%20the%20only.concentration%20camps%20were%20all%20employed>, accessed July 5, 2022; Imperial War Museums, “How Italy Was Defeated in East Africa in 1941,” Imperial War Museums, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/how-italy-was-defeated-in-east-africa-in-1941>, accessed July 5, 2022; U.S. Department of State, *Peace and War: United States Foreign Policy, 1931-1941* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), 28; Ashwood Garvey’s work with the AIFA was a decidedly anti-colonial effort. The AIFA was founded in response to Mussolini’s declaration of intentions to conquer and colonize Abyssinia (present day Ethiopia). The AIFA worked to garner money and troops for the Ethiopian resistance against the Italian government.

⁹⁸ Bennet, “Ghost of Garvey,” 58.

⁹⁹ Christina Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 5.

¹⁰⁰ Ashwood Garvey, “Ghost of Garvey,” 58.

¹⁰¹ Ashwood Garvey, “Ghost of Garvey,” 61.

¹⁰² Charlene Carruthers, *Unapologetic: A Black, Queer, and Feminist Mandate for Radical Movements* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2018), 18; Erica Edwards, *Charisma and the Fictions of Black Leadership* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 107.

¹⁰³ Ashwood Garvey, “Ghost of Garvey,” 59.

¹⁰⁴ Ashwood Garvey, “Ghost of Garvey,” 60-61.

¹⁰⁵ Ashwood Garvey, “Ghost of Garvey,” 61.

¹⁰⁶ Ashwood Garvey, “Ghost of Garvey,” 61.

¹⁰⁷ Bernard Akufo-Addo, “64 Years on, Nation Must Bring Back the ‘Black Star Line,’” *B & FT*, March 5, 2021, <https://thebftonline.com/2021/03/05/64-years-on-nation-must-bring-back-the-black-star-line/>; Abdul Karim Bangura, “Conscient Communication Theory: Expanding the Epistemology of Nkrumahism,” In *Black/African Communication Theory* ed. Kehbama Langmia (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 191; Ghana.net, “Founding of Black Star Line Ghana,” *Ghana-net*, <http://ghana-net.com/black-star-line.html>; Amorina Kingdon, “The Origins of Ghana’s Iconic Black Star Line,” *Hakai Magazine*, February 3, 2017, <https://hakaimagazine.com/article-short/origins-ghanas-iconic-black-star-line/>. Ashwood Garvey’s reference to Nkrumah’s Black Star Line is a reference to a shipping company named the Black Star Line that was established by Nkrumah during the early days of Ghana’s independence in 1957. The Black Star Line started in Ghana, as of this writing, is still a business on paper but largely defunct. However, there are contemporary pushes by Ghanaian citizens to resuscitate the Black Star Line started by Kwame Nkrumah in 1957.

¹⁰⁸ Ula Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey: The Life & Times of Amy Jacques Garvey* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 6.

¹⁰⁹ Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey*, 7.

¹¹⁰ Rupert Lewis and Maureen Warner-Lewis, "Amy Jacques Garvey," *Jamaica Journal* 20, no. 3 (1987): 39.

¹¹¹ Keisha N. Blain, "'To Keep Alive the Teaching of Garvey and the Work of the UNIA': Audley Moore, Black Women's Activism, and Nationalist Politics During the Twentieth Century," *Palimpsest: A Journal on Women, Gender, and the Black International* 7, no. 2 (2018): 89; Jinx Coleman Broussard, *Giving a Voice to the Voiceless: Four Pioneering Black Women Journalists* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 87; Edmund David Cronon, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1955), 16; Edmund David Cronon, *Great Lives Observed: Marcus Garvey* (Englewood Cliffs; Prentice-Hall Inc. 1973), 15; Rupert Lewis, *Marcus Garvey: Anti-Colonial Champion* (Trenton, NJ: African World Press, 1988), 45-7; Judith Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey: Race and Class in Modern Society* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 5-10; Ronald J. Stephens, "Methodological Considerations for Micro Studies of UNIA Divisions: Some Notes Calling on Ethno-Historical Analysis," *Journal of Black Studies* 39, no. 2 (2008): 283; Theodore Vincent, *Black Power and the Garvey Movement* (Berkeley, CA: Ramparts Press, 1971), 131; Theodore Vincent, "The Evolution of the Split Between The Garvey Movement and the Organized Left in the United States 1917-1933," in *Garvey Africa, Europe, The Americas*, eds. Rupert Lewis and Maureen Warner-Lewis (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc. 1994 [1986]), 153.

