ERIK S. McDUFFIE

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THE US HEARTLAND,
AND GLOBAL
BLACK FREEDOM

THE SECOND BATTLE *for* AFRICA

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To Mom, Dad, Amaya, Amir, and Melony

Contents

Abbreviations

ACS
American Colonization Society

AJG
Amy Jacques Garvey

AJG Papers
Amy Garvey Memorial Collection of Marcus Garvey Special Collections

AN
Amsterdam News (New York)

AOMX / *Autobiography*
The Autobiography of Malcolm X

BS
Betty Shabazz

CCP
Call and Post (Cleveland)

CD
Chicago Defender

CORE
Congress of Racial Equality

CPUSA
Communist Party USA

CWH
Clarence W. Harding Jr.

DD
Daily Defender (Chicago)

DOO
Development of Our Own

EM
Elijah Muhammad

ESC
Earnest Sevier Cox

ESC Papers
Earnest Sevier Cox Papers

FBI
Federal Bureau of Investigation

FHHR
Frederick H. Hammurabi Robb

FOI
Fruit of Islam

FOL
Future Outlook League

HOK
House of Knowledge

JRS
James R. Stewart

JRS D-435
Universal Negro Improvement Association
James R. Stewart Division 435

KKK
Ku Klux Klan

MG
Marcus Garvey

MGI
Marcus Garvey Institute for the Study of African Peoples

MGMI
Marcus Garvey Memorial Institute

MGP
The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers

MGT-GCC
Muslim Girls Training and General Civilization Class

MMLG
Mittie Maude Lena Gordon

MOJA
Movement for Justice in Africa

MS
Muhammad Speaks

MSTA
Moorish Science Temple of America

MX
Malcolm X

MX Collection
Malcolm X Collection

NAACP
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NNW
New Negro World

NOI
Lost-Found Nation of Islam / Nation of Islam

NW
Negro World

NYT
New York Times

OAU
Organization of African Unity

PME
Peace Movement of Ethiopia

PMEW
Pacific Movement of the Eastern World

RAM
Revolutionary Action Movement

SV
Stewart's Voice

TGB
Theodore G. Bilbo

TGB Papers
Theodore G. Bilbo Papers

TWH
Thomas W. Harvey

UNIA
Universal Negro Improvement Association

UNIA Collection CHWM
Universal Negro Improvement Association Collection,
Charles H. Wright Museum of African American History

UNIA Papers RL
Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Stuart A. Rose
Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Library

UNIA Papers WRHS
Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers,
Western Reserve Historical Society

UOI
University of Islam

WLS
William L. Sherrill

Preface

I must be honest. This book took much longer to complete than I had ever anticipated. Research on this project began in 2009. However, the origins of this book can be traced to my diasporic midwestern beginnings. I am a sixth-generation African American midwesterner. My family has lived in Michigan and Ohio since at least the 1830s. My ancestors and living relatives were ministers, abolitionists, doctors, automobile workers, household laborers, teachers, nurses, and Underground Railroad conductors.

I was born in 1970 in Detroit, Michigan, and raised in suburban Cleveland, Ohio. Growing up, I regularly visited Detroit to see my grandparents, aunts, cousins, uncles, and family members. My grandparents' bungalow house was our family's gathering place. For as long as I can remember, Detroit, Canada, and the automobile industry were central to my life. My maternal grandmother, Margaret Chandler (née Stanley), was born and raised in Toronto. As a young woman, she met my grandfather, Clifford Chandler of Detroit, at a popular Black nightclub in Windsor, Ontario—Detroit's Canadian sister city located across the Detroit River. They eventually married and started a family. My grandfather and seemingly everybody he knew worked at Ford or was in some way connected to the city's automobile industry. My grandmother regularly journeyed to Toronto to see her mother, Marion Stanley, who hailed from the Caribbean island of St. Kitts. I didn't know my great-grandmother very well. But I knew "she was from the islands." As a youngster, I went fishing multiple times every summer for years on the Canadian side of Lake St. Clair with my grandparents, mother, Marion McDuffie (née Chandler), and other family members. Crossing the Detroit River to Canada over the bridge or through the tunnel was quick and easy. You didn't need a passport back then. That was long before 9/11. My father, James McDuffie, was from Columbia, South Carolina.

After serving in the Vietnam War, he migrated to Detroit in 1967 and worked an office job at General Motors before marrying my mom. Soon after I arrived, he became a successful salesman for a Detroit-based automotive supplier. We moved "down" to Ohio when I was three. His aunt, Dorothy Weaks (née McDuffie), migrated from South Carolina to Detroit. Once there, she cleaned white folks' homes and worked as a Detroit Public School bus driver. Regular topics of conversation in Grandma and Papa's home were the Detroit Great Rebellion of 1967, or "the Riot," as my family called it; my grandparents' admiration for Detroit's first Black mayor, Coleman Young; and my grandmother's love for the Detroit Tigers and the "Bad Boys" (Detroit Pistons). There also were somber discussions about the unfolding crack cocaine epidemic and ongoing deindustrialization devastating the city.

I heard stories as a child when visiting my grandparents in Detroit about a midwestern ancestor, John Hatfield, who went to Australia before the Civil War because he wanted to be free and about my grandfather's "communistically inclined" cousin who went to Mexico in the 1960s to evade US racism. I also saw nineteenth-century photos of my ancestors who called Detroit their home. Another turning point in my life came when my parents purchased a vacation home in Puerto Rico. I was seven. It was through countless family trips to the island where I discovered Africa through *bomba*, salsa, rice and beans, *tostones*, and my encounters with the island's immensely proud people and unresolved colonial past and present.

Moving ahead, as an undergraduate at Hamilton College in Central New York State in the early 1990s, I discovered Malcolm X, Marcus Garvey, and the rich history of Black nationalism (Marxism and Black feminism). During a visit to Detroit in the summer before my senior year, I asked my grandfather while we sat on his porch if he remembered Marcus Garvey. I'll never forget my grandfather's response. He smiled. After a pause, he exclaimed: "Ohhhh, yes! Marcus Garvey." My grandfather remembered witnessing massive UNIA parades in Detroit. Then he told an off-color joke about Garvey. . . . Sadly, I don't think I ever followed up with my grandfather about Garvey. I wish I had. Decades later as I researched this book, I stumbled upon a reference in the *Negro World* to an "A. D. Chandler," a prominent Detroit minister who introduced Garvey at a mass UNIA meeting in Detroit in 1923. I was stunned. I knew my great-grandfather, Arthur D. Chandler, was a leading early twentieth-century Black Detroit Baptist minister. I connected the dots. I instantly recalled my conversation years ago about Garvey with my grandfather. How I wish I had asked my grandparents about this history. Sadly, they are long since

expired and their house and porch, like countless homes and buildings in Detroit, have been demolished.

I say all this to say that this book is deeply personal. It reflects my own Black diasporic midwestern roots and my attempt to understand the Midwest as a globally impactful, cosmopolitan, transnational center of Black life and Black internationalism, nationalism, and radicalism indelibly shaped by gendered racial capitalism, white supremacy, Black resistance, global events, and the forces of history. I hope this book resonates with readers, especially Black midwesterners.

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There are so many people I would like to thank. Let me begin by stating that getting to know my subjects constitutes one of the most amazing aspects of writing this book, in particular Muhammad Ahmad (Maxwell Stanford Jr.), Don and (the late) Norma Jeane Freeman, (the late) Donna Cooper Hayford, Deborah Jones, (the late) Steven Jones Jr., Cheryl Morgan, Ilyasah Shabazz, Victor Stewart, and Terance Wilson. Over the years, they have generously shared their knowledge, personal papers, and time with me. Our conversations have helped me to better understand the dynamic histories of Garveyism, the Midwest, Black nationalism, internationalism, and radicalism, Louise Little, Malcolm X, Black Power, and the African world. Getting to know my biographical subjects has made me a better scholar, man, father, partner, son, and global citizen.

The American Council of Learned Societies and National Endowment for the Humanities both generously provided grants for researching this book. My book also benefited from significant support through the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Campus Research Board; Center for Advanced Study, Humanities Research Institute; Office for the Vice Chancellor of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion; College of Liberal Arts and Sciences; Office for the Vice Chancellor for Research and Innovation; and a Richard and Margaret Romano Professorial Scholarship. Short-term research fellowships from the John Hope Franklin Research Center at Duke University and the Newberry Library came at a crucial time in this book's development.

It is essential that I express my sincerest appreciation to the staff of archives and libraries I visited across the United States and beyond. A special thanks to the staff at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture (Harlem), Moorland-Spingarn Research Center (Washington, DC), Blockson Collection

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For everything else, I am thankful to almighty God and the ancestors.

INTRODUCTION. A Manifesto on the Making of the Diasporic Midwest and Garveyism

Once more the white man has outraged American Civilization and dragged the fair name of the Republic before the Court of Civilized Justice. Another riot has visited the country and Omaha, Nebraska, has placed her name upon the map of mob violence. . . . The Negro must organize all over the world, 400,000,000 strong, to administer to our oppressors their Waterloo. —MARCUS GARVEY, *Negro World*, October 11, 1919

It was Grandmother Louise and Reverend Little . . . who sowed the seeds of insight, discipline, educational values, and organizational skills in my father, not Elijah Muhammad. Mr. Muhammad cleared away the weeds and allowed those seeds to flourish and grow. —ILYASAH SHABAZZ, *Growing Up X*, 2002

This book is a manifesto. It declares the importance of the US Midwest to the struggle for global Black freedom through Marcus Garvey, Garveyism, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), and its offshoots from the 1920s onward. The US Midwest, the vast geographic region in the North American middle, was a center of twentieth-century heavy industry and a crucible of African American life. Through examining the grassroots organizing, globetrotting, journalism, subjectivities, political and religious beliefs, cultural work, and institution building of US heartland–linked Black women, men, and youth inspired by Garvey, this book tells a new story about Garveyism; Black

internationalism, nationalism, and radicalism; the Midwest; Black feminism; and the African Diaspora, the ongoing dispersal of people of African descent throughout the world. At its peak in the early 1920s, the UNIA, then headquartered in New York, was the largest Black protest organization in history. The organization claimed six million members in the United States, Canada, the Caribbean, Central America, Africa, Europe, and Australia. The UNIA understood itself as a provisional government in exile committed to building self-reliant Black institutions, an independent Africa, and a global Black empire capable of protecting the rights and dignity of the African-descended everywhere. The Jamaican Black nationalists Marcus Garvey and Amy Ashwood Garvey cofounded the UNIA in 1914 in Kingston, Jamaica. Marcus Garvey served as the UNIA's first president-general.[1] His pan-African vision and call for race pride, armed self-defense, and Black self-determination galvanized the Black masses across the world, not least in the US Midwest.[2]

The Midwest constituted a key stronghold of the UNIA and a generative global crossroads of twentieth-century Black transnational movements. From the 1920s through the 1970s, UNIA divisions (locals) in Chicago, Illinois; Detroit, Michigan; Cleveland, Ohio; Cincinnati, Ohio; Gary, Indiana; Akron, Ohio; St. Louis, Missouri; Youngstown, Ohio; and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, constituted some of the largest, most influential, and longest-lasting UNIA outposts in the world. Through the UNIA, Black midwesterners forged powerful transnational political, cultural, spiritual, and personal linkages with African-descended people globally. My book disrupts the Harlem and Atlantic world-centric view of Garvey and the UNIA. The Midwest's importance to the UNIA would have been no mystery to him. Through his oratory and journalism in *Negro World*, the UNIA's globally circulated newspaper, Garvey from Harlem readily recognized the importance of the Midwest to the UNIA and to the global struggle of African-descended people for life and dignity. He, along with several of his leading lieutenants, regularly traveled from New York to the Midwest on UNIA-related business. On countless occasions, Garvey's devoted midwestern followers, sometimes in the thousands, came out to hear him speak at UNIA mass events and to march with him in large UNIA street parades in large and small heartland cities. Inspired by his entrepreneurial and pan-African vision, African Americans in heartland cities, towns, and rural areas, like Garveyites around the world, established businesses and other institutions with the intention of building autonomous, globally networked Black communities. Midwesterners were not just grassroots supporters of the transnational UNIA. They were some of its most visible leaders. James R. Stewart of Cleve-

land succeeded Marcus Garvey as the UNIA's president-general shortly after his death in 1940. After becoming the UNIA's new leader, Stewart transferred the transnational UNIA's Parent Body, the organization's executive board, from Harlem to Cleveland. In 1949, he migrated to Liberia with his family. By relocating the seat of the UNIA to Liberia, he fulfilled Garvey's dream of leading the struggle for African redemption from the continent.[3]

