

UCLA

UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

I, too, am America: African-American and Afro-Caribbean Identity, Citizenship and Migrations to New York City, 1830's to 1930's

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1w55m7dw>

Author

Teague, Janira Phedre

Publication Date

2015

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

I, too, am America: African-American and Afro-Caribbean Identity,
Citizenship and Migrations to New York City, 1830's to 1930's

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of
Philosophy in History

by

Janira Phedre Teague

2015

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

I, too, am America: African-American and Afro-Caribbean Identity,
Citizenship and Migrations to New York City, 1830's to 1930's

by

Janira Phedre Teague

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2015

Professor Brenda Stevenson, Chair

My dissertation contextualizes the early twentieth century simultaneous migrations of Afro-Caribbean colonists and African-American southerners to New York City, which housed the most ethnically and culturally diverse black population in the country. The southern migrants and Afro-Caribbean immigrants' ideals and identity in their homeland, and after they settled in their destination city are explored. Considering, as it does, persons of African descent who live in the United States and the British Caribbean, it is also an Atlantic world study. It engages how the simultaneous migrations and the relationship that was developed between the southern migrants and Afro-Caribbean immigrants led to a change in the community and in the identity of the Harlemites.

The dissertation of Janira Phedre Teague is approved.

Kathleen A Lytle Hernandez

Kevin B Terraciano

Devon W. Carbado

Brenda Stevenson, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2015

To my mother and father,
Eugene Teague and Sandra Horton-Teague
and
to my husband,
Kwame White

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	vi
Curriculum Vitae	viii
<i>Chapter One:</i> Introduction	1
<i>Chapter Two:</i> Is Slavery Over? African-American Economic and Political Identity in the American South, 1865-1905	18
<i>Chapter Three:</i> Imperial Subjects: Jamaican Economic and Political Identity, 1830's-1905	51
<i>Chapter Four:</i> On to Harlem: A Transnational Perspective, 1890-1930's	89
<i>Chapter Five:</i> I, too, am America: The Construction of a New Identity, 1915-1930's	128

Acknowledgments

I have incurred many debts during the research and writing of this dissertation, which I am happy to acknowledge.

I am grateful for research fellowships, travel fellowships and travel grants that I received from the Department of History at UCLA, The Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies at UCLA (Bunche Center), and the UCLA Institute of American Cultures (IAC). I am especially grateful for the assistance of Ana-Christina Ramon and Belinda Tucker with IAC, Hadley Porter in the Department of History and Eboni Shaw in the Department of African American Studies. I also wish to thank Jan Freeman and the Bunche Center staff and the History Department staff.

I greatly benefitted from a Teaching Fellowship through the UCLA Center for American Politics and Public Policy. The fellowship provided the opportunity to teach and conduct research in Washington D.C., where I worked with Prof. James Desveaux. While in the nation's capital, I combed through collections at the National Archives and the Library of Congress. I especially spent a significant amount of time in the Law Library, the Main Reading Room, the Manuscript Division and the Rare Books and Special Collections Division at the Library of Congress. I would like to thank the librarians and archivist at the National Archives and the Library of Congress.

In the course of my research, I gathered the majority of my primary sources in New York City, especially at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. At the Schomburg, I spent a tremendous amount of time in the Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division. I am grateful for the assistance that I received from the librarians and archivist there. In addition, I wish to thank those at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library,

Columbia University; the National Archives, New York City; George Tselos and the Ellis Island Immigration Museum; and New York State Archives.

I am extremely grateful for the scholars who mentored, supported and guided me. Irma Watkins-Owens was very supportive. At Kent State University, I received encouragement from Sherice Freeman, Diedre Badejo, and Melody Baker. At UCLA, I greatly appreciated assistance from Scot Brown, Devon Carbado, Sarah Hayley, Robert Hill and Kevin Terraciano. Kelly Lytle Hernandez was extremely supportive and encouraging. Brenda Stevenson believed in me when I did not believe in myself, which enabled me to complete this dissertation. I will forever be grateful for her support.

Finally, I wish to thank my friends and family. I could not have succeeded without the support of my fellow Bruins; Jennifer Garcia, Cory Gooding, Kim Griffin, and Guadalupe Escobar. Beyond UCLA, I appreciate support from Stephanie Arku, Barbara Curd, and LaJohnne Morris. I can never adequately thank Jimise Teague, Jabari Teague, Kathleen Teague, Eugene Teague, Sandra Horton-Teague, and Kwame White. I will always appreciate their unfailing support.

Curriculum Vitae

Education

Candidate in Philosophy

Field of Study: American History
University of California Los Angeles

Masters of Arts Degree in African American Studies

Concentration: American History
University of California Los Angeles

Bachelor of Arts Degree in Psychology

Minor: Political Science
Kent State University

Conferences/ Paper Presentations

- **UCLA Ralph J. Bunche Center Circle of Thought**
Los Angeles, CA May 2013
Paper Presentation: I, too, am America: Migrations, Identity and
Citizenship, 1890s-1930s
- **2013 Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting**
San Francisco, CA April 2013
Paper Presentation: I, too, am American: Migrations and Citizenship
Status, New York City, 1890s-1930s
- **A Hearing and A Listening: Stories of the African Diaspora**
Pasadena City College February 2012
Invited Talk: I, too, am America: Black Migrations and Identity, 1890-
1930's

Papers and Publications

- Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California Los Angeles
*I, too, am America: African-American and Afro-Caribbean Identity,
Citizenship, and Migrations to New York City, 1830s-1930s*
- Janira Teague, Untitled, book review of *Remembering Scottsboro: The
Legacy of an Infamous Trial*, by James A. Miller, *The Journal of
African American History* Vol 96 (2011): 265
- M.A. Thesis, University of California Los Angeles June 2004
*The Breeder of Human Cattle: Slave Breeding During American
Slavery*

- Research** **UCLA**
 UCLA Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies
 Graduate Student Research Assistant Nov 2011- June 2012
- Graduate Student Research Assistant for
 Brenda E. Stevenson, Professor of History Oct. 2004 - June 2009
- Teaching Experience** **UCLA Teaching Instructor**
- **Course:** I, too, am America: Race, Immigration and Citizenship
 - **UCLA Teaching Fellow**
 - **Course:** History 195 Civic Engagement
Course: Interracial Dynamics in American Society and Culture
 - **Course:** UCLA Center for American Politics and Public Policy Quarter in Washington D.C. Research Seminar
- UCLA Teaching Assistant**
- **Course:** Latin American Social History
 - **Course:** African History, 1800-Present
 - **Course:** Colonial American History
- Honors & Awards** **University of California Los Angeles**
- UCLA Department of History Dissertation Year Fellowship
 - UCLA Bunche Center for African American Studies Travel Stipend
 - UCLA Department of History Carey McWilliams Travel Stipend
 - UCLA Institute of American Cultures Research Grant
 - UCLA Pre-dissertation Fellowship
 - UCLA Graduate Research Mentorship Award
 - UCLA Department of History Eugene Cota Robles Fellowship
 - UCLA Graduate Summer Research Mentorship Award
 - UCLA Regents Stipend
 - UCLA IDP Afro American Studies Departmental Funding
- Professional Affiliations**
- Organization of American Historians
 - American Historical Association

Chapter One: Introduction

“I, too, am America,” claimed the African-American literary artist and Harlemlite, Langston Hughes, in a career-defining poem titled *I, too*. Hughes lived in a New York City that housed the most culturally and ethnically diverse black population in the nation. The residents there grappled with their American identity, various views on race, and unrecognized citizenship rights, as Hughes did in his poem. With regards to the city’s diversity, over 40,000 immigrants from the Caribbean colonies settled within the black communities, which also held a significant population of African-American southerners who participated in the early twentieth century wave of America’s Great Migration.¹ My dissertation examines the simultaneous relocation of black southerners and British Caribbean colonists, especially Jamaicans, to the Harlem neighborhood of New York City. It engages their intellectualism, the development of their nuanced relationship and a change in their identity and citizenship status as a result of their movement. It is a becoming an American story from a black perspective.