¹¹² "The Marcus Garvey Appeal and Defense Fund," *The Negro World*, July 14, 1923; "Special Announcement," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association papers, Vol. V September 1922-August 1924*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 99; Mark D. Matthews, "Our Women and What They Think," *The Black Scholar* 10, no. (8/9), (1979): 5.

¹¹³ Jacques Garvey, *Garvey and Garveyism*, Loc. 3181.

¹¹⁴ Amy Jacques Garvey, "The Political Activities of Marcus Garvey in Jamaica," *Jamaica Journal* 6, no. 2 (1972): 2.

¹¹⁵ Grant, *Negro With a Hat*, 418-9.

¹¹⁶ Letter to William Sherrill, February 12, 1958, 1066, Box 1, Folder 4, Universal Negro Association Records, Rose Library, Atlanta, GA.; Daily Graphic, "They are to Serve East and West," *Daily Graphic*, April 27, 1957, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Daily_Graphic/Vd1mAAAAcAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0, 3. Here, Jacques Garvey's reference to Messr, Otoo is likely a reference to S.K. Otoo. Otoo was a member of the CPP started by Nkrumah. Otoo was elected for the Western region of Ghana (then Gold Coast). Otoo's election occurred at the first set of assemblies held by the Ghana national Assembly in Accra. The author has not been able to track down any further information regarding Messr. Konu.

¹¹⁷ Letter to Amy Jacques Garvey from Thomas Harvey, December 20, 1961, 1066, Box 1, Folder 4, Universal Negro Association Records, Rose Library, Atlanta, GA.

¹¹⁸ Letter from Amy Jacques Garvey to Thomas Harvey, August 7, 1963, Box 1, Folder 4, Universal Negro Association Records, Rose Library, Atlanta, GA.

¹¹⁹ Jacques Garvey, "Ghost of Garvey," 56.

¹²⁰ Jacques Garvey, "Ghost of Garvey," 56.

¹²¹ Jacques Garvey, "Ghost of Garvey," 59.

¹²² Jacques Garvey, "Ghost of Garvey," 60.

¹²³ Bennet, "Ghost of Garvey," 54.

¹²⁴ Mark Christian, "Marcus Garvey and African Unity: Lessons for the Future from the Past," *Journal of Black Studies* 39, no. 2 (2008): 325; Tony Martin, *Marcus Garvey, Hero A First Biography Volume 1* (Dover, MA: The Majority Press, 1983), 125; Jacques Garvey, "Ghost of Garvey," 61; South African History Online, "Jomo Kenyatta," *South African History Online*, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/jomo-kenyatta>. The reference to Kenyatta is likely a reference to Jomo Kenyatta. Kenyatta was the first president of Kenya. Kenyatta was born in British East Africa (present day Kenya) in 1897. Kenyatta crossed paths with Marcus Garvey in London in 1928. Like, Nkrumah, Kenyatta seems to have been inspired by Marcus Garvey.

¹²⁵ Sylvia Wynter and Katherine McKittrick, "Unparalleled Catastrophe for our Species? Or to Give Humanness a Different Future: Conversations," In *Being Human as Praxis*, ed. Katherine McKittrick, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 18.

¹²⁶ Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (Brooklyn, NY: Zone Books, 2002), 43; Michael Warner, "Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version)," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 88, no. 4 (2002): 420.

¹²⁷ Danielle Allen, *Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship Since Brown V. Board of Education* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 11-12.

¹²⁸ Angela J. Aguayo, Danette Pugh Patton, and Molly Bandonis, “Black Lives and Justice with the Archive: A Call to Action,” *Black Camera* 9, no. 2 (2018): 166.