The Midwest was critically important to the UNIA and was home to what I have termed the "midwestern Garveyite front"—influential Black formations either based in the heartland or generating strong support there, all of which were inspired by Garveyism and affected the lives of millions of people and all aspects of Black life in and beyond the United States from the 1920s onward.[4] Many of these formations were headquartered or enjoyed strong support in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, and Lansing, Michigan. They were colonizationist groups like the Peace Movement of Ethiopia; religious organizations like the Moorish Science Temple of America, Nation of Islam, Clock of Destiny, Shrine of the Black Madonna, and Beth Shalom B'nai Zaken Ethiopian Hebrew Congregation; Afro-Asian solidarity groups like the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World and The Development of Our Own; cultural and community institutions like the House of Knowledge, Third World Press, Malcolm X College, Malcolm X Memorial Foundation, and D-Town Farm; and Black Power groups like the Afro-American Institute, Revolutionary Action Movement, Afro-Set, and Marcus Garvey Institute for the Study of African Peoples. Some formations, such as the Movement for Justice in Africa and the Marcus Garvey Memorial Institute, headquartered in Monrovia, Liberia, during the 1970s, were based overseas but still closely connected to the Midwest. Additionally, the African Hebrew Israelites of Jerusalem, a spiritual organization comprising largely followers from Chicago, is based today in Dimona, Israel. Several Garvey-influenced organizations are still active today and, in some cases, claim tens of thousands of working-class members. Twentieth-century Garvey-influenced Black formations spanned the ideological spectrum. For some people, vigorously reading and studying the writings and teachings of Garvey brought them into the UNIA and its derivatives. For others, the public perception and popular memory of him as a champion and symbol for global Black liberation drew them into Garvey-inspired movements. No matter how people came to Garveyism, they all shared a deep admiration for Garvey, strove to advance the dignity and rights of Black people, and made meaningful interventions in their daily lives in the Midwest and beyond. In terms of social class composition, working-class people composed

FIGURE I.1. Marcus Garvey mural at AAA Party Store by Bennie White, 1993, E. Warren Avenue at Lenox Street, Detroit, Michigan. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, photograph by Camilo José Vergara.

the bulk of these formations. Given the formations' politics and membership, authorities in the United States and elsewhere often looked with alarm at Garvey and his followers for apparently challenging the global color line.

Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland were major US cities and epicenters of the UNIA and the midwestern Garveyite front, as well as centers of globally connected Black communities established as early as the eighteenth century (see an artistic representation of Garvey in figure I.1). Garvey's ideas also influenced Midwest-linked formations, organizers, artists, journalists, students, spiritual leaders, workers, teachers, and world travelers in smaller cities like Omaha, Nebraska; Lansing; Gary; and Youngstown; in rural southwestern Ohio and Central Michigan; and in international locations like Montreal, Toronto, Grenada, Liberia, and Ghana. Chronicling the heartland's significance to the Black world provides empirical and theoretical models for writing new histories of Garveyism, the Midwest, and the African Diaspora.

Garveyism in the Diasporic Midwest is exemplified in the story of Louise Little. On one night in early 1925, a group of heavily armed, hooded, torch-bearing Ku Klux Klan members on horseback surrounded her home at 3448 Pinkney Street on the north side of Omaha. Brandishing rifles, the night riders demanded to know the whereabouts of her African American husband,

Map 1.1. The US Midwest.

Reverend Earl Little. They shouted threats. They warned her that "the good Christian white people" of Omaha would no longer tolerate her husband's preaching about the "back to Africa" teachings of Marcus Garvey.[5] Born on the British Caribbean island colony of Grenada, Little had eventually made her way to Montreal and then to Omaha. In interwar Omaha and later in Lansing, she gained a reputation as an able UNIA grassroots organizer committed to advancing what historian Mary Rolinson has called "grassroots Garveyism," the organizational work performed by Garveyites at the local level to achieve Black self-determination everywhere.[6]

On that evening in early 1925, Louise, visibly pregnant, opened her front door and confronted the Klansmen. She told them that her husband was in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, preaching and that she was home alone with three young children. No one exchanged gunfire. After learning that he was not home, the Klansmen galloped away—but not before shattering every window of the house with their rifle butts and screaming racist threats. This incident prompted the incensed but determined Little family to move soon thereafter to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the next stop in their midwestern journey and quest for the self-determination and dignity of Black people globally through the transnational UNIA.[7]

This harrowing story of Louise Little's brave standoff with white night riders is recounted in the opening of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, published in 1965. The unborn child whom she was carrying was her fourth child, Malcolm. Born in Omaha on May 19, 1925, he became best known to the world as Malcolm X. Charismatic and brilliant, he gained an international reputation as the preeminent US Black nationalist following the Second World War through his ministry in the Chicago-based Nation of Islam (NOI), an African American Muslim organization inspired in no small part by Garvey and led by Elijah Muhammad, who admired Garvey. On Malcolm's watch, the NOI emerged as the largest US Black nationalist organization by the early 1960s. His fiery denunciations of American Apartheid, rejection of civil rights liberalism, identification with anticolonial struggles in Africa and Asia, and demand for Black people to secure their human rights "by any means necessary" terrified white America and inspired African Americans and people of color around the world. Reared in a Garveyite family and coming of age in Michigan were foundational to his worldview.[8] The diasporic journeys and grassroots Garveyite organizing of Louise Little and her role in cultivating a Black radical sensibility in her globally renowned son speak to the unique and dynamic interplay between the Midwest and Garveyism in producing the world's largest Black movement and in making the US region a key fulcrum for global Black freedom.

The Diasporic Midwest

St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton's *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (1945) is a starting point for my conceptualization of midwestern Garveyism. Their landmark study examined race and urban life from the Depression through the opening years of the Second World War in "Bronzeville," the dynamic African American neighborhood—a "city within a city"—located on Chicago's South Side.[9] By the early twentieth century, Chicago had become

the second largest city in the United States, the second biggest Black urban community on the planet, a national railroad hub, and a global center of heavy industries (steel, meatpacking, and other manufacturing). According to Drake and Cayton, the interplay in Chicago among migration, heavy industry, residential segregation, white anti-Black racial violence, global economic depression, world war, and African American agency explained the process through which Blacks in the Windy City developed a collective consciousness, came to enjoy unprecedented economic and political power, and forged a culturally vibrant, nationally influential community.[10]

While *Black Metropolis* was a community study of the South Side, Drake and Cayton also understood Black Chicago's significance to the global world. In the final paragraph of *Black Metropolis*, they looked cautiously toward the future world on the eve of the postwar period from the vantage point of Chicago:

> So it is really only "One World." The problems that arise on Bronzeville's Forty-seventh Street encircle the globe. But the people of Black Metropolis and of Midwest Metropolis do not feel that this relieves them from maintaining their own constant struggle for a complete democracy as the only way to attain the world we say we want to build. The people of Bronzeville and of Midwest Metropolis and of all their counterparts are intertwined and interdependent. What happens to one affects all. A blow struck for freedom in Bronzeville finds its echo in Chungking and Moscow, in Paris and Senegal. A victory for fascism in Midwest Metropolis will sound the knell of doom for the Common Man Everywhere.[11]

For Drake and Cayton, the struggles of African Americans on the South Side for racial equality were inextricably linked to the fates of hundreds of millions of people across Asia and Africa, who yearned to break the shackles of European colonial subjugation, and of working-class people everywhere as the world emerged from the most destructive war humans had ever witnessed. Framing the status of Black Chicagoans as a barometer for measuring democracy globally, Drake and Cayton contended that the front lines of the unfinished worldwide struggle between fascism and democracy passed directly through the South Side. They argued that the defeat for racial democracy and labor in Chicago would open the floodgates for human inequality and fascism globally. While Drake and Cayton identified Chicago as a global bellwether, they dismissed Garvey and Garveyite groups as a fad of years past among Black South Siders.[12] It is curious that this seminal text in African American urban studies downplayed Garveyism, despite the fact that Drake's father was a Barbados-born UNIA international organizer and that interwar Chicago was home to a massive UNIA local and a

thriving midwestern Garveyite front. Drake's and Cayton's middle-class social location and leftist political sympathies may help explain their conclusions.[13]

Drawing from, extending, and inspired by Drake and Cayton's prophetic words and recognition of the South Side's global significance, my book explicates the history of what I call the "Diasporic Midwest." I use the term as an empirical and theoretical framework to extend the study of the African Diaspora by tracing the significance of the American heartland as a germinal hub of Black transnational political activism; to appreciate the possibilities, limitations, gendered contours, and paradoxes of Black nationalism, internationalism, and Black radicalism; to explore the contested and multiple meanings of freedom; and to chart genealogies of Black Power and Black movements through Garveyism. The Diasporic Midwest encompasses the American industrial and rural heartland, a region that includes states north of the Ohio River between the Appalachians and the Rocky Mountains, as a single yet complex and ever-changing geographic, political, historical, material, and discursive formation linked to Africa, the Black Diaspora, and the world.[14] Garveyism provided a powerful vehicle for Black midwesterners, both in urban and rural settings, to forge transnational linkages with the African-descended everywhere and to advance worldwide Black liberation.

Although I use the term "Diasporic Midwest," I am conscious that my subjects neither used the term "diaspora" to describe their social and geographic locations nor in many cases consciously self-identified as midwesterners. Black communities in the geographic region now called the Midwest were from their very beginning connected to the larger African world through migration, trade, politics, culture, and, above all, to what I call the experience of "the dialectic of opportunity and oppression." This dialectic constituted the key distinguishing feature of Black life in the Midwest. For African Americans, the US heartland from the early nineteenth century into the twentieth century came to hold real and symbolic meaning as a land of unparalleled opportunity and freedom, distinct from the racial oppression Blacks faced under slavery and Jim Crow in the South. Historian Joe William Trotter Jr. explores this African American belief in his study of nineteenth- through mid-twentieth-century Black urban life in the Ohio River Valley. The Ohio River constituted the dividing line between slavery and freedom prior to the Civil War and was the boundary between the Jim Crow South and the industrial urban heartland. Read through the lens of the African American prophetic tradition, the Ohio River became the River Jordan, the demarcation between southern slavery and the Promised Land of freedom in the North.[15] In the lead-up to the Civil War and long before twentieth-century Republican and Democratic election rivals,

the Midwest was home to key battleground states determining the country's future. The region, known in the antebellum years as the "Old Northwest" and "Great West," was the site of protracted and sometimes deadly struggles for and against slavery. African Americans in heartland cities and rural areas struggled for democracy in the antebellum United States through their community-building and resistance. By the Civil War, the African American perception of the Midwest as a Promised Land was firmly established.