Specifically, this research traces aspects of the southern migrants’ and Afro-Caribbean immigrants’ ideals, citizenship status as well as their political and economic identity before, during and after their migration. Enfranchisement, political engagement, and political party affiliation are the central components of their political plight examined. Wages, labor, land ownership and property ownership are the principal components of their economic plight explored. This dissertation contends that the simultaneous migrations and the subsequent relationship between the southern migrants and Afro-Caribbean immigrants led to new citizenship status for many, the construction of a new economic and political identity as well as new ideas/ideals regarding what it meant to be black in America.

During the early twentieth century in black New York City, the majority of the foreign-born populations were from Jamaica, the British possession in the Caribbean with the largest population. Because of their sheer numbers, the focus is on their migration experiences and their change in identity and status. The emphasis on Jamaicans is also an effort to underscore the distinctiveness of each colony in the Caribbean, as opposed to a generalization about all British Caribbean immigrants. This method has limitations, but it also allows for a more in- depth analysis of Jamaica, such as how the colony's immigration laws manipulated the colonists' movements.

Research Questions

This dissertation contributes to the existing historiography on citizenship, immigration, black intellectualism and national identity formation. It significantly contributes to the conversation on the construction of race as well as engages the fluidity of nationality and the fluidity of citizenship. Considering, as it does, persons of African descent who live in the United States and the British Caribbean, it is an Atlantic world study. As such, it is meant to answer significant questions. Why did the southern migrants and Afro-Caribbean immigrants leave their homeland? Why did they settle in Harlem? How is nationality fluid like national borders? What is the relationship between race and citizenship? What is the relationship between citizenship and equal treatment under the law? In any event, one question is prominent. How did the parallel migrations of African-Americans and Afro-Caribbeans to New York City and their subsequent relationship shape their economic and political identity as well as the meaning of "African-American?"

Background

During the post-emancipation era in America, legislators crafted laws regarding citizenship, immigration and naturalization, which shaped the identity of African-Americans and immigrants of African descent in this country. They created gendered and racial laws as well as participated in a system that privileged black immigrants to the detriment of African-Americans under certain circumstances.

The Emancipation Proclamation on January 1st, 1863 and the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment on December 6th, 1865, neglected to define the citizenship status for approximately four million black men and women who transitioned from enslaved to free. The Thirteenth Amendment, as intended, abolished slavery for non-criminals. The law stated, “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.”² However, the citizenship status of the freed men and women remained undefined.

In 1868, the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment overturned the Dred Scott decision and changed the requirements for formal American citizenship.³ Before the passage of the law, U.S. native-born residents classified as “white” qualified, and only white immigrants qualified as applicants for naturalization.⁴ The Fourteenth Amendment, extended citizenship to non-whites. It stated,

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law that shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.⁵

This meant that if they were born in the United States, everyone including ex-slaves legally held birthright citizenship. However, citizenship was not a guarantee for blacks born outside of the United States hoping to immigrate to and naturalize in this country.

The status of black immigrants remained in limbo until 1870, when an amendment to the Naturalization Law of 1790 granted them the right to become citizens. Both laws controversially neglected to allow naturalizations for people born in Asia and other areas.⁶ Therefore, Blackness or Whiteness became a prerequisite for American naturalization after the passage of the 1870 law. The status of those deemed “in-between”, such as Asians and sometimes Mexicans, remained in limbo. Furthermore, “black” and “white” were fluid racial categories as the justice system struggled to adopt a strategy to clearly define “black” and “white.” The Fourteenth Amendment and the adaption of the naturalization law opened the door for a more diverse group of American nationals to include men, women, and children of African descent and others. However, citizenship neither guaranteed an American identity, equal treatment in this country, nor preferential treatment in comparison to immigrants.⁷

In his controversial autobiographical piece *A Long way from Home*, Jamaican poet Claude McKay described a benefit of his foreign status while in America. In 1918, McKay worked on a railroad and ventured off during a stop in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania where he was arrested with African-Americans, who were all suspected of dodging the draft. He appeared before a judge to defend the charge against him. The judge found his identity as a black foreigner appealing. According to McKay, his immigrant status allowed him to go free without any evidence to clear him, while the Americans arrested with the literary artist were forced to serve 5 and 10 day sentences. McKay explained that he then decided to further cultivate his Jamaican accent.⁸ It is important to note that his biographer, Wayne F. Cooper,

explained that railroad workers were exempt from the draft because their position was crucial to America's war efforts,⁹ which means that McKay may have embellished his story. However, it is a fact that many black foreigners believed that they had more rights, not just privileges, in America than African-Americans.¹⁰

Conversely, some immigrants from the English-speaking Caribbean naturalized to attain the rights and advantages of American citizenship. The rights included voting, employment, increased availability of housing and a decreased fear of deportation. Specifically, the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified in 1870 and gave black male citizens the right to vote, and many wanted to take advantage of this right in New York City. McKay eventually became an American in 1940. Cyril Crichlow, a prominent Garveyite who was born in the British Caribbean and immigrated to America, naturalized in 1919 during an era of heightened anti-immigrant sentiments.¹¹ They hoped to attain benefits of citizenship.

A closer look at Crichlow's family underscores an important aspect of America's gendered citizenship. According to the Expatriation Act of 1907, women who married a foreigner lost their citizenship as a result of their holy matrimony.¹² If an African-American woman married a Jamaican immigrant, her legal status changed as she transitioned from single to married. The status of men did not change because of marriage. The 1920 Federal census record for Lillian Crichlow, the American-born wife of Cyril Crichlow, reflected this predicament. Although her census record noted her birthplace as New Jersey, she was also listed as a naturalized citizen in 1919, the year of her husbands' naturalization. Lillian Crichlow lost her American citizenship and assumed the status of her husband when they married during the early twentieth century. Subsequently, Lillian became a naturalized American when her husband naturalized.¹³ The Cable Act of 1922 overturned the Expatriation

Act and American nationality was no longer omitted because of marital status.¹⁴ While we know that Americans fought to overturn the Expatriation Act of 1907, this dissertation engages if black immigrants also fought to overturn any gendered or racial laws.

Male and female citizens, native-born and naturalized, found that their citizenship was tempered by gender and race and it neglected to guarantee equal treatment or preferential treatment in comparison to immigrants. This realization affected the relationship between African-Americans and Afro-Caribbeans who migrated for better treatment, conditions and opportunities in their new environment.

Background: Caribbean Immigration

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Great Britain counted within it's empire several islands that became the West Indies Federation including Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, British Guiana, Antigua, Barbuda, Trinidad and Tobago, Saint Kitts, Nevis, St. Vincent, Anguilla and Montserrat.¹⁵ The region is referred to variously as the British Caribbean, the English-speaking Caribbean, or the British West Indies. Immigrants from the area made up the majority of people of African descent who traveled to America from 1890 to 1930. Specifically, just over 80 percent of the foreign born black population in America from 1911 to 1924 were born in the British Caribbean.¹⁶

As the islanders settled in New York City (and throughout America), they also became known in America as "British West Indian" and subsequently "Afro-Caribbean." However, the British subjects from various colonies in the Caribbean did not always identify collectively.

These immigrants from the British held islands in the Caribbean were no strangers to national and international migrations, both involuntarily as part of the British Colonial Empire in the Americas during their slave era, and voluntarily as they were emancipated yet remained British colonist.¹⁷ The opportunity for land, employment, or higher wages often spurred voluntary migrations in the post-emancipation colonial era. The first wave of voluntary Afro-Caribbean migration started in the 1830's.¹⁸ They fled from their plantations searching for available work in towns. While many migrated within their birth colony, others ventured further afield, especially to Trinidad and British Guiana. These islands were popular destinations for those who hoped to find employment.¹⁹

The second wave of British Caribbean migration followed and occurred from 1885 to 1920.²⁰ The colonist relocated within the British owned islands and internationally. They immigrated to the Spanish Caribbean, and other regions such as Panama, and the United States.²¹ Panama, with its demand for laborers to build the Panama Canal, pulled them in great numbers. Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican who founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and one of the most influential black political figures of the twentieth century, migrated there. Also, Amy Ashwood, Garvey's first wife who was also instrumental in the development of the UNIA, moved from Jamaica to Panama City with her parents during the building of the canal. Ashwood's father, Michal Ashwood, opened a catering company and restaurant to feed the Caribbean emigrant laborers who built the canal.²² Unlike most of the foreign labor force in Panama, Michael Ashwood became a successful businessman. However, the money earned by businessmen, like Ashwood, as well as canal workers of different classes was often used to immigrate to America or to send a family member who wanted to live in the land of opportunity.