Conclusion: UNIA Leaders' Black Nationalist World

In a 1971 letter to then president of the UNIA, Thomas Harvey, Amy Jacques Garvey wrote, “the U.N.I.A. is not the only Vehicle that conveys Garveyism. It was the first, but long since has ceased to be able to contain such a world-wide dynamic force for FREEDOM.”¹ Jacques Garvey’s remark to Harvey foregrounded that the fight for freedom begun by leaders of the UNIA from 1914-1925 was an early example of a struggle for freedom that extended beyond Harvey’s version of the UNIA. This project has tracked how UNIA leaders’ belief in Black self-determination equipped them with rhetorical resources in their fight for freedom. UNIA leaders’ belief in Black self-determination led them down a path on which they used world-making words to envision a public. Between 1914-1925, leaders of the UNIA offered their own evaluations and expectations of the world they were enmeshed within. UNIA leaders’ language departed from the assumption of the dominant public that Black people should live in a world governed by others. Leaders of the UNIA defied the dominant public and evoked a different world. Historian, activist, and scholar, John Henrik Clarke, noted, “He [Garvey] taught his people to dream big again; he reminded them that they had once been kings and queens and rulers of great nations and would be again.”² As this project moves towards its end, this Conclusion explicates the ways that UNIA leaders reminded Black people that they had “been kings and queens.” That reminder portended a future for Black nationalists living out the legacy that UNIA leaders forged. There are vestiges of UNIA leaders’ legacy threaded through the rhetoric of leaders of the Black Panther Party from 1966 to 1974 and the world we are making now.³ To illustrate how UNIA leaders’ rhetoric can help us understand the more recent past and present, this Conclusion first recounts how UNIA leaders’ Black nationalist advocacy persisted as a world-making strategy that allowed them to envision a public.

UNIA Leaders: World-Making and Envisioning a Public

This project charted the development of the UNIA from 1914-1925 as four strategies of world-making that created an opportunity for UNIA leaders to express a shifting view of their public. UNIA leaders began by articulating a discourse that included all Black people in their public, especially the Black masses. Leaders continued by leveraging their evaluations and expectations to imagine a public capable of being parallel to national governments. Yet, UNIA leaders' attempts to produce a *parallel public* brought on challenges they could not overcome. Despite their troubles, UNIA leaders remained committed to evaluating their own situation and expecting that their public could successfully support all Black people's self-determination. Finally, leaders used their rhetoric to curate their own legacy.

Before the UNIA was a mass movement, Marcus Garvey articulated evaluations of the present and expectations for the future that established a foundation for the UNIA. Garvey's *freedom dream* condensed the views of UNIA leaders into a form that fomented a connection between leaders and the Black masses.⁴ Reflecting on the importance of Garvey's words, well-renowned member of the NAACP, James Weldon Johnson asserted, "He [Garvey] stirred the imagination of the Negro masses as no Negro ever had."⁵ Garvey "stirred the imagination" of Black people around the world and created a foundation for UNIA leaders' view of their public by articulating a set of evaluations and expectations that announced what he saw as the consequences of Black self-determination for all Black people. Building on John Dewey, in *Counterpublics and the State*, Robert Asen and Daniel Brouwer argued that publics are constituted around "consequences."⁶ Garvey formed the foundation for UNIA leaders' view of their public by expressing a different evaluation of the consequences of Black self-determination. In *Black Empire*, Michelle Stephens asserts,

“The modern twentieth-century world after World War I was understood by black intellectuals to be a white world of European nation states, a world that could not imagine black Africa.”⁷ Garvey departed from the view of the world as a “white world” and instead emphasized the possibilities that would come with working toward a Black world. In “Queer Worldmaking,” Karen Zaino contends, “Queer world-making is rooted in the premise that cisheteronormativity is but one possible arrangement of the social world.”⁸ In a similar vein, Garvey built his view of UNIA leaders’ public from “the premise that” white supremacy was “but one possible arrangement of the social world.” Once Garvey had established a discourse that had space for him, UNIA leaders, and all Black people, UNIA leaders started to share their view of their public with others.