Black Americans continued to enjoy unprecedented economic and political opportunities in the Midwest through the twentieth century and onward. Their economic prosperity and political power were inextricably connected to the region's heavy industrial character. By the early 1900s, the Midwest emerged as the site of the world's most advanced industrial manufacturing. The automobile, steel, rubber, and meatpacking industries made Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Akron, Gary, and Youngstown the envy of the world, symbols of American prosperity, ingenuity, and opportunity, and a key driver of global economic growth (see figure I.2). By 1920, Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland ranked as the second, fourth, and fifth largest US cities, respectively. The bulk of the six million African Americans who migrated from the South to the North from 1915 to 1970 came in search of better lives. This new world of mass production, urbanization, and consumer capitalism, together with the Depression, world wars, and decolonization, radicalized and transformed the lives of Blacks in the Midwest who hailed from the region or who migrated there from the Jim Crow South, the Caribbean, and Africa.[16] Blacks in the US heartland enjoyed political rights they could find nowhere else. Unlike in the Jim Crow South and colonial worlds, Black midwesterners could vote and exercise real political power. They earned incomes higher than their counterparts anywhere else. These cities were centers of militant Black labor organizing.[17] Black midwesterners lived in a region that was home to some of the richest biomes and most extensive waterway networks on the planet.[18] They also resided in a region that for centuries was a contested geographic and geopolitical space between Indigenous people and French, Spanish, British, and US continental empires.[19]

At the very same time African Americans found unprecedented opportunities in the Midwest, they lived in a region fraught with virulent racial oppression that rendered them second-class citizens as a racialized minority and subject to persistent state and extralegal violence.[20] The racially hostile heartland was foundational to making the young US republic a white settler continental empire and an emergent center of global racial capitalism. Beginning in the nineteenth century, the Midwest set a national precedent for state-sanctioned and

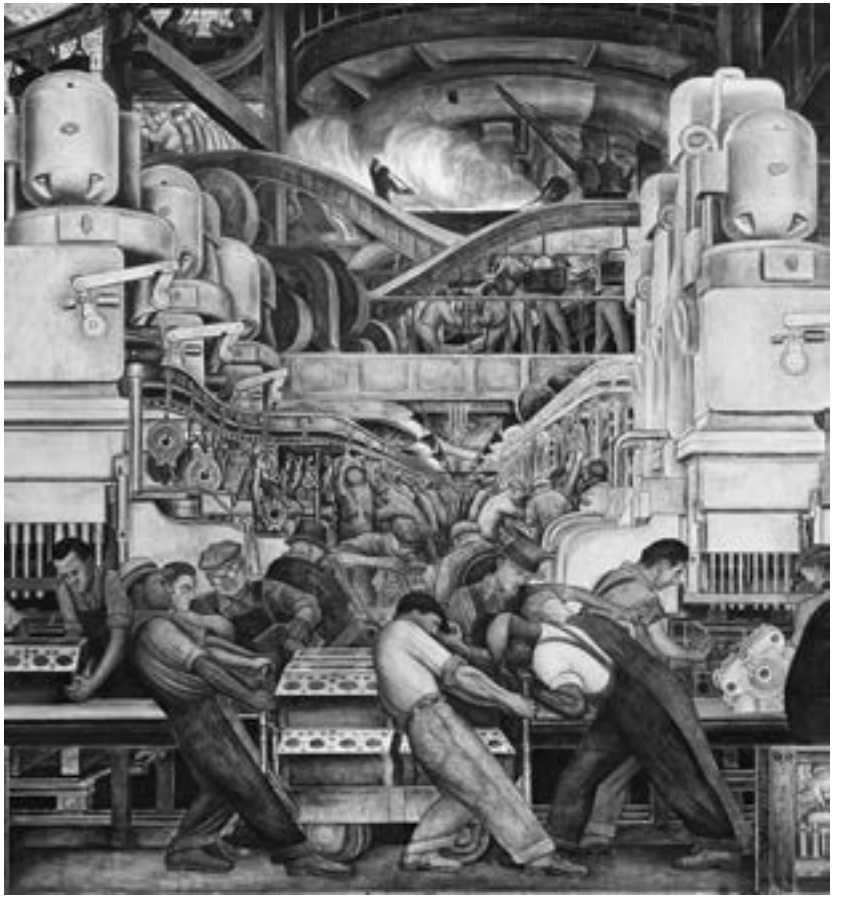

FIGURE 1.2. Depiction of the Ford River Rouge factory in Detroit by the Mexican revolutionary artist and activist Diego Rivera. Diego M. Rivera, Detroit Industry Murals, 1932–1933, frescoes; Detroit Institute of Arts, gift of Edsel B. Ford, 33.10.

extralegal racial discrimination and terror against African Americans, Native Americans, and other people of color.[21] In the antebellum years, the heartland was home to white vigilantes and lynch mobs who roamed the countryside and scoured cities in order to capture and return self-emancipated people to southern slavery and to extinguish Black people.[22] From the twentieth century onward, the Ku Klux Klan, US Nazis, and other right-wing white supremacist formations, the police, and everyday white women, men, and youth terrorized Black folk. In the factories, African American male industrial workers were the last hired and first fired. They experienced super-exploitation and worked the

Map 1.2. The Great Lakes Region.

dirtiest jobs.[23] African American female wage earners in the heartland faced their own distinct challenges. Like elsewhere across the United States and beyond, the bulk of Black midwestern female wage earners toiled as domestic laborers in white people's homes, under the constant threat of sexual assault and verbal abuse.[24] Ideologically, African American midwesterners confronted a prevailing white supremacist discourse in the heartland that framed the region in contradistinction to the US South. This discourse understood the South as an economically backward, politically regressive land of slavery, Jim Crow, and racial terror. Additionally, the dominant midwestern racial discourse framed

the heartland as a racially liberal land of limitless opportunity and democratic meritocracy, shrouding the region's deep-seated structural racism and violence.[25] The racist realities of the Midwest were not lost on its Black denizens. The legendary civil rights icon Rosa Parks, who fled in 1957 to Detroit from Montgomery, Alabama, and whose grandfather was a staunch Garveyite, disparaged the Motor City as "the Northern promised land that wasn't" because of its racial terror, residential segregation, and misery for African Americans.[26]

Another unique feature of African American midwestern life was the ability of Black women and men to build long-lasting, grassroots political, cultural, religious, and commercial institutions committed to advancing racial autonomy, race pride, and global Black freedom. The "institution-building impulse in the Midwest" was inextricably connected to the Black midwestern experience of the dialectic of opportunity and oppression.[27] A large portion of Black men in the heartland who joined Garvey-inspired formations worked in heavy industries. Most wage-earning heartland Black women in the UNIA and the midwestern Garveyite front, like elsewhere, toiled backbreaking hours cleaning white women's kitchens. However, a small but significant number of Black midwestern women in the UNIA and the like found employment through these organizations and in African American–owned businesses, providing them with some economic independence from white people and Black men.[28] The unmatched economic and political power of Blacks in the heartland provided them with the unique ability to support the local and transnational work of the UNIA and formations it inspired and to build long-lasting institutions.[29] Taken together, the dialectic of opportunity and oppression, the impulse of institution-building, and the agency of Black midwesterners positioned the region as a center of global struggles for the rights, dignity, and respect of Black people everywhere through the UNIA and neo-Garveyite formations. It is this dynamic but untold story that this book explores.

Interventions: Why the Diasporic Midwest Matters

The Second Battle for Africa makes several interventions in the fields of African American history, African American studies, US midwestern history, women and gender studies, African Diaspora studies, and global history. The Midwest has been critical for centuries to the making of US life, African American history, and Global Africa. From the twentieth century onward, Black movements influenced by Garvey have been central to this ongoing history. These assertions may come as a surprise to some readers, given popular and even scholarly perceptions of the Midwest as "flyover country," a lily-white,

provincial, aesthetically unpleasing backwater positioned between the US east and west coasts, and as the "Rust Belt," a postindustrial wasteland.[30] For some observers, midwestern cities such as Cleveland, St. Louis, Chicago, Milwaukee, Youngstown, Gary, Flint (Michigan), and, above all, Detroit, with their shuttered and crumbling factories, population decline, vacant lots, high rates of poverty and gun violence, and abandoned homes, symbolize US industrial decline and the "urban crisis."[31]

Derisive representations of the Midwest as the "Rust Belt" and "flyover country," often tinged with racism, classism, sexism, and US coastal cultural biases, tell us more about the (mis)perceptions of the heartland than about the region's actual histories, complexities, and ongoing importance.[32] The Midwest for much of the twentieth century was to the United States what Silicon Valley became to the country by the millennium: a globally connected powerhouse and symbol of US technological innovation, capitalist accumulation, and modernity. For the first seventy years of the twentieth century, Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland were among the top ten largest cities in the United States. They prompted millions of people to relocate to the Midwest. Despite facing cascading effects resulting from deindustrialization and other immense challenges beginning after the Second World War, early twenty-first-century midwestern urban and rural communities remain dynamic places and sites for innovative initiatives for building a new, more sustainable and democratic future world.[33]

Recent years have seen a renewed interest among scholars in midwestern life and history. Part of this interest is a response by historians to the neglect of the Midwest by the media, popular misconceptions of the region, and recent political and cultural events. Such events include the 2008 election of Barack Obama of Chicago, the first African American US president; the massive 2012 Chicago teachers' strike led by African American teacher Karen Lewis; the 2014 Flint water crisis; Black Lives Matter protests in Ferguson, Missouri, in 2014 and 2015; the epic 2016 NBA championship victory of the LeBron James–led Cleveland Cavaliers; the Chicago Cubs' World Series title in 2016; the 2016 US presidential election in which Michigan and Wisconsin played a decisive role in securing Donald Trump's narrow electoral victory; the publication of J. D. Vance's *Hillbilly Elegy: A Memoir of a Family and Culture in Crisis* (2016); the unforgettable eight-hour funeral service in Detroit in 2016 for the legendary soul singer Aretha Franklin; unprecedented global protests in 2020 against police brutality and racism, triggered by the police murder of the unarmed African American man George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota; and the 2020 US presidential race in which Wisconsin and Michigan once again proved pivotal to the election outcome.[34] These events, together with ongoing

migrations, demographic shifts, and continuing deindustrialization, shone a spotlight on the region.

The founding of the Midwestern Historical Association (MHA) in 2014 by historian Jon Lauck of South Dakota marked a significant step in the revitalization of midwestern history as a major US academic field.[35] Recent publications of several paradigm-shifting regional studies of the Midwest have utilized interdisciplinary approaches from history; ethnic studies; African American studies; gender, women's, and trans* studies; Indigenous studies; environmental studies; and the paradigms of empire, racial capitalism, settler colonialism, whiteness, borderlands, and white supremacy. This work locates the region now understood as the Midwest within a global context, emphasizing the region's critical importance to Indigenous people and European colonialization of the Americas and to the making of US empire and the modern world.[36] Scholars are exploring the origins and meanings of the mythology of the Midwest as "the heartland."[37] This myth not only represents the Midwest as the "geographic center" of the United States.[38] The myth also depicts the region, with its apparent uniformly white, conservative, straight, rural, exceptional, Christian, and provincial character, as the "symbolic center" of post–Second World War US mythologies.[39]

The early 2020s witnessed the emergence of an innovative, multi- and interdisciplinary field that I call "Black midwestern studies." Interest among scholars in African American midwestern life and history is hardly new. What is distinguishing about Black midwestern studies is the way a group of young and established academics, independent scholars, filmmakers, poets, visual artists, and community organizers, many of whom are Black and proudly hail from the Midwest, see themselves as a collective building a new field of study about Black people in the North American middle across varied human geographies and time.[40] These thinkers knowingly and unknowingly stand on the shoulders of Drake and Cayton, who were more than eighty years ahead of the curve with their Black-Chicago-in-the-world perspective. My book, therefore, departs from where *Black Metropolis* left off in uncovering the Black Midwest's global importance through Garveyism.

At its core, *The Second Battle for Africa* obliterates denigrating myths of the region by appreciating the dynamic and complex history of midwestern Garveyism. From the vantage point of Black midwesterners and Garvey-inspired movements, these myths make no sense. The Midwest was never a straight, all-white, middle-class, politically conservative backwater. Instead, the region has been multiracial, cosmopolitan, and globally connected since its beginnings. The African-descended are an essential part of midwestern life. They have always

actively pursued forging transnational political, cultural, and personal linkages between the region and the world. Through this work, Black people helped to position the heartland at the front lines in global struggles for democracy and human freedom.