Many factors pushed the immigrants from their respective homelands in the Caribbean to places such as Panama and the United States. Hardships plagued the islands. A “catastrophic decline” in profits from the production of sugar, a major staple crop of the colonies, led to a decrease in employment opportunities and a general decline in the economies.²³ The economic turmoil led to class struggles with an increase in disparities between the rich and poor. To add to their troubles, hurricanes, floods, and droughts frequently troubled the Caribbean between 1880-1920.²⁴ The harsh weather often created food shortages and hunger ran rampant on the island.²⁵ Specifically, Jamaicans experienced severe economic hardships, sometimes as the result of the natural disasters that ravaged the islands and also because of the decline in sugar production.

During this time, America was experiencing economic expansion due to industrialization and post WWI prosperity. Over 100,000 British Caribbean colonists immigrated to this country from 1890-1930, hoping to take advantage of this change in fortune and to earn a better living.²⁶ Winston James notes for example, that Caribbeans who emigrated from the islands increased from a small number of 411 in 1899 to 12, 243 per year by 1924.²⁷ Many were highly skilled.²⁸ During the height of migration, the majority of Afro-Caribbeans settled in New York City, making it the city most heavily populated with black immigrants followed by Boston, Massachusetts and Miami, Florida. This wave from the Caribbean receded in 1925, when legislation placed quotas on the number of foreigners allowed to enter from the British colonies and some returned to the islands in the 1930s during America’s Great Depression.

While Afro-Caribbeans migrated during their post-emancipation era, so too did African-Americans. Freed men and women relocated to improve their economic and political

identity as well as their citizenship status following the Civil War. Some moved within the rural south before they went to urban areas. They also migrated between southern states to search for family members. Many eventually left the urban and rural south for the American West and North.

Black southerners migrated to Kansas and Oklahoma in great numbers during two of the most significant post-emancipation era movements that preceded the Great Migration. The 1862 Homestead Act as it applied to Kansas as well as the states' abolitionist tradition made it appealing to blacks between 1870 and 1890.²⁹ Thousands of migrants flowed into the state. They followed routes from Kentucky, and Tennessee as well as Texas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Benjamin "Pap" Singleton led many.³⁰ Full citizenship, land-ownership as well as political autonomy were real goals of the movement to Kansas. As the potential for land ownership and more waned, another wave to Oklahoma began.

The opportunity for autonomy through land ownership and political rights also led blacks to Oklahoma from 1889 throughout the early 20th century.³¹ Over 100,000 African-Americans traveled there and hoped to experience full citizenship and social, political and economic advancements. Black migrants in various towns in the state thrived during the first decade of 1900s and became prominent businessmen or successful farmers. Many of these businessmen and farmers owned land and held voting rights. However, in 1907, their political fortunes changed as Oklahoma entered statehood, and white politicians disenfranchised them.³² The migration eventually stalled.

Subsequently, millions of migrants continued to travel to the West and further North during the early years of Great Migration. Specifically, labor opportunities pulled African-Americans, like their counterpart from the Caribbean, to New York City during the early 20th

century. In New York City, available housing brought the migrants and immigrants to San Juan Hill and the Tenderloin sections of Manhattan before they moved on to Harlem during the 1910's and 20's. Sections of Brooklyn always housed black residents. Within these cramped, overpopulated and racially segregated spaces, southern migrants and Afro-Caribbean immigrants interacted. Their complicated relationships varied and at times included ethnic distancing or collaboration. Because of the migrations and black interethnic relationships, the southern migrants and Caribbean immigrants experienced a shift in their identity. They also shaped politics, the economy, culture and the meaning of African-American.

Historiography

The Great Migration is well documented by scholars. Historians and sociologists also investigate the immigration of people of African descent to America and/or the contested status of these immigrants who arrived during the post-1965 wave. However, my research differs from most scholarship in three significant ways. First, black immigrants and their “becoming an American” story are prominently placed into the early twentieth century American immigration and Great Migration narratives, a period when black immigration typically is ignored. Secondly, my research emphasizes the southern migrants’ and Afro-Caribbean immigrants’ participation in mainstream politics, not their radical politics, which is a topic examined in other scholarship. Finally, my dissertation includes an evenhanded treatment of migration from the South and immigration from the British Caribbean, while most histories primarily consider one or the other. My work contributes to the existing

scholarship on black identity, which explains that blacks in America are neither culturally nor ethnically homogeneous, with varying identity and status within and amongst ethnic groups.

Historians, who investigate migrations, often answer the following questions. What policies tempered the movements? Who were the migrants and why did they leave home? Where did the migrants go? How did they fare in their new homes? What was the impact of the migrations on the lands that they left and on their new societies?³³ This research engages these questions in regards to black movements to New York City during the early twentieth century, and how the movements' led to a change identity and citizenship status for its' participants.

Policy studies provide an overview of immigration laws that temper the flow to America and on naturalization legislation that influence national identity. Roger Daniels' *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants since 1882* (2004) broadly and thoroughly does so. Of relevance to the dissertation, Daniels explains that the Fourteenth Amendment "left those who had been born in Africa or West Indies ineligible for citizenship."³⁴ In general, Daniels diligently examines the laws that either open or close the door for immigration to America and naturalization, but provides little evidence on the movements from the Caribbean to the United States from 1890 to 1930. This dissertation examines the British Crown's policies that encouraged or discouraged emigration from the islands and American policy that manipulated the stream of black people to this country.

Afro-Caribbean emigration, during certain eras, is well documented. The waves are discussed in Suzanne Model's *West Indian Immigrants: A Black Success Story?* (2008) and George Gmelch's *Double Passage: the Lives of Caribbean Migrants Abroad and Back Home* (1992).³⁵ However, their time frame is not focused on the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries. Likewise, Ransford W. Palmer's compilation of essays, *In Search of A Better Life: Perspectives on Migration Beyond the Caribbean* (1990), includes a piece on out-migration and a change in the immigrants' social, economic, and cultural identity, but the time frame was during the Post-World War II era.³⁶

The population of black immigrants in America significantly increased after 1965 and scholars, such as Mary Waters, contributed invaluable scholarship to the growing, but limited field on the post-1965 wave. Waters' important sociological study *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities* (1999), offers a nuanced view on the identity, class and generational difference amongst Caribbean immigrants in America.³⁷ Another notable source on this topic is Philip Kasznits' *Caribbean New York: Black Immigrants and Politics of Race* (1992).³⁸

There is also limited scholarship on immigration during my time frame, but there are two significant historical publications that emphasize the constructed identity, contested status, and curious plight of Afro-Caribbean immigrants who entered the United States from the 1890s to the 1930s. In *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth Century America* (1998), Winston James emphasizes the radicalization of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in their homeland and abroad in the United States. James engages their identity. Furthermore, Irma Watkins-Owens examines the post-migration identity of Afro-Caribbeans in *Blood Relations: Caribbean Immigrants and the Harlem Community, 1900-1930* (1996). Owens critical and thoughtful work explores the race, class, ethnic, and gendered identity of Afro-Caribbeans who resided in Harlem, but not while they lived in the Caribbean. Much more scholarship is needed on Afro-Caribbean immigration during this time period.