After Garvey laid the foundation for UNIA leaders’ desired public, leaders began to articulate a view of themselves as parallel. Marcus Garvey, Henrietta Vinton Davis, and William Ferris espoused views that emphasized the independent evaluations and insulated expectations that marked leaders’ rhetoric at the height of the UNIA. UNIA leaders’ advocacy for an “Africa for the Africans” illustrated the way that their world-making created a vision of a public inclusive of all Black people but insulated from the perspectives of opposing governments and racial uplift organizations that were less interested in empowering the Black masses. UNIA leaders’ envisioning of a parallel public brought forth a view of a public born from insulated meanings and beholden to a different organization of reality. In “Looking for M—,” Kara Keeling investigates the possibility of a new “reality [that] threatens to unsettle if not destroy, the common senses on which” some versions of reality rely for coherence.⁹ UNIA leaders brought forth a different reality by building on their belief in Black self-determination to unsettle the common sense of

their moment that Black self-determination was between foolish and useless.¹⁰ UNIA leaders' rhetoric demonstrated that by staying committed to their own evaluations and expectations, it was possible to chart a path toward a future in which all Black people were connected by oppression but not beholden to the views of the dominant public. As UNIA leaders' parallel approach netted them acclaim, they were attacked by the US government and challenged by other racial uplift leaders. In response to the challenges they faced, leaders continued to evaluate their situation for themselves and expect future success.

UNIA Leaders espoused a *rhetoric of champions* as they struggled against the challenges that sought to shut them down. Leaders were challenged by Cyril Briggs and the US government. Briggs worked with the US government to build a case against Marcus Garvey for mail fraud.¹¹ Leading up to and following Marcus Garvey's conviction for mail fraud, infighting within the UNIA hastened the destruction of the organization.¹² Though UNIA leaders tried to resist the challenges they faced from inside and outside of the organization, they could not overcome the obstacle of Garvey's imprisonment. Throughout and following Garvey's trial, UNIA leaders continued to world-make. Leaders espoused their own evaluations of the events the US government used as evidence to imprison Garvey. While Garvey was in prison, other leaders continued to espouse expectations for success and sustained a view of their public as one still capable of supporting all Black people. In "The Unsquared Square or Protest and Contemporary Publics," Susan Drucker and Gary Gumpert assert that academics need to develop further understanding of the "changing nature" of protest.¹³ Leaders' development of their own expectations and evaluations and description of their public reveals a strategy for pushing protest into the future. Leaders' rhetoric evinces that one strategy for continuing protest amidst

overwhelming problems is to espouse evaluations and expectations that are grown from a different world. Even during the most troubling times for the UNIA, leaders built on their belief in Black self-determination and produced a view of their public as one capable of supporting all Black people. After the UNIA was overcome, leaders of the UNIA began to describe a view of their public for the future.

Long after the version of the UNIA founded by Amy Ashwood Garvey and Marcus Garvey in 1914 and reincorporated in 1918 had lost its sway, Amy Ashwood Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey produced a view of UNIA leaders' public for future generations.¹⁴ Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey offered their own evaluations of the past and expectations for the future as they reminisced about the life of Marcus Garvey and the organization they had helped support. Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey framed the UNIA from 1914 to 1925 as a public created by Black people for Black people and capable of still having purchase for future generations. Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey's language extended the temporality of the UNIA. In *Publics and Counterpublics*, Michael Warner argues, "A public can only act in the temporality of the circulation that gives it existence."¹⁵ Warner's argument describes publics as bounded by the particular time in which they are relevant. Amy Ashwood Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey's rhetoric revealed a strategy with which to extend the relevance of a public. In *Black Age*, Habiba Ibrahim contends that "western modernity" has caused a conflation of "human time with historical time."¹⁶ UNIA leaders unsettled the collapse of human and historical time by bringing the past of the UNIA into their present for the future. Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey supplied accounts of what the UNIA aimed to achieve from 1914-1925 and expectations of how Garvey would have changed if he had lived. Ashwood Garvey's

and Jacques Garvey's rhetoric revealed that by espousing evaluations of the past and expectations for the future born from a belief in Black self-determination, it becomes possible to produce a view of a public that lasts into perpetuity. Jacques Garvey and Ashwood Garvey framed the UNIA from 1914 to 1925 as an organization with an ideological force that was and would remain useful for Black people until all Black people were free. Jacques Garvey and Ashwood Garvey condensed the discourse UNIA leaders had espoused over the rise and fall of the UNIA into a seed that could help future generations of Black people build a path to a Black nationalist world.