Examining Garveyism in the Diasporic Midwest requires expanding the geographic, analytical, and temporal parameters of the study of Global Africa. In the field of African Diaspora studies today, it is practically a truism to say that migration, mobility, and the circulation and exchange of ideas, commodities, culture, and people, especially through the Middle Passage and voluntary oceanic seafaring and crossings, have come to be understood as critical components of diaspora-making in the modern era. The Middle Passage has come to represent the site of rupture, no return, injury, and transformation.[41] Voluntary oceanic crossings by Blacks during and after slavery, especially by bourgeois or radical (male) spokespersons and intellectuals who enjoyed some degree of economic, political, social, or global status, have been understood as journeys toward self-discovery and freedom.[42] Countless scholars have looked at these phenomena in the Atlantic, Pacific, Indian, and Caribbean basins.[43] Through these studies, we have come to appreciate New York, London, the Caribbean, Charleston and the South Carolina Low Country, Accra, Cartagena, the Chesapeake, Algiers, New Orleans, Cape Town, Dar es Salaam, Montreal, Veracruz, Paris, Dakar, Salvador, Hawai'i, and Rio de Janeiro as important destinations and sites of diaspora-making, exchange, resistance, and community formation.[44] Yet the focus on the Middle Passage and oceanic mobility begs the following questions: Where do the Midwest and other geographic regions located in the middle of continents fit into the worldwide African Diaspora? Why and how have diasporic communities and subjectivities taken different shape in the South Side of Chicago, Gary, and rural southwestern Ohio than in Kingston, São Paulo, and the Futa Toro? Why have regions like the US heartland been seemingly written out of African Diaspora narratives? How does the history of Garveyism and the African world look different when we center the Midwest's distinct contributions to Global Africa and to Garvey-inspired movements?

The Middle Passage and oceanic seafaring are clearly not the perquisites for diaspora-making, and New York and the Atlantic littoral need not be the geographic and analytical foci of the African Diaspora. Instead, living nominally free in the North American middle, one of the world's most prosperous and oppressive places for Blacks, and residing in locales home to several of the world's biggest heavy industries were powerful and distinct forces in diaspora-making. The neglect of the Midwest (and countless other places around the world) in

African Diaspora studies inadvertently frames sites such as Harlem and the Atlantic and Caribbean basins as the standard-bearers of diaspora-making. Cities such as Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, Lansing, and Gary, located in the North American middle, became, beginning in the late eighteenth century, important destinations for Black people and engines for globally impactful movements. To be clear, slavery was an essential feature of early midwestern Black life. Heartland Garveyites traveled the world. However, the overwhelming bulk of African-descended people who came to the Midwest arrived neither through the Middle Passage nor as oceanic travelers. Most African Americans who settled in the Midwest were poor and working-class people from the South. They came to the North American middle voluntarily in search of a better life. These first Black newcomers made their way to the region by foot, ferried across and traveled down the Ohio River and other midwestern rivers, and took passage on ships on the massive freshwater inland seas that are the Great Lakes. Later, they arrived by train, bus, automobile, and airplane.[45]

The Black midwestern experience of the dialectic of opportunity and oppression fueled this process. In the antebellum years, the dream of escaping southern slavery and living in one of the fastest-growing economic regions brought tens of thousands of Blacks to the Great West. In the twentieth century, living free of Jim Crow and finding a better life through the region's factories or entrepreneurialism did the same. The Diasporic Midwest charges scholars of the African Diaspora to widen their frames of reference and consider what different objects and sites of study offer with regards to diasporic dynamics: its peoples, its cultures, its politics, and its migrations that continue to move in ways that provide invaluable insights and knowledges about Global Africa. From the standpoint of the Diasporic Midwest, Harlem, New Orleans, London, Accra, and Salvador are neither the exemplars of diaspora nor the pinnacles of Blackness. These locales are important. But they are not the alpha and the omega of the African world. For these reasons, the Diasporic Midwest should be useful for scholars who study more commonly looked at sites across the African world to question their own parochialisms and to appreciate the particularities of the sites they research. As historian Minkah Makalani argues, scholars of the African Diaspora must always pay careful attention to locality, temporality, space, and place to the making of diasporic communities and subjectivities.[46] Telling the story of the Diasporic Midwest through Garveyism, then, is useful for expanding canonical narratives about the African Diaspora and for liberating the field from traditional geographic, temporal, gender, national, and class confines.

My book moves the Midwest to the center of analysis in what a new generation of Garvey scholars have called "global Garveyism."[47] Coined by histori-

ans Ronald J. Stephens and Adam Ewing, global Garveyism is a framework for looking in new ways and for asking new questions about the history, gender, class, and political contours, geographies, chronologies, and global breadth of Garveyism. Extending and recasting work by pioneering Garvey scholars, Stephens and Ewing credit Garveyites for forging "the largest mass movement in the history of the African Diaspora."[48] In a break from many previous scholars' singular focus on Garvey, Stephens and Ewing contend that Garveyism was far bigger than Garvey and the UNIA. Global Garveyism embodied the revolutionary consciousness and aspirations of the Black masses, rooted in what Black Studies scholar Cedric Robinson called the "Black Radical Tradition" in *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (1983).[49] Stephens and Ewing contend that Garveyism "embodied, at its root, a revolt against the West" that was forged through the struggles of African people against slavery, colonialism, and global white supremacy and for a liberated future Black world through a free Africa.[50] From this perspective, "the history of Garveyism is thus to glimpse something much bigger and much more complex than Garveyism itself: black politics in the making."[51] In addition, the new generation of scholars categorically reject the denouement narrative about Garveyism, a claim that framed Garvey, Garveyism, and the UNIA as fads that ceased to be significant after Garvey's deportation from the United States in 1927 and death in 1940.[52] Recent Garvey scholarship emphasizes how Garvey's legacy lived on across the world long after his departure from the United States, and it passed through a dazzling array of sites—new Black religions, trade unions, leftist formations, the Rastafari, mainstream electoral politics, the NOI, and anticolonial movements. Given its origins, global reach, and enduring mass appeal, "Garveyism concurrently was a window on the past, present, and future of black struggles," observes historian Michael O. West.[53] For these reasons, Garveyism must be understood as critical to the history of pan-Africanism, Black nationalism, Black radicalism, Black internationalism, and worldmaking.[54]

New scholarship on Garvey, Black internationalism, and Black radicalism has opened exciting new areas of inquiry about Black people around the world. However, much work remains to be done. There is a tendency among some scholars to categorically frame Black movements as left-wing projects committed to socialism, secularism, interracialism, and progressive gender politics; to focus on elite Black internationalists of the Atlantic world; and to conceptualize Black internationalism as a byproduct of the global communist left.[55] These conclusions often collapse ideological distinctions among Black internationalists; overlook geographic sites beyond the Atlantic rim where Black internationalism emerged; ignore Garvey; and fail to notice what historians

Benjamin Talton and Monique Bedasse have identified as the "messiness" of Black internationalism—that is, the ways African-descended rulers and people around the world have sometimes exploited and "facilitated the suffering" of Black people and allied themselves with the interests of imperial powers through the guise of ostensibly promoting pan-Africanism and Black radicalism.[56]

Garveyism was the most potent political, cultural, and social force in the twentieth-century Black world. The only real competitor in this regard is the Black Power movement of the 1960s and 1970s, which in multiple ways, in multiple parts of the world, built on Garveyite foundations. The significance of Garveyism lies not so much in the life of Garvey and the organizational life of UNIA and its derivatives. Rather, the power of Garveyism rested in its ability to inspire the African-descended masses to resist dehumanization and oppression and to imagine that another world was possible. Garveyism, perhaps like no other phenomenon, elucidates the brilliance, resilience, creativity, beauty, paradoxes, and complexities of Black people and Black freedom struggles. Arguably, and quiet as it has been kept, no region in the world provides better insight into the power, possibilities, limitations, and legacies of Garveyism, as well as into state responses to Garveyites, than the Diasporic Midwest.

Midwestern Garveyism provides important insights into the complex place of Garveyism within the Black Radical Tradition, the history of Black internationalism, and the contested meaning of freedom among the African-descended. In Garvey's lifetime, countless Blacks affiliated with the Communist Party and other leftist formations had denounced him as a bourgeois imperialist after his rightward political turn, beginning in the early 1920s. From his standpoint, white communists duped Black leftists and used them to advance their own pro-Soviet conspiratorial interests at the expense of Black people. Subsequently, Garvey became staunchly anticommunist.[57]

Among some contemporary scholars, Garvey occupies a curious position in relation to the Black Radical Tradition. Garvey receives only brief attention in Robinson's *Black Marxism* despite the importance of Garvey and the UNIA in propelling Black radicalism from the 1920s onward. His absence in *Black Marxism* speaks to one of the book's greatest ironies. Robinson posits the Black Radical Tradition and Marxism as two discrete revolutionary traditions and understands Marxism, despite its universalist claims, as "a Western construction—a conceptualization of human affairs and historical experiences of European peoples mediated, in turn, through their civilization, their social orders, and their cultures."[58] However, the three key biographical subjects of *Black Marxism*—W. E. B. Du Bois, C. L. R. James, and Richard Wright—were intimately tied to Marxism even as they revised it or broke from the communist

left. My intention here is not to downplay the importance of the Black left to Black and global twentieth-century histories. Communist-affiliated Black formations were homes to trailblazing revolutionary Black activist-intellectuals such as Du Bois, Paul and Eslanda Robeson, Claudia Jones, C. L. R. James, Louise Thompson Patterson, and Esther Cooper Jackson, all of whom were some of the tallest trees in our forest. However, it is undeniable that exponentially more African-descended people joined the UNIA and its derivatives than ever enlisted in Black formations associated or friendly with the US Communist Party. So, when we think about Black radicalism, we cannot overlook Garvey, the UNIA, and its offshoots.

Garveyism's complex location in the Black Radical Tradition can be best understood by grounding the former within the long history of Black nationalism. Black nationalism represents a powerful oppositional ideology originating in the eighteenth century as a response of African-descended people in the Americas to enslavement and the ideals of white supremacy. At its core, Black nationalism understands African Americans as a nation within a nation and the African-descended worldwide as one people, linked by the concept of racial unity, entitled to self-determination.[59] Garveyism was inextricably connected to what historian Wilson Jeremiah Moses calls "classical black nationalism," an ideology that peaked in the 1850s and again in the 1920s in response to Garvey. A key feature of classical Black nationalism was the desire to establish an economically and militarily powerful Black nation-state or empire.[60] "Civilizationism" constituted another significant component of classical Black nationalism. Informed by prevailing western beliefs of the time—the superiority of Christianity, biological understandings of race, the virtues of republicanism, and benefits of capitalism—classical Black nationalists believed that New World Blacks possessed the right to civilize and modernize allegedly backward African Indigenes.[61] From this perspective emerged what African American religion scholar Sylvester Johnson has termed "Black settler colonialism." He describes Black settler colonialism as an important political and theological idea articulated before the Civil War by free African Americans who called for self-determination among Blacks in the antebellum United States.[62] Black settler colonialists saw themselves as key agents of African redemption, "an overarching divine plan to bring the race from heathen backwardness to modern civility through Christian domination."[63] Leading nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Black thinkers on both sides of the Atlantic to varying degrees embraced civilizationism—Martin R. Delany, Frederick Douglass, Edward Wilmot Blyden, Alexander Crummell, Henry McNeal Turner, Booker T. Washington, Mary Church Terrell, Ida B. Wells, W. E. B. Du Bois, J. E. and

Adelaide Casely Hayford, and John Langalibalele Dube—many of whom influenced Garvey.[64] Classical Black nationalism was gendered to the core. Literary scholar Michelle Stephens asserts that Garvey's global vision "was revolutionary and democratic in its imagination of a free, self-governing black proletariat."[65] Still, despite its working-class character, Garveyism "was imperial in its attachment to the gendered hierarchies and patriarchal logic of racial nationalism and limited in its fetishistic use of race thinking as the philosophy undergirding a masculine vision of a multinational and multiracial self-government."[66]

Liberia was key to Black settler colonial schemes from the early nineteenth century onward, including those of Garvey and many of his disciples. New World Black settlers first arrived in 1822 in the West African nation that became the Republic of Liberia. The American Colonization Society (ACS), founded in Washington, DC, in 1816, was critical in financing and organizing Liberian colonization. Composed predominantly of slaveholders, US congresspersons, and prominent white citizens, the ACS viewed free Blacks as an existential threat and believed that colonization was essential for protecting the young white settler republic. The ACS worked with free African Americans in promoting Liberian colonization. While white supremacists backed Liberia, the dream of returning to Africa originated from African Americans themselves who desired to live in a haven from racial oppression. In 1847, Liberia declared independence, making it the second Black republic in the world and the first republic on the African continent, with the motto "The Love of Liberty Brought Us Here." Liberia sparked enormous debate among African Americans.[67] Despite this contention and imposing obstacles, more than sixteen thousand Black Americans resettled in the West African republic during the nineteenth century.[68] Once there, they came to be known as "Americo-Liberians." They forged a nation that became both a symbol of freedom to countless New World Blacks and a settler society predicated on wanton violence against African Indigenes.[69] The settler colonial projects pursued by New World Blacks on the continent, in the view of historian Tunde Adeleke, shared much in common with European imperialists by stripping continental Africans of their sovereignty: "Europeans and black American nationalists constituted two rival groups of imperialists, of unequal force, who converged on Africa in the second half of the nineteenth century."[70] Black settler colonialism and civilizationism were not the exclusive domain of Garveyites. African-descended people in the church, women's clubs, civil rights organizations, and the left upheld notions of western superiority over continental Africans deep into the twentieth century.[71] However, Black nationalists were at the forefront in advancing Black settler colonialism.