In contrast to the lack of scholarship on black immigration, there is a wealth of literature on the Great Migration of black southerners during the early twentieth century. In *“The African American ‘Great Migration’ and Beyond,”* (2003), Stewart E. Tolnay offers an important comprehensive assessment of the state of the literature on the Great Migration of African-Americans. According to Tolnay, much is known about the economic and political plight of those who participated in the movement. “The original and most enduring image of the migrants is that of an illiterate sharecropper, displaced from the rural south because of agricultural distress or reorganization.”³⁹ However, who they became in their new urban environment is less explored in the piece.

The impact of the Great Migration and the construction of the migrant’s new identity is a much needed and growing field. For instance, James R. Grossman’s *Land of Hope: Chicago Black Southerners and the Great Migration* (1989), is an important publication on the movements to Chicago, a major receiving town of the great migrants. Grossman captures their ideas/ideals as their economic identity shifted from that of southern agricultural workers to the “first Afro American industrial working class.”⁴⁰ Similarly, in *The Southern Diaspora: How The Great Migration Of Black And White Southerners Transformed America* (2005), James N. Gregory comprehensively describes the economic, political, and cultural transformations in America as result of the Great Migration of black and white southerners.⁴¹ His work centers on the post 1930’s era and is unique because of its’ inclusion of black and white immigrants. Isabel Wilkerson’s *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America’s Great Migration* (2011), also exposes a shift in identity.⁴² Gregory’s *The Southern Diaspora*, Wilkerson’s *The Warmth*, and Grossman’s *Land of Hope* discuss a change in

identity, but neglect a thorough discussion of the relationship between African-Americans and Afro-Caribbeans.

However, Howard Dodson's and Sylviane A. Diouf's anecdotal co-edition *In Motion: The African American Migration Experience* (2004), provides a brief overview of black immigration to America and black migrations within America from the colonial era to the present. Ira Berlin, similarly, explores the continuity of black migrations in America and the interethnic identities of black America in *The Making of African American: The Four Great Migrations* (2010).⁴³ Very few publications, such as *In Motion* and *The Making of African America*, discuss both black immigration and black migration within America and include movements during the early twentieth century. This dissertation, in the tradition of Diouf, Dodson and Berlin, gives equal attention to both. My research also traces a shift in their economic and political identity as well as their citizenship status during the early twentieth century, an era when black immigration was typically ignored.

Chapter Outline

The dissertation includes this introduction, as chapter one, and four remaining chapters. Chapter two opens with a snapshot of African-American economic and political plight during the turn of the twentieth century. Specifically, it explores the migrants' labor, wages, landownership, political engagement, and political party affiliation. It also considers their gender, race, and class. In addition, the chapter engages how these factors contributed to black migration from the American South to New York City. The subjects are black southerners, especially those who resided in states that experienced a significant out-migration to New York, which include Georgia, Virginia, Florida, and the Carolinas.

Chapter three opens with a snapshot of black and coloured economic and political plight in Jamaica during the turn of the twentieth century. It includes an analysis of the peasants' and workers' wages, labor, landownership, and political engagement. It especially engages how the colonial structure and colonial government stifled opportunities for the colonists to improve their circumstances through political participation and/or their labor. The chapter also considers gender, race and class.

Chapter four compares the process and effects of the migration of Jamaicans to America with that of the African-American migration experience out of the South into the American North, specifically to the Harlem community in New York City. The "Onto Harlem Movement" is also placed within a local, national and international context. In addition, the chapter documents the cause for the Great Migration and Jamaican emigration as well as the motivations that led the determined migrants to go after better opportunities in a new and unfamiliar land. Whether or not a desire for improved citizenship status contributed to the out-migration is explored. The purpose is to compare the movements to New York City and to situate them as the beginning of a transformative experience that subsequently changed black life, identity and thought.

The final chapter, five, elaborates on the relationship between the southern migrants and Afro-Caribbean immigrants and how it shaped black culture and the participants' identity in New York City. During the turn of the twentieth century, as the number of Afro-Caribbean immigrants increased, the dialogue between them and African-Americans ensued. Activist, writers, "New Negroes" such as Langston Hughes, and politicians of diverse nationalities (often a part of the black elite or black middle-class) publicly debated two major issues relevant to black identity and black thought. First, they debated the benefits of immigrants

becoming naturalized citizens as opposed to remaining subjects of the British crown.

Secondly, they discussed efforts of African-Americans, native or naturalized, to improve their second-class citizenship status, especially their political rights. In the midst of such discussions, they expressed their thoughts and feelings about identity, citizenship, and the meaning of “American” for people of African decent.

Also, an important analysis of the rhetoric of black people in relation to the actions of black migrants and Afro-Caribbean immigrants of different socioeconomic classes is included. The analysis answers the following questions. Did African-Americans actively improve their status in the North? Did Afro-Caribbeans apply for naturalization as the discussions took place?

Finally, Garveyism is discussed in comparison to the mainstream political participation of black people who lived in New York City. Afro-Caribbean and African-American participation in the movement and mainstream politics are compared. The emphasis is on electoral politics because the topic is less explored than black radical politics.

Throughout these chapters three major themes emerge. First, the relationship between the southern migrants and Afro-Caribbean immigrants’ economic status and their political plight becomes apparent. Jamaicans’ and African-Americans’ class status, financial earnings, and/or ability to pay taxes influenced their ability to participate in mainstream political elections and/or run for office. In contrast, politicians in America and Jamaica passed laws, which influenced the potential of blacks to make a living. Secondly, lawmakers in Jamaica and the United States consistently attempted to manipulate the movement of the courageous southern migrants and Afro-Caribbean immigrants with varying degrees of success. Finally,

while economic factors are generally believed to push and pull migrants, the impetus for “local migrations” differ.

There is little scholarship on the first large-scale voluntary immigration of black people to America during the post-emancipation era. My research aims to fill the void in the literature. This dissertation contends that Afro-Caribbean immigrants, along with African-American southerners, shaped their communities, constructed new identity and defined what it meant to be and become an American for people of African descent.

Chapter Two: Is Slavery Over? African-American Economic and Political Identity, 1865-1905

“Dem sharecroppuhs is jes like slaves,” claimed freedmen Archie Booker about laborers who worked within the post-emancipation sharecropping system. Booker continued, “Dey don’ know slavery is ovuh.”⁴⁴ Impoverished, forced laborer and financially dependent characterized many African-Americans in the post-emancipation South, as it did during the antebellum era. In contrast to their dire economic straits, their political status improved significantly during Reconstruction because of the passage and adherence of the Fifteenth Amendment. In the 1890s, however, state level disenfranchisement amendments swept through the South. Stripped of their right to vote and steeped in a backward southern economy, the political and economic plight of black southerners during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries became eerily similar to their plight during slavery. This chapter explores their post-emancipation pre-migration plight, identity, and ideology to contextualize changes that occurred during and following the World War I era Great Migration. It also emphasizes the relationship between the southerners’ economic and political identity.

Reconstruction

African American Political Identity

During Reconstruction, African-Americans organized into a loyal voting block for the Republican Party, while fewer supported the Democrats or one of the smaller parties. Spurred by black institutions (the black church, fraternal orders and benevolent associations), the Union League and black Conferences during the late 1860s and 1870s, there was a massive increase in electoral participation in the South.⁴⁵ Mobilization led to the election of over 2000

African-American public office holders on the local, state, and national level.⁴⁶ Many community members also participated in external political arenas. Overall, the newly elected politicians and their constituents attempted to improve their circumstances through political engagement.

Democrats, however, explored ways to stop black citizens from becoming legislatures. Hiram Revels of Mississippi, an African-American, faced a barrage of challenges after the state legislature elected him to a vacant seat in the U.S. Senate in 1870.⁴⁷ Senators, who opposed Revels, questioned whether the Mississippian was a citizen at least nine years prior to his election, which was a U.S. Constitutional requirement for the position. His opponents cited the Dred Scott Decision and argued that Revels had only become a citizen after the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. Therefore, they cited the Fourteenth Amendment to deny blacks their Fifteenth Amendment rights.⁴⁸ The argument proved ineffective. Revels' pioneering, yet brief, tenure in the U.S. senate began in 1870. When he took office, he became the first African-American in Congress.⁴⁹

In 1875, Blanche K. Bruce from Mississippi was the first African-American elected to a full term in the U.S. Senate.⁵⁰ Revels and Bruce endured within a hostile environment and earned the opportunity to advance black causes through legislation. Pioneering black politicians on the national level followed in the same tradition by advocating for Civil Rights.