Black Nationalist World-Making in The More Recent Past

The fight for Black freedom that UNIA leaders participated in did not end with the death of Marcus Garvey or the downfall of the version of the UNIA founded by Marcus Garvey and Amy Ashwood.¹⁷ Within ten years of Amy Jacques Garvey and Amy Ashwood Garvey's reminisces about Marcus Garvey, Black nationalist rhetoric once again became popular in the United States.¹⁸ The return to Black Nationalism led by the Black Panther Party in the 1960s reveals that UNIA leaders' strategy for world-making works in a context beyond the UNIA. It also evinces that the public leaders imagined continued. In *The Black Woman: An Anthology*, Toni Cade asserted that there was a "need for unified effort" and "value" in "a vision of a society substantially better than the existing one." Cade argued that one strategy for producing a society better than the one that existed was to build on the words of "the grandmothers of the UNIA."¹⁹ Contemporaries to Cade worked to produce a better society by using a world-making logic similar to the one espoused by "the grandmothers of the UNIA." Huey P. Newton and Elaine Brown's words about the BPP during the height and fall of the BPP provide insight into the way Black nationalists in more recent memory practiced world-making.

Huey P. Newton and Elaine Brown were leaders of the BPP. Both Brown and Newton, at different times, held the highest position in the BPP: chairman.²⁰ Newton was born in Monroe, Louisiana but grew up in Oakland, California. In 1966, alongside Bobby Seale, Newton founded the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. Newton was the first chairman of the BPP.²¹ Elaine Brown was born in Philadelphia in 1943. Brown moved to California in the late 1960s. Brown joined the BPP after the assassination of Dr. King in 1968. Brown was appointed as the “chairman” of the BPP in 1974.²² Brown is often remembered as the first and only woman to serve in this leadership role for the BPP.²³ Much like the UNIA, the BPP saw a quick rise and an even faster fall. Between its founding in 1966 and 1968, the BPP spread from Oakland, CA to across the United States and some countries around the world.²⁴ Like the UNIA, the BPP rose to fame by articulating a set of evaluations and expectations that supported Black people’s participation in Black self-determination. Like Garvey, Newton’s early rhetoric represented both the limitedness of his vision and the foundation for the BPP’s approach to Black liberation. Lamentably, a similar set of forces that led to the end of the UNIA extinguished the force of the BPP. From its earliest days, the BPP was monitored and harassed by FBI agents.²⁵ Outside pressure from the US government and internal pressure from infighting within the organization left the BPP in bad shape in 1974 when Elaine Brown took over as “chairman.”²⁶ Despite the deterioration of the organization, Brown continued to espouse a belief in the organization’s ability to succeed and support all Black people’s ability to practice self-determination. Turning back to the rhetoric of leaders of the BPP reveals how the logic of world-making that enabled UNIA leaders to produce their public on their way to a Black nationalist world came back around.

Huey P. Newton practiced world-making by co-authoring the founding document of the BPP and developing the message of the Black Panther Party. The founding document of the BPP, the 10-point program, reflects an early example of Newton's enunciation of evaluations of Black people's degradation and expectations for a better future. The program reads, "1. We Want Freedom. We Want Power to Determine the Destiny of Our Black Community. We believe that Black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny."²⁷ The first point of the 10-point program echoes UNIA leaders' fundamental belief that Black self-determination was a necessary element to achieving Black liberation. In composing the platform, Newton implied an evaluation of Black people as not free and expressed an expectation that only Black self-determination would free Black people. Despite the brilliance of the first point to the program, Newton's vision, much like UNIA leaders' visions, was not perfect. Similar to the sexism in the UNIA's organizational structure, even in the 10-point program, Newton's vision was limited. For instance, the program reads, "8. We Want Freedom For All Black Men Held in Federal, State, County and City Prisons and Jails." Though Newton's demand for the release of Black prisoners was a good one, it also reflected the gendered assumptions of his perception. Newton's statement erased and devalued the struggle of Black women that also dealt with being unfairly imprisoned.²⁸ As Newton's time as a leader of the BPP changed him, he worked to remedy his earlier limited perspective on Black liberation. In his "The Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation Movements," Newton instructed, "Whatever your personal opinions and your insecurities about homosexuality and the various liberation movements among homosexuals and women (and I speak of homosexuals and women as oppressed groups), we should try to unite with them in a revolutionary fashion . . . We must gain