The global liberatory vision proffered by midwestern Garveyites and Black nationalists elsewhere provides important insight into what I call "Black diasporic right radicalism," which describes a classical Black nationalist–informed tendency within the Black Radical Tradition, upheld to varying degrees by Black nationalists following Garvey's rightward political turn in the early 1920s. Black diasporic right radicalism emerged as a response to the social environment that Black nationalists encountered, and as leftist forces that were committed to socialism, trade unionism, multiracial internationalism, secularism, decolonization, African sovereignty, and in some cases women's rights gained momentum across the interwar African world. Garveyites' outlook was diasporic and radical, given they were at the front lines in repudiating European colonialism, Jim Crow, peonage, lynching, white cultural hegemony, and other indignities and in calling for the full freedom of Black people globally.[72] Black nationalists understood perhaps better than anyone else white supremacy, slavery, colonialism, and racial oppression and terror as constituent parts of the modern world system, culture, and all dimensions of Black and human existence. The politics of some Black nationalists were right-wing because they embraced settler colonialism, civilizationism, heteropatriarchy, and capitalism as solutions to the problems facing Black people worldwide. Many Black diasporic right radicals upheld a virulent anticommunism. Their willing collaborations with white supremacists stand as the most distinguishing *and* controversial feature of Black diasporic right radicalism. Beginning in the nineteenth century, several Black nationalists collaborated with white supremacists—in many cases openly and unapologetically—in support of racial separation, African redemption, and Black freedom. This was the case with Marcus Garvey, Amy Jacques Garvey, Mittie Maude Lena Gordon, James R. Stewart, Elijah Muhammad, and Malcolm X. Most notably, Black nationalist leader Mittie Maude Lena Gordon of Chicago worked for Liberian colonization for years with US senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi, a fierce proponent of segregation, and with leading white supremacist intellectual Earnest Sevier Cox of Virginia. Black nationalists' embrace of capitalism, empire, civilizationism, heteropatriarchy, and biological understandings of race explain why and how Black diasporic right radicals and white supremacists found common ground.[73]

From a contemporary standpoint, Black settler colonialism and Black diasporic right radicals might seem conservative if not outright reactionary. In many ways they were. At the same time, it should be remembered that in the context of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, when European colonialism was at its height, Black settler colonialism challenged global white supremacy. Black settler colonialists in theory but also often in

practice recognized the humanity of African people and deplored the brutality of European colonial subjugation of Africa. Through calling for African redemption, Garveyites and other Black settler colonialists contested European colonialism and demanded Black freedom. This explains why Garveyism flourished across the African continent and electrified the African masses.[74]

Even more, the working-class composition, program, and global vision of the UNIA and its offshoots fundamentally challenged the gendered racial capitalist global order. This fact was not lost on US white authorities—or on European colonial officials in Africa and the Caribbean.[75] In the United States, white rulers identified Black nationalists, even those who collaborated with white supremacists, as the most significant African American domestic security threat during much of the twentieth century.[76] Federal, state, and local state actors targeted, harassed, punished, incarcerated, and killed Black nationalists to a greater extent than their leftist and civil rights counterparts. Marcus Garvey's deportation is but one example. The Midwest was ground zero for state repression against Black nationalists. This was apparent through Louise Little's incapacitation in a Michigan-operated psychiatric hospital; the incarceration of Mittie Maude Lena Gordon for her alleged pro-Japanese sentiments during the Second World War; Elijah Muhammad and scores of his midwestern Muslim followers being sent to federal prison in the 1940s for defying the US military draft; and the institutionalization of the Cleveland Moorish Science spiritual leader Ahmad El in 1954 in an Ohio mental health state hospital for his racial defiance.

Another way to understand Garvey's centrality to the Black Radical Tradition is to acknowledge the importance of him and UNIA-inspired movements to the making of individuals readily seen today as key figures in Black radicalism who received either passing or no attention in *Black Marxism*—Malcolm X, Claudia Jones, Kwame Nkrumah, Queen Mother Audley and Eloise Moore, Don Freeman, Muhammad Ahmad, Dara Abubakari, General Baker, Amos Sawyer, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kimathi Mohammed, and Louise Little. These figures, many of whom were midwesterners and who embraced socialism, credited Garvey and neo-Garveyite movements for sparking their political awakenings. Several of them readily acknowledged the importance of Garvey to shaping their politics through their entire lives. In other words, many Black leftists and revolutionary nationalists did not grow out of and dispense with Garveyism as they matured politically and adopted anticapitalist positions. They continued to credit Garvey for inspiration, demonstrating how Black leftists and revolutionary nationalists often found a way to make two seemingly opposite Black politics coexist. Their embrace of Garvey also speaks to one of the most enduring strengths of Garveyism: its ideological malleability. Garveyism seemingly provided dis-

parate groups of Black thinkers, workers, organizers, students, artists, religious followers, and everyday women, men, and youth from around the world and across the political spectrum with a common political vocabulary and reference point.[77] Many of his disciples neither blindly accepted nor embraced all his beliefs. Like Garvey, many Black nationalists upheld incompatible ideas.

I am not suggesting that we collapse ideological distinctions among Blacks in Garvey-inspired and leftist formations or overlook the paradoxes and limitations of Garveyism—or for the Black left for that matter. But we must appreciate how political labels and ideological categories, such as radical, liberal, Garveyite, conservative, nationalist, Marxist, and socialist, among the African-descended have never been neat and tidy.[78] The exigencies and uncertainties of Black life have always required ideological flexibility and creativity, as well as political pragmatism and compromise, among the African-descended. For these reasons, scholars, especially those sympathetic with the Black left, should not dismiss Black nationalist movements as ephemeral, bourgeois, or reactionary. We need to understand that the Black left was not the only site where critical conversations about and political actions against racism, capitalism, imperialism, and, to varying degrees, heteropatriarchy took place. These discussions also occurred within Garvey-inspired movements from the 1920s onward, although often through a different political lexicon and from different social locations from their leftist counterparts.[79]

While some Garveyites embraced Black diasporic right radicalism, others never practiced it or abandoned it for revolutionary nationalist and leftist formulations of Black radicalism. Malcolm's political journey is a case in point. His associations with early Black Power militants in Detroit and global travels helped him to rethink the narrow racial nationalism of the Nation of Islam and to adopt a revolutionary nationalism near the end of his life. The political journeys of Malcolm and other midwestern Black nationalists provide keen insight into the processes through which African-descended militants moved beyond Black diasporic right radicalism and rejected capitalism, sexism, white supremacy, and empire.

In addition, the work and visibility of midwestern Garveyites in relation to Liberia through the twentieth century and onward counter the prevailing scholarly narratives that downplay or ignore the West African republic's key place in Black internationalism.[80] Today, Haiti, the world's first Black republic, garners significantly more attention from scholars interested in nineteenth-century Black internationalism than Liberia.[81] For the twentieth century, Ghana, Tanzania, and Algeria, among other places, far eclipse Liberia in studies of Black internationalism.[82] The invisibility of Liberia is curious, given that

the West African republic electrified the Black global political imagination.[83] How do we explain why the world's second Black republic has been largely forgotten in Black internationalism? Part of this answer lies with the unease among scholars about Liberia's origins as a settler nation linked with the racist ACS; the nation's "lack of a revolutionary pedigree . . . like Haiti"; the ruthless treatment of Indigenes by Americo-Liberians; Liberia's apparent cozy diplomatic relationship with the United States, especially during the era of African decolonization; and decades of civil strife and horrific humanitarian suffering following the 1980 military coup.[84] A romantic aura does not surround Liberia as it does Haiti, Ghana, Algeria, and Tanzania. Put another way, Liberia is not sexy to many scholars of Black internationalism.[85] However, scholars have much to learn from Liberia's rich and complicated past. Midwestern Garveyites show us how. Contrary to (mis)perceptions of Liberia as a backward staid nation marginal to global decolonization, African liberation, and Black Power of the 1960s and 1970s, I show the reverse to be true. Take, for example, the life and work of a Chicago UNIA leader, Rev. Clarence W. Harding Jr., in Liberia during the Black Power era. He organized the Marcus Garvey Memorial Institute, a freedom and secondary education school in Monrovia, and worked closely with the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), a Marxist, pan-African organization. Harding and MOJA played a crucial role in making Liberia a hotbed of Black Power, African liberation, and radical Black internationalism. Acknowledging and examining the possibilities, complexities, and paradoxes of Liberia so evident in the work of midwestern Garveyites and Black settler colonialists is precisely what scholars of Black radicalism and internationalism need to pursue when looking at sites around the African world.

The Diasporic Midwest was a key site where Garvey's ideas lived on long after his death. My extended history of the UNIA and its offshoots in the Diasporic Midwest attests to the ways that Black people on both sides of the Atlantic and beyond were critical to refashioning Garveyism to preserve its relevance in a world transformed by global depression, world war, decolonization, and Black Power. I also show how the midwestern Garveyite front gradually emerged, beginning in the 1930s, as the most important site in preserving and advancing Garvey's legacy. Some midwestern Garveyite front groups counted only a handful of members and were ephemeral; others lasted for decades and touched the lives of millions of people. UNIA officials during and long after Garvey's passing sometimes perceived rival groups as imposters and apostates who threatened the UNIA and the well-being of Black people everywhere. For this reason, Garvey and some of his lieutenants often moved quickly to denounce and quash their apparent rivals. Yet more times than

naught, grassroots Garveyites and even prominent UNIA leaders in the heartland decided to work with and in some cases defect to new Black formations and sometimes multiracial ones because they saw them as the inheritors of and the best vehicles for advancing Garveyism during new historical conjunctures.

I adopt an intersectional and queer of color framework that interrogates the connections among race, gender, sexualities, and class with midwestern Garveyism. I thereby shed new light on the ideological variance of diasporic feminist praxis; the intersections among race, gender, class, and sexualities in Black movements; and the construction of historical memory through the lives and globetrotting of heartland-linked women within global Garveyism. Existing work on Black internationalism often concentrates exclusively on male spokespersons, while scholarship on Garveyite women tends to look at globally prominent UNIA women based in the Atlantic basin. I shift the focus to the "community feminism" of UNIA female leaders linked to the Midwest: Louise Little, Bessie Bryce, Ethel Collins, Mittie Maude Lena Gordon, Elinor White Neely, Goldie Stewart, Christine Johnson, Betty Shabazz, Alice Windom, Georgina Thornton, Patricia ("Noni") Gee, Mary Mason, Cynthia Hamilton, and Sammitta Entsua. "Community feminism," coined by historian Ula Y. Taylor, describes a distinct Black feminist politics formulated by Garveyite women that rejected masculinist claims of women's intellectual inferiority and subordination to male leadership and argued instead that women were best suited for Black nation-building.[86] Little and most of her heartland-linked Garveyite sisters would not have called themselves "community feminists." What is certain is that they were keenly aware of the multiple oppressions they faced as African-descended women living in the United States and elsewhere. Heartland-linked Garveyite women focused considerable attention on empowering Black women.