U. S. Congressmen, who were elected or appointed in the four out-migration states engaged in a wide range of political activities from writing and supporting legislation to participation in National Conventions in order to uplift their race. It is important to note that many did this while also appeasing the Confederates. Joseph Rainey was one of these men. On December 12, 1870, Rainey took his oath of office as the first African-American in the

United States House of Representatives.⁵¹ The Congressmen, who was a moderate, advocated for a better southern economy, federal protection for blacks from the Ku Klux Klan, and Charles Sumner's Civil Rights Bill.⁵² Although it was later deemed unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, Sumner's Bill mandated equal treatment regardless of color in schools, transportation, juries and some public spaces. Overall, Rainey's agenda reflected a desire to improve African-Americans' economic, political and social status.

Jefferson F. Long, the first black member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Georgia, valued political engagement as well. During his early political career, he promoted voter registration for African-Americans and organized black Republicans.⁵³ He also advocated for educating his race. The apex of his political career came in 1871 when he served in the U.S. House of Representatives for a few months. In the House, he denounced rights for former Confederates.⁵⁴ After his brief term, he remained active in politics and attended The Republican National Convention in 1880 in an attempt to help people of his race.⁵⁵

John Adams Hyman was North Carolina's first black Congressmen. When he began his term in 1876, he represented North Carolina's well-known "Black Second" district, which held an overwhelmingly black population as well as whites and Native Americans.⁵⁶ Advocating for his constituents was a priority. While in office, Hyman offered a bill to reimburse blacks for their deposit to the failed Freedmen's Bank.⁵⁷ He had hoped to improve their economic plight, but the bill failed. His subsequent bids for Congress failed too. However, he remained extremely active in black politics.⁵⁸

The passage and adherence of laws regarding African-American rights weighed heavily on Hyman and probably his colleagues too. "If [an African-American] is a man,

”Hyman once wrote to Charles Sumner, “he is entitled to all the rights and privileges of any other man.”⁵⁹ Overall, twenty-one African-American men held seats in the U.S. Congress during Reconstruction (none were from Virginia). These statesmen, who all belonged to the Republican Party while in office, were similar to most local or state level politicians of their race and embraced their Fifteenth Amendment rights. They believed that they were entitled to the rights and privileges that were granted to them and their constituents under the U.S. Constitution.

In contrast to the aforementioned congressmen and those who voted for them, a minority of African-Americans supported Democratic candidates or other parties. White southerners who voted for the Democrats during Reconstruction often influenced or forced laborers to vote for white politicians as well. Whether blacks voted for the opposition party by force or by free will, they often experienced repercussions from their community for their vote. For instance, communities in Virginia ostracized their members who voted for Democratic candidates because the community did not think of the Democratic Party as an avenue to advance their causes.⁶⁰ Overall, African-American office holders and their constituents fought for more rights.

Political Engagement

Disenfranchisement remained in some areas of the South and in Northern states during Reconstruction. However, many of those who could not vote remained politically engaged. Voters and non-voters constantly tried to improve their plight.

Women’s disenfranchisement continued during Reconstruction, but working-class and middle-class women were political actors. In some towns and states in the West, they casted

ballots and ran for political office. Furthermore, Elsa Barkley Brown explained that during Reconstruction black women and men in Richmond, Virginia participated in state Republican Conventions, voted in external political arenas, and attended mass meetings.⁶¹ Barkley Brown agreed with other historians as she went further with her claims regarding black women's enfranchisement and wrote,

African American women and men understood the vote as a collective, not an individual, possession; and furthermore, that African American women unable to cast a separate vote, viewed African American men's vote as equally theirs. They believed that franchise should be cast in the best interest of both. This is not the nineteenth century patriarchal notion that men voted on behalf of their wives and children...⁶²

Voting males casted their collective vote. Therefore, women shaped the political landscape of the South before the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, which gave women the ballot, and previous to the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, when African-American women began to finally exercise their right to vote in significant numbers.⁶³

Furthermore, it is possible that men and women understood the right to legislate as a collective. This may have been true for legislators who were influenced by their female constituents. If so, politicians would have legislated in the best interest of women and men.

During Reconstruction, the African-American political identity included political actor in electoral politics. They engaged in internal and external political arenas. However, being a politician was not only an aspect of political identity.

Political and Economic Identity

Office holders influenced the economic identity of their constituents. Also, the economic plight of African-Americans influenced if they were able to vote or run for office. Therefore, political identity and economic identity were uniquely related.

Local politicians during Reconstruction were often educators, ministers, artisans, or storeowners, and typically owned small plots of land.⁶⁴ They were not considered a part of the laboring class. Their success and material gain helped them to become elected officials.

Once a politician won his seat in office, he engaged legislation regarding labor, wages, and a host of other economic issues that influenced the plight of his constituents. For instance, African- American politicians often rejected proposals that required blacks to perform disciplined labor.⁶⁵ They wanted their race to control their own bodies and have rights as workers. Like the national office holders, many pioneering local politicians advocated for the cause of their people and hoped to improve their economic plight through political means. Unfortunately, the politicians were sometimes ineffective in passing legislation beneficial to African-Americans' economic status, and they were unable to stop the passage of some laws that were detrimental, which underscores that even with more political power, black politicians and their constituents were often unable to eliminate their financial or economic hardships.

Economic Identity

The ex-bondsmen's transition from slavery to freedom was accompanied by their desire for earnings, owning land and to work within fair labor systems (labor systems will be discussed in another section of this chapter). The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands (the Freedmen's Bureau) was meant to aid with land, labor practices, compensation for labor and other issues outside of the economic realm during the transition. The original bureau's policies explained, "It will be the object of all commissioners to introduce practical systems of compensated labor."⁶⁶ Also, the bureau held the right to sale

small plots of land. Unfortunately, the southern system in general and the Freedman's Bureau ultimately guaranteed neither land nor fair compensated labor, while the institutions detrimentally influenced the gendered dynamics of black laborers.

Reconstruction era policies, including those implemented by the Freedmen's Bureau, left hard working sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and domestic workers little better off than they were during slavery in regards to land ownership and labor compensation. Agriculturalist often found themselves unfairly indebted to the owners of the land upon which they worked and usually lived. Therefore, most did not have the means necessary to purchase their own land or home.

It is important to note that during the mid nineteenth century certain laws changed, which allowed married women to own their own property (including land). As a result of the Married Women's Property Acts, "Between the 1840s and 1880s, most states...recognized the right of married women to manage, enjoy the profits, sell, and will personal and real property that they had owned prior to marriage or had been given or inherited from a third party during marriage."⁶⁷ After the passage of these laws, many women, especially African-Americans, still neglected to own land.

The Freedmen's Bureau and white planters also contributed to the gendered economic identity of black laborers. The Bureau assigned land to men and paid men more than women even when they performed the same type of plantation labor.⁶⁸ Also, planters arranged labor contracts with men instead of women when possible.⁶⁹ White males, who were the head of households during slavery, looked to black males to head their own households in the new era even as whites still wanted a sense of control over African-Americans' labor, land, and more.

This was not beneficial to African-Americans, especially the women who were the head of their household.

Single females, however, often traveled to urban areas for better opportunities and financial gain. They lived in the cities more than their male counterparts and most found employment as domestic servants. Specifically, during the 1860s, the black population of Atlanta more than doubled and women outnumbered men.⁷⁰ These women and girls in Atlanta and throughout the South engaged in strenuous labor as cooks, maids, cleaners, washerwomen and childcare providers, while men in Atlanta and other urban areas mostly worked in the service industry and as unskilled laborers.⁷¹ Although they were not fairly compensated for their work, many were able to live outside of their employer's household and received higher wages than they received in rural areas.