security in ourselves and therefore have respect and feelings for all oppressed people.”²⁹ Newton’s shift did not completely shake his patriarchal notions. For instance, his speech still presumed the people he was speaking to were men, not gay, and that Black women did not face unique oppressions. Despite the shortcomings, Newton’s perspective did reflect a shift toward evaluating the oppression of all Black people as interrelated and expecting that only once that understanding had been achieved, could Black liberation be achieved. Newton’s rhetoric evinced that the push for Black self-determination amongst all Black people continued 40 years after the height of the UNIA and 140 years after Walker wrote his first treatise of Black self-determination. Newton’s limited perspective was bolstered by the words of another chairman of the BPP: Elaine Brown.

Elaine Brown practiced world-making by continuing to develop a positive view of the BPP’s public amidst the BPP’s deterioration. Before and after her appointment as chairman of the BPP, Brown used words to work to bring a more equitable world to earth. As Brown rose through the ranks of the BPP, she produced evaluations of Black people’s delapidated conditions and an expectation that a self-determined Black population possessed the power to change the world. In his article interviewing Elaine Brown, journalist Eliot Tiegel, notes, “Elaine emphasizes, black people have the power to destroy this society unless they are finally and totally given an opportunity to partake of its bounties.”³⁰ Tiegel continues that Brown said, “People have been waiting for some dream that won’t happen. When these people wake up and recognize that they don’t have to live this way, they’ll tear down all this nonsense with speed.”³¹ Like the leaders of the UNIA before her, Brown’s statement suggested that Black people had the power to “tear down all” the nonsense. Brown’s comment conveyed an evaluation that the only thing keeping

Black people from living the lives they wished to live was “wak[ing] up and recog[nizing] that they don’t have to live this way.” Brown worked to help Black people realize that they could live another way by continuing to push the BPP’s public forward while the organization was falling apart. After legal pressure on Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale forced them to support the BPP from afar, Brown continued to espouse expectations for future success and describe the BPP’s public as one that could support all Black people.³² When reflecting on the loss of Newton and Seale in 1974, Brown stated, “Certainly we miss the leadership . . . but we have a firm foundation . . . People know they have to pull a little more weight and they’ve done it.” Brown continued, “The party machinery is rolling right along and that was the important foundation that was laid.”³³ Much like Ashwood Garvey’s and Jacques Garvey’s reflections on the UNIA, Brown’s remark illustrated that she continued to believe that the BPP would keep “rolling right along” after the loss of the organizations’ founding leaders.

Elaine Brown practiced world-making as she reflected on her time in the BPP to keep a positive view of the BPP “rolling right along.” Like Ashwood Garvey and Jacques Garvey, Brown reflected on her time in a well-known Black nationalist movement years after the prime of the organization had passed. In 2007, in her “Speech on Feminism,” Brown offered an evaluation of the goals of the version of the BPP she was a part of. Brown reflected, “Now we recognize that liberation of Black people was our goal and it was our goal, that was what we then came to call our subjective goal meaning that it was what we wanted. We didn’t care about too much else at the moment, we wanted to be free and we knew we were not free.”³⁴ Brown’s recollection exemplifies the rhetoric this project has attempted to bring to the foreground. Brown offered an evaluation that established her and

other leaders of the BPP's goal as "liberation." Brown's rhetoric reflects that BPP leaders, like UNIA leaders, espoused their own evaluations and expectations in hopes of bringing to this earth a world in which Black people could be free—a Black Nationalist world. In "Counter-temporal Moments" Ersula Ore and Matthew Houdek explain that because anti-Black violence transcends temporal limits, often the strategies for resisting that violence come back around.³⁵ Brown's reflection on the world-making undertaken by Black nationalists of the more recent past opens space to think about the world-making that is happening in the contemporary moment.