Louise Little is especially important to my book. Given her long life, diasporic kinship and journeys, personal tragedies, and resilience, combined with her growing fame as the mother of Malcolm X, she is an anchor in my narrative history of Garveyism in the Diasporic Midwest. Despite her achievements and long life, history was not kind to her. Arguably, her defiance of the gender, racial, and class protocols of her day, together with the masculinist scholarly framings of Malcolm X and Black movements, helps explain her absence from the historical record. As the Guyanese-born writer Jan Carew emphasized, most accounts of Malcolm X ignore his Grenadian mother's brilliance and extraordinary life. Instead, they frame her as a tragic figure who succumbed to mental illness and whose story disappears after her institutionalization.[87] This portrayal is most apparent in *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, which frames Little as passive and apolitical; it focuses exclusively on her alleged physically abusive

marriage, her struggles with mental illness following the gruesome murder of Earl Little at the hands of a lynch mob, and the hardships of a widowed mother, all of which contributed to her institutionalization.[88] The marginality of women in the *Autobiography* can be explained in part by the patriarchal gender politics embraced by Malcolm X and Alex Haley, the writer of the memoir, at the time they conducted the interviews that served as the basis for the text. Malcolm was still in the staunchly patriarchal Nation of Islam. Haley was a conservative Black Republican who had little interest in Black nationalism and pan-Africanism, and he subscribed to traditional gender politics. Similarly, Manning Marable's Pulitzer Prize–winning biography *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* minimizes Louise Little's active role in cultivating Malcolm's political consciousness.[89] Minimizing her importance to Malcolm is not limited to scholars. Despite growing scholarly and popular interest in her life, many Grenadians and Black people around the world remain unaware of Louise's remarkable life and that she was the mother of the internationally renowned US Black nationalist of the 1960s.[90]

Little and other Midwest-based Garveyite women have been erased from historical narratives about Black nationalism, internationalism, and radicalism. Michel-Rolph Trouillot has argued that historical archives and narratives of the past are mediated through struggles for power.[91] Similarly, diasporic feminist scholar Carole Boyce Davies has shown us how some white cold warriors and some Black radical male thinkers wrote Black communist theorist and leader Claudia Jones out of history due to her positionality as a "black radical female subject." Boyce Davies uses the term "black radical female subject" to describe the varied ways Jones defied the political, racial, class, and heteropatriarchal order during the height of the repressive Cold War era.[92]

Like Jones, Little and other heartland Black nationalist women often paid a terrible personal price from state actors for their organizing and lifeways. Recovering Little's story, then, is important not only because she was the mother of Malcolm X. Even more, her life provides a lens for interrogating the connections among memory, knowledge production, and power, as well as for countering prevailing narratives that (re)produce and normalize white supremacy, capitalism, empire, and heteropatriarchy. Given this perspective, her life and legacy demonstrate how gender shaped historical movements from within and how the distinct political and social landscape of the heartland informed the innovative ways women built the UNIA and midwestern Garveyite front and grappled with multiple oppressions within Black movements and society at large.

At the same time, Midwest-based Black nationalist women provide important insight into the underappreciated ideological complexities of diasporic

feminist praxis and Black transnational politics. I refer to neither Little nor other Black nationalist women as "black radical female subjects," given the term's association with Jones and the communist left. Calling the African-descended in nationalist and leftist movements "black radical female subjects" would collapse important ideological differences despite some similarities among them. Most Garveyite and Black communist women hailed from working-class backgrounds and were migrants. They regularly encountered male chauvinism from their Black male colleagues and sexism from white men. Appreciating Black freedom in global and intersectional terms, Black nationalist and communist women alike looked to African-descended women as the catalyst for advancing the dignity and rights of Black people everywhere. Still, the politics and social worlds of Black nationalist and communist women were often very different. The former operated in formations committed to racial separatism and co-fraternity among the world's darker races, while the latter joined an international communist movement committed to Black-white solidarity and the Soviet Union. Many midwestern Garveyite women such as Mittie Maude Lena Gordon and Elinor White subscribed to Black diasporic right radicalism. Openly hostile to communism, they also rejected the queer lifeways practiced by many African American leftist women. Some Black leftist women spurned the staunch racial separatism and anticommunism of their Garveyite counterparts. The virulent anticommunism of some heartland Black nationalist women affirms the Black feminist theorist Joy James's observation that "Black women activists and feminists are not uniformly progressive."[93] Yet there were also Black nationalist women such as the NOI educator Christine Johnson of Chicago, Malcolm X ally and world traveler Alice Windom of St. Louis, and the Cleveland Black Power organizer Mary Mason who operated comfortably in multiple political spaces and saw no contradiction in upholding nationalist and leftist politics. Recognizing the ideological differences and complexities among Black female nationalists and leftists shows that "there is no 'master' narrative that frames the concerns of all black women."[94]

Rethinking the life and legacy of Malcolm X through the history of the Diasporic Midwest and Garveyism is my book's final intervention. I reassess his life in relation to Garveyism and the heartland through the *Autobiography* and Louise Little's role in cultivating his Black radical sensibility. Decades after its publication, the memoir, the best-known source about him, remains indispensable for understanding his life. The story also has come to be widely understood as definitive truth.[95] However, the memoir and the popular perception of it do not fully capture his life journey. As discussed, the memoir erases Louise Little's UNIA work and obscures her role in cultivating Malcolm's Black

radicalism. The *Autobiography* also frames him as a directionless, self-hating, criminally minded, apolitical person prior to his incarceration in 1946 in a Massachusetts state prison for burglary and before his conversion to Islam in prison and rise to international prominence through the NOI.

The *Autobiography* tells a powerful story. However, the memoir seemingly tells us more about a re-created story that Malcolm X and Alex Haley crafted than about the former's historic life. For years, scholars have challenged the memoir's historical accuracy, speculated about Malcolm's reinvention of his life, and postulated about the impact of Haley's biases on the book.[96] Other work has called attention to the significance of Detroit and Lansing to shaping Malcolm's worldview and radicalism from his childhood years to his death.[97] As noted, scholars are also appreciating Louise Little's profound political influence on her son.

I build off the *Autobiography*, the vast scholarship on Malcolm, growing research on Louise Little, remembrances of him from family and associates, and his papers at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in Harlem and at the Charles H. Wright Museum of African American History in Detroit to explore the totality of his lived experiences.[98] His imprisonment, years of ministering and residing in New York, marriage to Betty Shabazz, and international travels were important in shaping his politics and subjectivity. However, growing up in a Garveyite family in the racially hostile heartland, maintaining lifelong connections to the region, and Garvey's ideas had an enduring impact on Malcolm's extraordinary and tragically short life. So, in some ways, his life was not exceptional. He shared much in common with other African-descended people and the Black formations in the Diasporic Midwest covered in this book.

Multisited Archives and Oral Histories as Method

This book uses multisited archives and oral history interviews as a historically informed, interdisciplinary, transnational, intersectional method for explicating the history of Garveyism in the Diasporic Midwest. Excavating this untold history is no easy task. There is neither a repository nor a scholarly institute anywhere dedicated to archiving transnational Black midwestern history or Garveyism in the heartland. Given this reality and following the indomitable Black scholar Gerald Horne's marching orders for scholars to take up "a transnational research agenda" for Black history, my book required me to construct a transnational archive of Garveyism in the Diasporic Midwest through original primary research conducted over ten years in nine countries—Canada, Ghana, Grenada, Jamaica, Liberia, South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago, the United

Kingdom, and the United States.[99] I trodded to these countries in part because my subject hailed, resided, or traveled to these nations and because they occupied an important place in global Garveyism. To reconstruct the heartland's significance to the African world, I referred to personal papers, UNIA and African American newspapers such as the *Chicago Defender* and Cleveland *Call and Post*, and mainstream newspapers; organizational records of the UNIA, its offshoots, and non-Garveyite Black formations; Robert A. Hill's magisterial *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*; oral history interviews; and government surveillance files.

Archival collections were an especially important source of information and discovery. For me, like other historians, archival research is often a time of joy and exhilaration. One especially exciting moment stands out. While reviewing the UNIA Records at the Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, in 2013, I discovered a letter penned on April 10, 1957, by UNIA Detroit leader William Sherrill to Kwame Nkrumah, the founder of the West African state of Ghana. In the letter, Sherrill thanked Nkrumah for inviting him to attend Ghana's independence ceremonies in Accra on March 6, 1957, and for their private meeting in which both men discussed their admiration for Garvey.[100] I was ecstatic after reading the letter. It highlighted the transnational political linkages between Black midwesterners and their brethren on the continent and to the endurance of Garveyism long after Garvey's death that I sought to explicate in this book.

If archival research constituted a source of joy and discovery, the archive sometimes produced extremely unpleasant sensory and emotional experiences for me. This response was most evident when I spent several weeks reviewing the Theodore G. Bilbo Papers at the McCain Library and Archives at the University of Southern Mississippi in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, and the Earnest Sevier Cox Papers at the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina. Combined, these immense collections contain thousands of pages of documents related to Garvey, the UNIA, Peace Movement of Ethiopia, and other mid-twentieth-century US Black nationalist formations. Simply put, the Bilbo and Cox papers are a treasure trove of information about Garvey, Garveyism, and Black nationalism.

The Bilbo and Cox papers, nonetheless, made me sick. I grew queasy as I sat for days in archival reading rooms combing through collections I came to call "the white supremacist heteropatriarchal archive in the history of Black nationalism." In these collections, records of the UNIA and midwestern Garveyite front colonizationist groups are interspersed among documents related to

Bilbo, Cox, prominent segregationists, the Ku Klux Klan, the US Nazi Party, racist white neighborhood protection associations in Chicago, and fanatical white supremacists, anticommunists, fascists, and antisemites from around the world. Additionally, these collections hold hundreds of letters by and between Marcus Garvey, Mittie Maude Lena Gordon, Earnest Cox, Theodore Bilbo, and others. They exchanged pleasantries and discussed their shared beliefs in racial purity and emigration; disgust for civil rights, interracialism, and communism; and heteropatriarchal ideas about the family. Garvey and his disciples probably never thought about their correspondences with Bilbo and Cox ending up one day in the same archival folders with documents from Klansmen and segregationists. However, they knew they were working with some of the most notorious US white supremacists of their day.

Through my review and serious contemplation of the Bilbo and Cox papers, I realized that they shed important insight into the white supremacist, heteropatriarchal archive in the history of Black nationalism and into what scholars have termed the "problem" and "politics of the archive."[101] Black nationalists played an important albeit subordinate role in disrupting and reinforcing white supremacist archival narratives produced by the Bilbo and Cox papers. Through my research in these collections, I came to realize that Black people too sometimes had a hand in shaping problematic archives and in producing knowledge that seemingly contributed to their oppression and to maintaining the global status quo. Reckoning with these uncomfortable truths provides additional insight into the complexities and paradoxes of my subjects, Garveyism, and Black movements, as well as into "Black archival practice."[102] Given these facts, I hope this book serves as a guide for constructing a history of Garveyism in the Diasporic Midwest through in part acknowledging some Black nationalists' involvement in forging problematic archives. I envision my critical reading of the archive as a tool for scholars to probe the multidimensions, possibilities, and limitations of archives and Black global liberatory politics.[103]

To fill the gaps of the archive, I turned to US, Ghanaian, British, and South African government records, with special emphasis on Federal Bureau of Investigation surveillance records. FBI files contain voluminous amounts of information about the UNIA and its offshoots and their individuals and organizational histories. However, these records, like the archive, are not without problems. FBI records are riddled with factual inaccuracies, often telling us more about the (mis)perceptions of and the responses by authorities to Black militancy than they do about the actual lives and struggles of my subjects. For these reasons, I draw heavily from the writings and speeches of my subjects. These sources provide useful insight into their activism and globetrotting, the

organizational affairs of Garvey-influenced formations, and the twentieth-century world. However, their writings and speeches, like UNIA organizational records and other archival sources, often provide little deep insight into my subjects' inner lives. And none of my main subjects wrote memoirs except Malcolm X.