Overall, the majority of blacks during Reconstruction found themselves, landless and indebted although they made strides in land ownership. Furthermore, the middle-class often realized that land ownership and compensated labor equated neither economic autonomy nor financial stability. The economic status of most African-Americans was still dire.

The Black Family

Family was extremely important during this transitional era. Freedmen and women often traveled far distances to re-unite with nuclear families and extended kin. Many were disappointed when they learned that a loved one had passed away or that a love interest had married another. But, happy re-unions occurred as well. Overall, African-Americans valued the "reconstruction of family" as well as survival more than anything following the Civil War.⁷²

The new era brought more stability within the family and more time for loved ones. Black people were able to legally solidify unions and were no longer wrought with the fear of being separated because of sale. Women often retreated to the home where they continued to labor agriculturally and domestically and had more time for their own families and extended kin.

Economic crisis, however, forced freedmen and women into more strenuous labor for survival and the entire family contributed. At a young age, children helped with chores and in the field and around the home. They attended school sporadically, if at all. Also, young women often left their homes after marriage to take a financial burden away from their families. Also, women spent more time laboring outside of the home when necessary because of financial need.

Having familial ties and closeness was important to African-Americans during Reconstruction, which was an era when blacks were engaged in electoral politics, but had little opportunity to improve their economic plight. The era faded away after the Hayes Tilden Compromise of 1876. The Jim Crow era of lynching, segregation, and disenfranchisement soon saturated the American South. People constructed new perspectives and new identities in this new era.

Jim Crow

The term “Jim Crow” entered the American lexicon during the 1830s before the phrase defined a system that utilized violence to suppress African-Americans’ economic and political advancements and segregated the southern region by race. In the 1830s, Thomas Dartmouth Rice, a white actor, impersonated a song and dance routine of a black stable

hand.⁷³ In “black face” Rice sang, “Weel about, and turn about/ And do jus so;/ Eb’ry time I Weel about, / I jump Jim Crow.”⁷⁴ Henceforth, entertained white audiences and many Americans in general associated black life with Jim Crow. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the nature, meaning, and legality of the system changed with time and differed according to place.

By mid-nineteenth century, Jim Crow defined customs and laws used to separate people according to race.⁷⁵ The first Jim Crow segregation law appeared in Massachusetts in 1841.⁷⁶ In the 1840s, abolitionist newspapers also utilized the term as they discussed separate railroad cars for white and black travelers in the North.⁷⁷ Southern states soon followed suit. Florida, Mississippi and Texas passed the first of these Jim Crow segregation laws in the South right following the Civil War.⁷⁸ The South continued to adopt these laws throughout the century.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Jim Crow South was known for violence, segregation, and the suppression of economic and political rights. In 1890, southern states began to pass constitutional disenfranchisement amendments, which subsequently kept African-Americans from the polls and holding office. Furthermore, they also remained gripped in an unfair southern economy. Also, lynching, a form of extreme terrorism, increased in order to induce fear when African-Americans attempted to exercise their rights or to improve their plight. Finally, the Plessy V. Ferguson ruling, which was decided on May 18, 1896, solidified legal segregation in the South. According to Leon Litwack, “by the 1890s Jim Crow took on additional force and meaning to denote the subordination and separation of black people in the South, much of it codified and much of it still enforced by custom, habit and violence.”⁷⁹ It is important to view this era, when ninety

percent of African-Americans lived in the South and eighty-three percent lived in the rural South,⁸⁰ to engage the political and economic pre-migration plight and identity of southerners in the out-migration states.

Early Jim Crow (1890-1905)

Political Identity

The close of African-American post-emancipation electoral political life occurred during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During the time period, white southerners successfully disenfranchised black voters and rid of black public office holders. Southern states, starting with Mississippi, effectively passed constitutional disenfranchisement amendments, which forced African-Americans to remain politically engaged without the ballot or the congressional floor.

In 1901, George H. White of Tarboro, North Carolina, the last African-American in the United States Congress during the era, legislated during his final term.⁸¹ The decisions of Mississippi delegates during their Constitutional Convention just a decade earlier, in 1890, held tremendous consequences for White and all African-American southerners. The Mississippi convention was organized to discuss how to disenfranchise African-Americans without directly violating the Fourteenth Amendment. The delegates also discussed gerrymandering to halt the election of politicians.⁸² As a result of the convention, a poll tax and a literacy test were written into the state's Constitution as requirements to cast a ballot.⁸³ Just as the delegates intended, the adherence of the amendment completely disrupted electoral politics in the state by purging black voters, which subsequently led to the loss of black public officials. In the election immediately following the passage of the Amendment, only 30

percent of the typical African-American voting population participated.⁸⁴ By 1893, Mississippi's black population stood at 748,000 people, but only 9000 were registered voters.⁸⁵ The Democratic Party throughout the South, including those in out-migration states, soon followed in the Mississippi tradition and implemented disenfranchisement amendments to their constitutions. When White's term expired in March of 1901, he was the last African-American to serve in the United States Congress for decades, which represented the success of the Mississippi Convention.⁸⁶

It is important to note the reasons why the Democratic Party in Mississippi and other southern states firmly believed that they could pass disfranchisement amendments without repercussions from the national government or other institutions during this era. After 1878, the U.S. Army withdrew from monitoring political elections in the South, and the latest congressional attempts to pass Force Bills in 1888 and 1890 failed.⁸⁷ Amongst other things, the Force Bills sought to protect black voters from violence at the polls, which was essential for the election of African-American politicians. Finally, the Supreme Court only acted to strike down disfranchisement laws when the law directly violated the Fifteenth Amendment.⁸⁸ Therefore, the Democratic Party in Mississippi rightfully felt that they could find a covert measure to disenfranchise African-Americans.

As the South began to pass the constitutional amendments in the 1890s, five African-American legislators managed to join the United States Congress, which represented a major decrease from the twenty-one men who legislated during the Reconstruction era. Each was from an out-migration state. Thomas Miller and George Murray represented South Carolina. Virginia sent John M. Langston to Congress. North Carolina natives, Henry Cheatham and the aforementioned Congressman White, represented their state as well. These Republican

politicians supported African-American causes as they legislated.⁸⁹ Even though the passage of disenfranchisement amendments contributed to the end of their legislative careers, they remained politically engaged after they left office similar to their Reconstruction era predecessors.

South Carolina

Under the leadership of their governor in 1895, the Democratic Party in South Carolina led the way of the out-migration states in the successful passage of a Jim Crow era disenfranchisement amendment. Previous to the amendments' adoption, laws already existed in the state, which were intended to thwart blacks from voting. For instance, in 1882 legislators crafted an eight-box ballot that required voters to find the correctly labeled box to cast a ballot for their candidate. It has been referred to as "the first implicit literary test."⁹⁰ Although the literacy test method was very successful, legislators went further in their efforts to deny Constitutional rights during the following decade. In 1890, Benjamin Ryan Tillman, a Democrat and "White purist", won South Carolina's gubernatorial election; He wanted to completely suppress the African-American voting population who he claimed outnumbered the white voting population by 40,000 people (others insist that the number was closer to 31,000).⁹¹ During his four years as a governor, he unsuccessfully lobbied for a constitutional convention to debate African-American disenfranchisement. However, his gubernatorial successor, John Gary Evans, organized the constitutional convention in 1894.⁹²

Over the objection of African-American delegates, South Carolina passed its' disenfranchisement amendment. It included an "educational qualifications combined with a property alternative and an temporary understanding clause" to vote.⁹³ The "understanding

clause,” required voters to understand the state’s constitution. Because the person who administered the test for the “understanding clause” was subjective, the clause often was used to grant the vote to white people who did not meet other requirements such as being literate or owning property.