What World Do We Go to From Here?

UNIA leaders' rhetoric revealed a strategy with which to depart from a world steeped in anti-Blackness toward a different one. Like Garvey and Africa, UNIA leaders from 1914 to 1925 never got to see their Black Nationalist world fully take form on this earth. Yet, the struggle that leaders participated in continues in the present. Not UNIA leaders' success, but instead their approach to the struggle for Black life—the glint in their eyes as they fought for a better world offers additions to contemporary scholars' understandings of publics, world-making, Black Nationalism, and the UNIA.

UNIA leaders' words revealed how to envision a public that was both inclusive and exclusive. In "From Enclave to Counterpublic," Elizabeth Ellis Miller argues, civil rights activists "used the mass meeting as enclave and counterpublic."³⁶ Miller explains, "Like an enclave, the mass meeting operated primarily as a space for building a collective and sustaining the movement through the internal rhetorics typically associated with departure from wider publics. Often in the same evening, however, it operated as a counterpublic: activists responded to movement outsiders." UNIA leaders' rhetoric revealed a strategy with which to respond to "movement outsiders" without returning from their departure

from the “wider public.” In “Licking Salt,” Julia Jordan-Zachery describes how her “focus on the epistemology of being,” afforded her with “the opportunity to gaze (somewhat differently) at institutional betrayal.” Jordan-Zachery continues that her shifted gaze illuminated how betrayal “prompts exits” as a “mode of survival.”³⁷ UNIA leaders’ envisioned a public designed to exit the larger public and include all Black people. Leaders of the UNIA espoused a set of evaluations and expectations that created space for all Black people in their public while simultaneously trying to shut out the noise of the “dominant” public. Leader’s view of their public, how they saw their community, extends scholarly understandings of publics by presenting the possibility that there are/might one day be publics that are parallel to the so-called dominant public and uninterested in attracting the attention of the “dominant” public. Leaders derived their view of a parallel public not from a separate space or place, or fictional or far-off land, but instead from a different world.

UNIA leaders leveraged their different view of the world to unsettle the inequality in the world around them. When studying the basics of Black Nationalism, Darren W. Davis and Ronald E. Brown contended that Black Nationalism culminates in “a distinct black worldview.”³⁸ In, “Rebels of the Underground,” Armond Towns describes “oral communication” as a form of “media that structure[s] one’s engagement in the world.”³⁹ UNIA leaders orally communicated their belief in Black Nationalism to develop a different structure for engaging with the world. Leaders of the UNIA wielded their own evaluations and expectations to establish a different perception of the consequences of Black self-determination. Instead of viewing Black people’s best chance at a peaceful future as one co-created with those that had oppressed them, UNIA leaders evoked a view that the best future for Black people would be one that they determined for themselves. In a moment in

which many did not believe in Black self-determination, leaders leapt from their belief toward a world in which Black people were treated fairly. Leaders' rhetoric adds to ongoing conversations about world-making by illustrating how a group of in-the-flesh Black people relied on their own words to begin to bring a world they imagined to this earth.

UNIA leaders' charting of a path toward a different world possible on this earth illuminates a path forward for those that are interested in making a more equitable world now. In "How to Teach the UNIA," Marcus Garvey instructed, "Lose no opportunity that may present itself to make converts for the association. A splendid way of prosetting for the Association is to interest your friends and acquaintance in its movements and whenever you go among them to tell them of anything done and accomplished by the Association."⁴⁰ UNIA leaders did not get to see their Black Nationalist world come to fruition, but they did accomplish other goals. From 1914 to 1925, the UNIA brought together millions of Black people and popularized the belief that practicing Black self-determination could change things.⁴¹ This project has attempted to follow Garvey's advice while returning to the UNIA. Returning to the story of struggle, success, and accomplishment of the UNIA from 1914 to 1925 as this project has adds to contemporary understandings of the UNIA. Multiple published studies have focused on the development of the UNIA from its inception until Garvey's demise.⁴² More recently, scholars like Natanya Duncan and Ula Taylor have turned their attention to prominent participants in the UNIA like Amy Jacques Garvey and Henrietta Vinton Davis.⁴³ This project has built alongside previous scholars and added to the conversation about the UNIA by focusing on the words UNIA leaders used to garner their success. By panning in on the most prominent leaders of the UNIA from 1914-1925, this project has revealed how distinguished leaders of the UNIA used their words to depart