Oral history interviews are indispensable sources of information for this book and provide information absent from archives and other sources. Since 2012, I spent hundreds of hours conducting in-person interviews and speaking with more than one hundred subjects, aged eighteen to ninety plus, directly and indirectly linked to the UNIA and the midwestern Garveyite front. I also exchanged countless emails and text messages through WhatsApp and Facebook Messenger with subjects about the Diasporic Midwest, Garveyism, Black history, current events, and more topics than I can ever recall. My interviewees include Terance Wilson of Maydes, Grenada, the third cousin of Malcolm X and the world's premier expert on Langdon family history (the family name of Louise's people in the Caribbean, Canada, and Europe); Deborah Jones and the late Stephen Jones of Grand Rapids, Michigan, the grandchildren of Louise Little and the niece and nephew of Malcolm X, respectively; Ilyasah Shabazz, the third child of Malcolm X and Betty Shabazz; the late Amos Sawyer, the former interim president of Liberia, mentored in Monrovia during the 1970s by the Chicago UNIA leader Reverend Clarence Harding; and (the late) Donna Cooper Hayford, the daughter of James and Goldie Stewart, who lived outside the Liberian capital. Through these interviews and conversations, my knowledge of the UNIA and the midwestern Garveyite front grew immeasurably and in unexpected ways. Interviews and conversations occurred in and at multiple venues on three continents: dining room and kitchen tables in New York, Cleveland, Dayton, Detroit, Woodland Park, Michigan, and Paynesville, Liberia; the homesite of Marcus Garvey in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica; hotel lobbies in the Washington, DC, area, Grand Rapids, and Accra; the grave site of C. L. R. James in Tunapuna, Trinidad; restaurants from Chicago to Cleveland to Kalamazoo to Montreal to London; a nursing home in Bedford Hills, Ohio; UNIA halls in Jamaica and Philadelphia; elementary schools in rural Grenada and Liberia; the Malcolm X Memorial Foundation in Omaha; the University of Liberia; the Beth Shalom B'nai Zaken Ethiopian Hebrew Congregation on Chicago's southwest side; the Liberian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Monrovia; a Moorish Science corner storefront on the South Side of Chicago; a hillside in La Digue, Grenada; and the UNIA's Liberty Farm in Grand Bassa County, Liberia. Some interviews lasted fewer than thirty minutes. Several subjects I neither spoke to nor saw again after our conversations. But there were

FIGURE I.3. Deborah Jones and Ilyasah Shabazz, Jackson College, Jackson, Michigan, March 2018. Photo by the author.

several people whom I interviewed multiple times, sometimes in person and by phone, over a span of years and in multiple geographic locations, including in the United States, Grenada, and Liberia. Some subjects became not only indispensable sources of information but also good friends (see figures I.3 and I.4).

Becoming close with subjects sometimes posed a potential ethical conundrum for me. Given that trust and respect between the interviewer and subject are the bedrock of oral history reviews and that institutional review boards require ethical protocols when working with human subjects, I grappled with whether to disclose sensitive and personal information told to me. On more than a few occasions, subjects asked me to stop recording the conversation. I did. Others explicitly told me never to retell guarded information shared with me. Some of this information spoke to the paradoxes of Black movements and to the deepest secrets of women and men involved in Garveyite formations. Through these encounters and taking my subjects' dictates to heart, I developed an ethical approach and interpretative method for using sensitive information acquired from oral history interviews that I came to call the "politics of disclosure." The "politics of disclosure" recognizes the vulnerability of my subjects and strikes an ethical balance between sharing information gathered

FIGURE 1.4. Terance Wilson, La Digue, Grenada, March 2015. Photo by the author.

from my subjects and protecting their privacy. Given this approach, I decided that fidelity to my subjects' wishes, securing confidential information, and adhering to ethical scholarly protocols superseded my own interests as a historian even when this information could have strengthened my book's arguments. To be clear, I do utilize some personal and sensitive information from oral history interviews. I discuss this information in the spirit in which my subjects shared it and in ways that are sensitive to their personhood and families. However, I neither draw from nor share information that subjects asked to keep confidential. Some things are not meant to be disclosed.

Midwestern Garveyites recognized public space as a site where racial oppression occurred and was (re)produced and consequently could be contested, reimagined, and transformed. For this reason, I look at parades, public rallies, street marches, and in some case pitched battles between Garveyites and authorities on the streets and in parks and courthouses of Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and other places across the heartland as sites of struggle for the "right to the city."[104] Additionally, I understand the Midwest as a geography of resistance where African Americans came to appreciate urban and rural landscapes of the heartland as spaces of potential freedom through Garveyism.[105]

Chapter Outline

The Second Battle for Africa is divided into eight chronologically arranged chapters. The first chapter explores the historical context in which the pre-twentieth-century Diasporic Midwest and Black nationalism took shape and prepared the ground for Garveyism. Chapter 2 discusses the global influence of the Midwest on the transnational UNIA during its heyday in the early 1920s, with special attention on Liberia, Louise Little, and the paradoxes of Garveyite collaborations with white supremacists that persisted for decades. The remaining chapters discuss the unfolding history and broadening impact of the heartland on global Garveyism after the Jamaican Black nationalist leader's deportation from the United States in 1927. Chapter 3 looks at evolving struggles Black midwesterners pursued for building a new world during the global Depression and rise of fascism in Europe in the 1930s through the UNIA and religious and colonizationist midwestern Garveyite front organizations. Chapter 4 probes the history of midwestern Garveyism during the Second World War, while chapter 5 looks at the emergent postwar US Black Freedom Movement and African decolonization in the 1950s through James and Goldie Stewart's repatriation to Liberia; Detroit UNIA leader William Sherrill's journey to Ghana's independence ceremony; Kwame Nkrumah's visit to Chicago; Louise Little's role in precipitating Malcolm's conversion to Islam; and the growth of the Nation of Islam into a national organization. Chapter 6 centers the Nation of Islam and Malcolm to keeping Garvey's ideas alive and to influencing pioneering heartland-linked early Black Power organizations. Chapter 7 surveys the unstudied local and global impact of midwestern Garveyites on the internationalist Black Power and Black Arts Movement from the mid-1960s through the 1970s. The concluding chapter discusses the enduring legacy of Garvey in the new millennium through US heartland–linked formations.

This book is not a comprehensive study of the global impact of the Diasporic Midwest through Garveyism. Such a project would require decades of additional research and multiple volumes. However, this book does represent a significant intervention—one that shifts and rethinks historical narratives that until now have shrouded the critical importance of the Midwest to the making of global Garveyism and to the African world from the nineteenth century onward. There is much we will never know about the work, subjectivities, globetrotting, and dreams of prominent and everyday Black women, men, and youth in the US heartland and beyond who came to love Garvey and looked to him and to themselves as inspirations for building a new world for the African-descended. To be sure, the complex history of Garveyism in the Diasporic Midwest provides

theoretical and empirical models for extending the geographical scope of the African Diaspora; internationalizing African American midwestern history; appreciating the possibilities, limitations, and gendered contours of Black nationalism, internationalism, and radicalism; exploring the contested meaning of Black freedom; charting new genealogies of Black Power and Black movements from the nineteenth century to today; and imagining alternative Black futurities beyond the limits of what is considered possible.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

Portions of this introduction originated from McDuffie, "The Diasporic Journeys of Louise Little."

1. The original name of the organization was the Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation and African Communities (Imperial) League. However, the group later came to be known as the Universal Negro Improvement Association–African Communities League and then the Universal Negro Improvement Association–African Communities League (August 1929) of the World. For consistency, I will refer to the organization as the UNIA. The exact size of the UNIA's membership is difficult to quantify. It seems likely that the organization inflated the size of its membership. T. Martin, *Race First*, 6, 13–16, 18; Issa, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association in Louisiana," 17–41.

2. My understanding of pan-Africanism reflects Africana studies scholar Reiland Rabaka's definition of pan-Africanism as "*a simultaneously intellectual, cultural, social, political, economic and artistic project that calls for the unification of and liberation of all people of African ancestry, both on the continent and in the African Diaspora*" (emphasis in original). Rabaka, "Introduction," 8. Following the lead of historian George Shepperson, in my book, "Pan-Africanism" with an uppercase "P" designates the six major Pan-African Congresses held from 1919 to 1974, while "pan-Africanism" with a lowercase "p" refers to the project that Rabaka defines. Shepperson, "Pan-Africanism and 'Pan-Africanism,'" 346.

3. McDuffie, "'A New Day Has Dawned for the UNIA,'" 85–93.

4. My coinage and conceptualization of the midwestern Garveyite front is informed by what Garvey historian Adam Ewing calls the "Garveyist frontier." The Garveyite frontier refers to a loose array of interwar religious, educational, and political formations scattered across southern and eastern Africa, inspired, to varying degrees, by Garveyism and not directly affiliated with the UNIA. Ewing, *The Age of Garvey*, 162.

5. Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, 1 (hereafter, *AOMX*).

6. Rolinson, *Grassroots Garveyism*, 2, 72–160.

7. *AOMX*, 1.

8. Edozie and Stokes, "Malcolm X from Michigan."

9. Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 97.

10. Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 46–57.

11. Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 767.

12. Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 72, 751–53.

13. Drake, *The Redemption of Africa and Black Religion*, 5–6; McDuffie, "Chicago, Garveyism, and the History of the Diasporic Midwest," 133.

14. Defining the geographic parameters and the historical and cultural distinctiveness of the region now called the Midwest remains debated by scholars and pundits. The US Census Bureau divides the United States into four regions: the Northeast, Midwest, South, and West. The Midwest consists of twelve states—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota. "Census Regions and Divisions of the United States," https://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/maps-data/maps/reference/us_regdiv.pdf (accessed October 12, 2023). For discussions of what constitutes the Midwest, see Madison, "The States of the Midwest," 1–8; and Ford, *A Brick and a Bible*, 3–4.

15. Trotter, *River Jordan*, xiii.

16. Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*; Bush, *We Are Not What We Seem*, 88–93; Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*, 1–20.

17. Bates, *The Making of Black Detroit*, 199–249; Blocker, *A Little More Freedom*, 1–35.

18. W. Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, xv–xxv, 5–54.

19. Murphy, *Great Lakes Creoles*, 1–23.

20. Hine and McCluskey, *The Black Chicago Renaissance*; Phillips, *AlabamaNorth*, 98–126, 161–89.

21. W. Johnson, *The Broken Heart of America*, 1–105; Campney, *Hostile Heartland*, 1–34.

22. Campney, *Hostile Heartland*, 1–34.

23. Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 214–62; Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 125–52.

24. Ford, *A Brick and a Bible*, 24–26; Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability*, 18–31; Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 242–47.

25. Howard, "Prairie Fires," 13, 17–18.

26. "'The Rebellious Life of Mrs. Rosa Parks': New Film Explores Untold Radical Life of Civil Rights Icon," *Democracy Now!*, October 17, 2022, https://www.democracynow.org/2022/10/17/the_rebellious_life_of_mrs_rosa; Theoharis, *The Rebellious Life of Mrs. Rosa Parks*, xii, xiii.

27. I take the phrase "the institution-building impulse in the Midwest" from historian James Smethurst in his study of the Black Arts Movement. He argues that institution-building constituted a key feature of African American midwestern life. *The Black Arts Movement*, 247.

28. Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey*, 229.

29. I am not suggesting that other regions across the African world did not see the development of long-lasting institutions. However, the Midwest was home to some of the largest and most capitalized Black businesses and institutions on the planet. Chambers, "A Master Strategist"; Reed, *The Rise of Chicago's Black Metropolis*, 71–117.

30. For a history of the origins of the term "Rust Belt" in contemporary US vernacular, see Trubek, *Voices from the Rust Belt*.