Black delegates lamented that the new amendment unabashedly disenfranchised the “migratory, primarily illiterate, poor black communities of South Carolina.”⁹⁴ It required voters to register at least six months prior to the election, which kept recent migrants from voting, and blacks were constantly in motion (Chapter 4 will discuss migrations during this era). Furthermore, many African-Americans neither met the land-ownership requirement nor passed the literacy test.

The amendment also detrimentally affected black office holders in their state’s general assembly (and in the United States Congress as previously mentioned). Chart 1 will show that the number of black politicians in South Carolina’s general assembly drastically decreased from having over 75 members in 1870 to just 1 member after the passage of the amendment in 1896.⁹⁵ It also shows that the amendment was the final attempt, out of many, to suppress African-American voters in the state during the early Jim Crow era.

Chart 1

<u>African Americans in the South Carolina General Assembly</u>			
<u>Year</u> <u>Elected</u>	<u>Senate (All</u> <u>Republicans)</u>	<u>House</u> <u>Republicans</u>	<u>House</u> <u>Democrats</u>
1868	11	82	0
1870	10	75	0
1872	16	80	0
1874	16	74	0
1876	4	32	3
1878	3	3	6
1880	2	4	1
1882	3	9	3
1884	2	4	1
1886	2	4	2
1888	0	3	2
1890	0	6	0
1892	0	3	0
1894	0	2	0
1896	0	1	0

South Carolina's African-American U.S. Congressman, Thomas Ezekial Miller, participated in the aforementioned constitutional convention after years of holding political office. Miller, born on June 17, 1849, was a South Carolina native.⁹⁶ He was of mixed race descent and his maternal grandfather was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.⁹⁷ Following the Civil War, he left for New York where he scouted work as a railroad newsboy and attended school.⁹⁸ His pursuit of higher education led him to Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. He then went on to study law at the University of South Carolina and was subsequently admitted to his state's Bar.⁹⁹ Eventually, he decided to run for a position in the state legislature and was seated in the House of Representatives in South Carolina. Continual electoral success allowed him to serve as a State Congressman and State Senator throughout the 1870s and 1880s.¹⁰⁰

Miller's 1888 election for U.S. Congress exemplified the unconventional means by which Congressmen were seated during this tumultuous political period. The election night results casted Miller's opponent, Democrat William Elliot, the victor.¹⁰¹ Miller challenged the results on the grounds of an unfair election and noted that whites stifled the black vote. He also denounced the eight-box ballot.¹⁰² The U.S. House of Representatives heard the challenge and seated Miller, not Elliot. His official oath of office was recited on September 24, 1890.¹⁰³

Miller represented a gerrymandered district in South Carolina's black belt. It was referred to as the "shoe string district" and had an 82 percent African-American population.¹⁰⁴ The district included areas of the old antebellum period rice and cotton plantations.¹⁰⁵

Miller's political drama continued as he fought for re-election in the shoestring district and advocated for the rights of his black constituents. On election night for his second term, he won the majority of the votes, but subsequently was not seated because of claims of a fraudulent vote.¹⁰⁶ As the seat was contested, he took an opportunity to support black causes even though he was cautioned that such support could cost him his seat. For example, in January of 1891, he gave a speech on the house floor in favor of Henry Cabot's Lodge's Bill, which sought to have the federal government protect African-American voters at their polling place.¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately, the bill failed and Miller was never seated. He also never won another United States Congressional election, although he attempted to run again in 1892.¹⁰⁸

Miller returned to his familiar home in the state house of representatives from 1894-96.¹⁰⁹ As previously mentioned, he also served as a delegate to the 1895 state constitutional convention where he continued to champion black causes. Politics was in his blood, and he remained politically active for decades after the loss of his congressional seat and the passage

of the disfranchisement amendment in his state.¹¹⁰

George Murray, a longtime politician who also championed African-American rights, received the Republican nomination over Miller for the 53rd Congress (1893-95).¹¹¹ Murray, born to en-slaved parents in South Carolina on September 22, 1853, was politically active throughout his adult life.¹¹² Early in his career, he lectured for the Colored Farmer's Alliance. A Republican appointed him to inspector of customs at the port of Charleston in 1890, just a few years before he won his bid to the U.S. Congress.¹¹³ Ironically, Governor Tillman's cronies ensured Murray's Congressional victory because of Tillman's tension with Murray's Democratic opponent.¹¹⁴

During his tenure in Congress, Murray advocated for the continuation of Reconstruction era laws that gave African-American rights. He also supported the protection of African-Americans at the polls. Furthermore, during his first term, the Congressmen requested a meeting with Democratic President Grover Cleveland to discuss African-Americans' relationship with the Democratic Party. He encouraged President Cleveland to grant political appointments to African-Americans in exchange for their support of the Democratic Party, but neither occurred on a significant level.¹¹⁵

In 1894, the ambitious congressmen sought a second term in the U.S. House and advocated for his race. According to the immediate election results, Murray lost. However, upon appeal, he was seated in the 54th Congress.¹¹⁶ He focused on organizing black voters and defeating a disfranchisement amendment, to no avail. He was the last African-American U.S. congressman from South Carolina for decades.¹¹⁷

Years later, around 1905, shrouded in controversy over a legal case regarding his black tenants, the ex- South Carolina Congressmen fled to Chicago to escape a prison sentence.

Subsequently, he participated in Chicago Politics as a member of the Republican Party.¹¹⁸

North Carolina

Benjamin Tillman, the consummate politician and white purist, also championed disenfranchisement in North Carolina during hostile elections in 1898 to end the political participation of African-Americans. The Democratic Party wanted to regain power after its' loss to the Fusion ticket of Republicans and Populist in 1894 and in 1896 (the historian, Omar Ali, examined African American Populist in the South). In order to take back the statehouse in 1898, North Carolina's Democrats ran a highly racialized campaign against "Negro domination" and for white supremacy and the protection of southern white women.¹¹⁹ The campaign gained support when an editorial in an African-American newspaper condoned relationships between white women and black men. The article stated, "Tell your men that it is no worse for a black man to be intimate with a white woman than for a white man to be intimate with a colored woman."¹²⁰ White North Carolinians were outraged. Amidst the fury, Democrats won the governorship.¹²¹ Subsequently in 1900, they disfranchised African-Americans via the passage of a Constitutional Amendment.

The new Amendment included a Poll Tax and a Literary Test for the right to vote. It also included an "understanding clause". According to the law, "If he or his ancestors began to exercise the right of suffrage prior to 1867 it is conclusively perceived from that fact that he possesses the required degree of education [to vote]."¹²² Therefore, the law provided a reprieve for some illiterate whites, as was the case in other states. According to an article that was published in the *Baltimore Afro-American* as North Carolinians debated the amendment, the passage of the law would disfranchise 120, 000 African-Americans.¹²³

The disenfranchisement amendment passed in North Carolina during U.S. Congressman White's final term. He, like North Carolina's Reconstruction era U.S. Congressman John Adams Hyman, represented the "Black Second" district, which politicians originally gerrymandered to "pack" the states' African-American communities along North Carolina's coast into one area.¹²⁴ White won re-election to Congress from the Black Second throughout the 1890s with support from white and black constituents.