from a world built from their degradation toward a world in which they could be treated decently. UNIA leader's lavish success born from Black self-determination leads to a final question: if we are willing to start from and stick with the belief that Black people can determine our own future, what world can we go to from here?

¹ Letter from Amy Jacques Garvey to Thomas Harvey, 3, March, 1971, 1066, Box 1, Folder 4, Universal Negro Association Records, Rose Library, Atlanta, GA.

² John Henrik Clarke, "Marcus Garvey: The Harlem Years," *Transition* 46, (1974): 14-19.

³ National Archives, "Bobby Seale (October 22, 1936)," *Archives.gov*, <https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/individuals/bobby-seale>; National Archives, "The Black Panther Party," *Archives.gov*, <https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/black-power/black-panthers#:~:text=The%20Black%20Panther%20Party%20for,defense%2C%20particularly%20against%20police%20brutality>; Bobby Seale, *Seize The Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1991 [1970]), 3; Smithsonian, "The Black Panther Party: Challenging Police and Promoting Social Change," *National Museum of African American History & Culture*, <https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/black-panther-party-challenging-police-and-promoting-social-change>; The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was a Black nationalist organization founded in 1966. The BPP was founded by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale with the purpose of promoting Black liberation. Robert George Seale was born in Liberty Texas in 1936. Seale was a member of the Air force before founding the BPP alongside Huey P. Newton. After the decline of the BPP, Seale taught Afro-American Studies at Temple University in Philadelphia.

⁴ Rodney Carlisle, *The Roots of Black Nationalism* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1975), 3.

⁵ James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (Salem, New Hampshire: Ayer Company Publishers, 1990 [1930]), 256.

⁶ Robert Asen and Daniel C. Brouwer, *Counterpublics and the State* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2001), 1.

⁷ Michelle Ann Stephens, *Black Empire: The Masculine Global Imaginary of Caribbean Intellectuals in the United States, 1914-1962* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 36.

⁸ Karen Zaino, "Chapter 14 Queer Worldmaking," in *Encyclopedia of Queer Studies in Education*, eds. Kamden Strunk and Stephanie Anne Shelton (Ebook, Brill, 2021), 578.

⁹ Kara Keeling, "Looking for M--: Queer Temporality, Black Political Possibility, and Poetry from the Future," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 15, no 4 (2009): 566.

¹⁰ Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 25; Leon Trotsky, Interviewed by Comrade Johnson (CLR James), "Leon Trotsky: Self-Determination for the American Negroes," *International Socialism* (April/May) (1970): 37-38. <https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/isj/1970/no043/trotsky2.htm>;

¹¹ FBI Records, "Marcus Garvey Part 01 of 12," *FBI Records: The Vault*, November 15, 1921, p. 11.

¹² Emory Tolbert, "Outpost Garveyism and the UNIA Rank and File," *Journal of Black Studies* 5, no. 3 (1975): 235.

¹³ Susan Drucker and Gary Gumpert, "The Unsquared Square or Protest and Contemporary Publics," *First Amendment Studies* 49, no. 2 (2015): 139-40.

¹⁴ "Open Letter from the New York UNIA Local," in *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers Volume IV 1 September 1921-2 September 1922*, ed. Robert Hill (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), 371.

¹⁵ Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2021 [2002]), 44-5.

¹⁶ Habiba Ibrahim, *Black Age: Oceanic Lifespans and the Time of Black Life* (New York: New York University Press, 2021), 8.

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