31. Ben Austen, "The Post-Post-Apocalyptic Detroit," *New York Times* (hereafter, *NYT*), July 11, 2014, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/13/magazine/the-post-post-apocalyptic-detroit.html; Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*; Kurashige, *The Fifty-Year Rebellion*, 3.

32. Anne Trubek, "Our Collective Ignorance about the Rust Belt Is Getting Dangerous," *Time*, April 3, 2018, https://time.com/5225497/rust-belt-history/.

33. G. Boggs, *The Next American Revolution*, 105.

34. Lauck, *The Lost Region*, 1–28; Jon Lauck, email to author, December 13, 2022.

35. Midwestern History Association, http://www.midwesternhistory.com (accessed October 15, 2023).

36. Miles, *The Dawn of Detroit*, 1–64; W. Johnson, *The Broken Heart of America*, 1–71; Sarmiento, Castellanos, and Perreira, "Introduction," 7–17.

37. Hoganson, *The Heartland*; Manalansan, Nadeau, Rodríguez, and Somerville, "Introduction."

38. Hoganson, *The Heartland*, xiv.

39. Manalansan, Nadeau, Rodríguez, and Somerville, "Introduction," 11–12; Tamara Winfrey-Harris, "Stop Pretending Black Midwesterners Don't Exist," *NYT*, June 16, 2018, SR 7.

40. This new generation of Black midwestern studies scholars include Davarian Baldwin, Jonathan Fenderson, Melissa Ford, Tanisha Ford, Stephanie Fortado, Nishani Frazier, Olivia Hagedorn, Ashley Howard, Courtney Pierre Joseph, Crystal Marie Moten, Kerry Pimblott, Christy Clark-Pujara, Jamala Rogers, Stephanie Sulik, Jazma Sutton, Nikki Taylor, Alonzo Ward, and Terrion Williamson, among others. The Black Midwest Initiative, based at the University of Illinois at Chicago and founded by Terrion Williamson, constitutes one of the most important academic collective efforts in studying and writing about Black life in the heartland. See https://www.theblackmidwest.com.

41. Hartman, *Lose Your Mother*, 1–18.

42. Blain and Gill, "Introduction: Black Women and the Complexities of Internationalism," 1–12; Umoren, *Race Women Internationalists*, 5–10; Joseph-Gabriel, *Reimagining Liberation*, 5–28.

43. Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* stands perhaps as the most well-known iteration of Black transoceanic frameworks.

44. For a small sampling of scholarship on these topics, see M. Bowen, *For Land and Liberty*; K. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*; Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique*; Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*; Harrison, *Outsider Within*; Henson, *Emergent Quilombos*; Hine, Keaton, and Small, *Black Europe*; Horne, *The Dawning of the Apocalypse*; Patterson and Kelley, "Unfinished Migrations"; Putnam, *Radical Moves*; J. Scott, *The Common Wind*; Swan, *Pasifika Black*.

45. Blocker, *A Little More Freedom*, 1–182.

46. Makalani, "Diaspora and the Localities of Race," 1–7.

47. This new generation of scholars includes Keisha Blain, Nicole Bourbonnais, Natanya Duncan, Adam Ewing, José Andrés Fernández Montés de Oca, Kerri Greenidge, Claudrena Harold, Jahi Issa, Leslie James, Brian Kwoba, Asia Leeds, John Maynard, Courtney Morris, Mary Rolinson, Holly Roose, Ronald Stephens, Frances Peace Sullivan, Stephanie Sulik, Ula Taylor, Robert Trent Vinson, and Michael O. West.

48. These scholars include Amy Ashwood Garvey, Amy Jacques Garvey, Robert A. Hill, Tony Martin, Barbara Bair, Horace Campbell, Rupert Lewis, Emory Tolbert, and Jeannette Smith-Irvin. Stephens and Ewing, *Global Garveyism*, 2, 10, 12.

49. Robinson understands the Black Radical Tradition as a shared revolutionary consciousness and vision rooted in African-descended people's ontological opposition to racial capitalism, slavery, colonialism, and imperialism. Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 1, 2. See also Kelley, foreword to *Black Marxism*, xvii–xix.

50. Stephens and Ewing, *Global Garveyism*, 7.

51. Stephens and Ewing, *Global Garveyism*, 11.

52. Stephens and Ewing, *Global Garveyism*, 12.

53. West, "Garveyism Root and Branch," 15.

54. In *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*, political scientist Adom Getachew uses the term "worldmaking" to describe the ways mid-twentieth-century anticolonial nationalists—Nnamdi Azikiwe, W. E. B. Du Bois, Michael Manley, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, George Padmore, and Eric Williams—theorized and agitated against empire and imagined and advanced self-determination for Africa and the Caribbean through nation state-building, international political federations, and the United Nations. Midwestern Garveyites provide insight into how twentieth-century African-descended women, men, and youth forged an expansive vision for worldmaking encompassing not only nation state-building and international relations but also religion, culture, education, identity, lifeways, entrepreneurialism, and a politics of solidarity.

55. Burden-Stelly and Horne, "From Pan-Africanism to Black Internationalism," 69, 70.

56. Bedasse et al., "*AHR* Conversation," 1716, 1730.

57. Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom*, 62–69.

58. Robinson, *Black Marxism* (1983), 2.

59. For important studies of the origins and ideological contours of Black nationalism, see Stuckey, *Slave Culture*; Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism*; Henderson, *The Revolution Will Not Be Theorized*.

60. Moses, *Classical Black Nationalism*, 2. Not all classical Black nationalists called for the establishment of a separate or autonomous geographic territory or nation-state. Henderson, *The Revolution Will Not Be Theorized*, 42–72.

61. Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism*, 20–22.

62. S. Johnson, *African American Religions*, 7, 205.

63. S. Johnson, *African American Religions*, 205.

64. Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism*, 59–145, 197–219; Vinson, *The Americans Are Coming!*, 34–50.

65. M. Stephens, *Black Empire*, 84.

66. M. Stephens, *Black Empire*, 84.

67. Mills, "'The United States of Africa,'" 92, 97–105.

68. Clegg, *The Price of Liberty*, 6. By the end of the nineteenth century, Liberia counted one million Indigenes, 16,428 free African Americans; 5,722 "recaptured Africans"—Africans liberated from slave ships bound for the Americas who came to be known as "Congoes"—and 346 emigrants from Barbados. Liberian Studies Association,

"Statement by the Historical Society of Liberia on the Bicentennial of Free Blacks in Liberia, 1822–2022," email, October 3, 2021.

69. Clegg, *The Price of Liberty*, 5.

70. Adeleke, *UnAfrican Americans*, 111, 152.

71. Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism*, 103–31; Moses, *Classical Black Nationalism*, 221–50.

72. K. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*, 210–27.

73. T. Martin, *Race First*, 344–55.

74. Ewing, *The Age of Garvey*, 186–237.

75. West and Martin, "From Toussaint to Tupac," 10–12; Kornweibel, *"Seeing Red,"* 100–131; Vinson, *The Americans Are Coming!*, 82.

76. Kornweibel, *"Seeing Red,"* 100–131; Hill, *The FBI's RACON*, 507–50; Evanzz, *The Judas Factor*, xiii–xxiv.

77. Vinson, *The Americans Are Coming!*, 3.

78. Umoren, *Race Women Internationalists*, 7.

79. My understanding of the Diasporic Midwest as a key site of Black radicalism resembles what historian Melissa Ford describes as "Midwestern Black radicalism," a distinct oppositional politics forged by Depression-era African Americans in cities like Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and St. Louis in response to the "unique racial, political, geographic, economic, gendered, and spatial characteristics that make up the American heartland" (*A Brick and a Bible*, 3). Her analysis focuses on African American midwestern radicalism primarily in local settings through the communist left and trade unions. Heartland Garveyites illustrate the significance of Black nationalist formations, operating in local and transnational settings, as incubators of Black radicalism.

80. My commitment to explicating the significance of Liberia to Black internationalism is influenced by the Liberian historian William Ezra Allen, who emphasizes grounding the complex history of the West African republic within the broader Atlantic world. W. Allen, "Liberia and the Atlantic World in the Nineteenth Century." See also Brooks Marmon, "The Decline of Liberia in Black Internationalism," April 22, 2021, https://africasacountry.com/2021/04/the-decline-of-liberia-in-black-internationalism.

81. Alexander, *Fear of a Black Republic*; Byrd, *The Black Republic*.

82. Gaines, *American Africans in Ghana*; Bedasse, *Jah Kingdom*; Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution*.

83. Marmon, "The Decline of Liberia in Black Internationalism."

84. Marmon, "The Decline of Liberia in Black Internationalism."

85. I am not suggesting scholars interested in Black internationalism in relation to Haiti, Ghana, and Tanzania are naive or uncritical in their assessments of these nations. However, no nation in the African world is arguably more paradoxical than Liberia. Johnson Sirleaf, *This Child Will Be Great*, 1.

86. U. Taylor, *The Veiled Garvey*, 64–90. I also draw on the work of historians Keisha Blain, Ashley Farmer, Natanya Duncan, Asia Leeds, Margaret Stevens, and Kerri Greenidge on women, gender, the UNIA, and Black nationalist movements.

87. Carew, *Ghosts in Our Blood*, 109.

88. *AOMX*, 2–22.

89. McDuffie and Woodard, "'If You're in a Country That's Progressive,'" 509, 512.

90. For recent work on Louise Little, see M. Collins, *Ocean Stirrings*; Russell, *The Life of Louise Norton Little*; Tubbs, *The Three Mothers*.

91. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, xxiii, 1–30.

92. Boyce Davies, "Sisters Outside."

93. J. James, "Resting in Our Mother's Garden," 4.

94. J. James, "Resting in Our Mother's Garden," 4.

95. Fletcher, "Manning Marable and the Malcolm X Biography Controversy," 127.

96. Marable, *Malcolm* X, 9; Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 161–81; Norrell, *Alex Haley*, 95.

97. Payne and Payne, *The Dead Are Arising*; Edozie and Stokes, *Malcolm X's Michigan Worldview*; Young, "Detroit's Red."

98. Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 181.

99. Horne, "Toward a Transnational Research Agenda," 288–89.

100. William L. Sherrill to Kwame Nkrumah, April 10, 1957, UNIA Records, box 7, folder 3, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA (hereafter, UNIA Records RL). I have yet to find the invitation for William Sherrill to attend Ghanaian independence ceremonies.

101. The works on this topic by a wide range of inter- and multidisciplinary scholars of color, such as Saidiya Hartman, Jennifer Morgan, Marissa Fuentes, and Françoise Hamlin, are especially important to my thinking about "the white supremacist heteropatriarchal archive in the history of Black nationalism." These scholars focus on the ways historical archives are not only essential to knowledge production. They emphasize how the archive is critical to (re)producing historical narratives that erase and disfigure the knowledge, subjectivities, and resistance of African-descended women by telling their stories through their oppressors. These narratives, in effect, commit epistemological violence against African-descended women and promote historical narratives that rationalize the past and contemporary status quo. Despite the tremendous problems the archive holds for Black women's history, the lives and voices of the African-descended are hardly irrecoverable from the past. In her pathbreaking article "Venus in Two Acts," Saidiya Hartman proffered the theory of "critical fabulation," an approach drawing from fiction and critical theory to fill in the silences of the archive. Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," 12–13; Fuentes *Dispossessed Lives*, 1–12; Hamlin, "History Unclassified."

102. The phrase "Black archival practice" describes an interdisciplinary approach for "explor[ing] how the social meanings—past, present, and future—of . . . Black life and Black lives . . . get imagined, contested, and negotiated within traditional archival spaces and in spaces intentionally coded as Black." Collier and Sutherland, "Introduction," 1.

103. Hill, *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers* (hereafter, *MGP*), 2:xxxii.

104. "The right to the city" refers to a concept and call to action formulated by sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebrve that emphasizes the power and right of working-class and marginalized communities to live in dignity and to transform urban social spaces into inclusive, democratic spaces. C. Butler, *Henri Lefebvre*, 133–59.

105. McKittrick and Woods, *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*; LaRoche, *The Geography of Resistance*; Pile and Keith, *Geographies of Resistance*.