The popular Congressmen advocated for African-Americans causes. He asked Congress to penalized states that attempted to disfranchise them, and he criticized Booker T. Washington's acceptance of segregation.¹²⁵ He also introduced an anti-lynching Bill, which would have made lynching a federal crime punishable by the same standards as treason.¹²⁶ As White worked on the Bill, a man only referred to as Mr. Perry explained to the *Baltimore Afro-American* the need for anti-lynching legislation. According to Mr. Perry,

Theoretically, the Civil War raised to the plane of free citizenship 4,000,000 black slaves; practically it merely changed the form of domination which their white masters were allowed to exercise over them. At the close of the war the champions of human liberty, led by Charles Sumner, did their best to secure all the blessings of freedom for the enfranchised race, and guarantees of absolute equality before the law were incorporated into the constitution... These guarantees have been nullified by shameless methods and in many parts of the South the colored man who asserts his constitutional rights places his life in jeopardy... search the bloodiest annals of barbarism and you will find no crimes more revolting than the recent lynchings in the South.¹²⁷

In 1901, White's anti-lynching Bill died and his congressional term expired.¹²⁸ However, he continued to advocate for black rights and strongly supported the NAACP during the early twentieth century.¹²⁹

White's tenacious brother-in law, Henry Plummer Cheatham, also advocated for his African-American constituents who were housed in the "Black Second" congressional district before White took his seat. Cheatham, who was born into slavery in North Carolina on

December 27, 1857, graduated from Shaw University Normal School and worked as a school principal before he entered politics.¹³⁰ He held the position of Register of Deeds in Vance County, during the 1880s.¹³¹ In 1888, he ran for Congress and won his seat. In 1891 he ran again and was narrowly voted into office by a black base that was shrunken because of the passage of disfranchisement laws and emigration from the Carolinas to Arkansas, Texas and Mississippi.¹³² Cheatham was the only African-American in the 51st Congress (1889-91) and the only African-American in the 52nd Congress of 1891-93.¹³³

During his terms in Congressional office, he attempted to pass legislation that would underscore the grand contributions made by African-Americans to their country. He also supported legislation that would improve the dire economic plight of his constituents who were experiencing a loss of their political rights and well as significant economic hardships.¹³⁴ However, the politician faced challenges and lost re-election for his third term. His brother-in-law, White, challenged him in a family rivalry for the Black second congressional seat in 1896. White won.¹³⁵ It was a bitter end to Cheatham's political career. Cheatham, however, remained politically active and President William McKinley appointed him to the position of Recorder of Deeds in Washington D.C.¹³⁶

Virginia

During Congressman White's final congressional term, delegates in Virginia met for a Constitutional Convention to debate how to disenfranchise African-Americans in their state. They decided to create an amendment with multiple voting requirements of which the voters needed to meet one. The requirements included the following: First, a potential voter needed to read and understand their states' constitution. Secondly, they were required to own property

and have paid taxes on their property. Finally, the law allowed the son of a veteran or an actual veteran the right to cast a ballot.¹³⁷ Following its' passage, the electorate decreased significantly. An article in the *Daily Progress* mentioned the “purging” of voters within a discussion of the racial make-up of the electorate in different wards in Virginia. The article explained the low number of black voters following the passage of the amendment. It notes,

In the third ward, 155 were registered, 138 being white and 17 colored. Of the latter, 14 qualified under the property clause. One white man and 27 colored were rejected on the understanding clause. The former registration books showed, after a thorough purging, a voting strength of 120 whites and 20 coloreds.¹³⁸

Virginia's only African-American Congressmen of the nineteenth century, John Mercer Langston who distinguished himself in academia and politics, held office just before the implementation of the new amendment. The Virginia native was born to a free black women and white plantation owner on December 14th, 1829.¹³⁹ Before the Civil War, he received a Bachelor's degree from Oberlin College. Unable to attend law school because of his race, he studied law under an abolitionist lawyer.¹⁴⁰ Ironically the Ohio bar admitted him in 1854 when they deemed him, “nearer White than Black.” Subsequently, his election to the Clerk of Brownhelm Township in Ohio on the Liberty Party Ticket in 1855 established Langston as one of the first elected African-American public office holder.¹⁴¹ During the Civil War, he recruited black soldiers.¹⁴² His storied professional life continued in the postwar period. Langston led the National Equal Rights League and served as the Inspector General of the Freedman's Bureau in 1867.¹⁴³ In addition, he received a political appointment from Republican President Ulysses S. Grant in 1871 and from Republican President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1877 (Langston and his nemesis Frederick Douglass originally supported Free Democrats before they joined the Republican Party).¹⁴⁴

Beyond politics, Langston's accomplishments in higher education helped African-Americans. He held positions at Howard University, a Historical Black University. He served as the Universities' Vice President and President from 1874-1875.¹⁴⁵ Langston subsequently served as the President of Virginia's Normal and Collegiate Institution.¹⁴⁶

In contrast to his success in academia, Langston's time in the U.S. Congress was short-lived and controversial as he supported black causes. His bid for Congress began in 1888. According to the immediate election results, he lost. Similar to Murray, Langston challenged the results. After many months, he was granted a seat in the U. S. legislature.¹⁴⁷ During his six months as a U. S. Congressman, he supported black citizenship, voting rights for African-Americans, and the implementation and adherence of rights of black soldiers.¹⁴⁸ He remained active in politics after his one and only term in Congress.

Langston, White, Miller, Murray, and Cheatham each represented an out-migration state and, notably, were the last black men to serve in the United States Congress for decades. While they were in Congress, and even after their terms, they advocated for blacks. Unfortunately, they lost their seats as their black constituents lost their right to vote after the passage of disenfranchisement amendments. This represented a shift in black political identity as African-Americans were pushed from the polls, but remained politically active. The final out-migration state, Georgia, did not send an African-American to Congress during this period.

Georgia

Georgia, the state that initiated the poll tax, was the final out-migration state to pass a disenfranchisement amendment at the behest of its' Governor, Hoke Smith. Smith entered the

state's 1906 gubernatorial race. Originally, his major platform was to limit the power of railroad interest. He later embraced disfranchisement in part to gain the support of the Populist, and he began to claim that disfranchisement was necessary.¹⁴⁹ As he ran for office, he stirred racial tensions. Amidst racial unrest, Smith won the gubernatorial election. Soon after, in 1908, the voters approved a disfranchisement amendment.¹⁵⁰

As disfranchisement effectively swept throughout the South, African-Americans were no longer a significant voting constituency for the Republican Party as they were immediately following the Civil War. Most did not vote at all.

Woman who lived in the out-migration states never cast a ballot. However, they lost their collective vote when their male counterparts were disfranchised. Likewise, if African-Americans legislated collectively, than women lost their right to legislate too. Without the ballot and the congressional floor, they, like their male counterpart, found new means to remain politically engaged.

During the late nineteenth century, white and black women remained politically active by publically advocating for their causes as members of powerful women's organizations. Birth out of the "Woman's Crusades" 1873-1874, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) became one of the first and largest women societal organizations in America. They advocated temperance and other causes. Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, a prominent historian, examined black women who participated in the WCTU in North Carolina in her groundbreaking publication *Gender and Jim Crow*. Furthermore, in 1896, the National Federation of Afro-American Women and the National League for Colored Women became the National Association for Colored Women, a large and powerful organization specifically

for African-American women.¹⁵¹ Unions, fraternal associations, and Mutual Aide societies also created a powerful outlet for political activity.¹⁵²

A few months before Senator White completed his last term he stated to his colleague, "This, Mr. Chairman, is perhaps the negroes' temporary farewell to the American Congress." He continued, "but let me say, Phoenix—like he will rise up someday and come again."¹⁵³ Although it took twenty-eight years before another African-American won a seat in Congress, African-Americans never said farewell to politics altogether. During the turn of the twentieth century, males and females remained political actors.

Early Jim Crow and the Relationship between Political and Economic of Identity

During the turn of the 20th Century, taxes and land ownership increasingly became requirements for the right to vote. Countless African-Americans were landless and/or financially indebted to white landowners (and black landowners such as the aforementioned Congressman George Murray) or merchants, which compounded the situation. Therefore, their economic identity and political identity were intertwined as their financial circumstances often determined their eligibility to vote under the new state-level Constitutional guidelines.

Economic Identity, 1890-1905

"The original and most enduring image of the migrants," claimed sociologist Stewart E. Tolnay in his discussion of their pre-migration economic identity, "is that of an illiterate sharecropper, displaced from the rural South because of agricultural distress or disorganization"¹⁵⁴ By the turn of the twentieth century many black southerners indeed labored as sharecroppers, but their skills and occupations varied in rural and urban areas. In

regards to their literacy rate, the rate of those who could not write, the 1890 census listed it at almost 60 percent, which was a result of the legacy of slavery. Many could not read as well. Often, white southerners were able to capitalize on the high illiteracy rate when hiring black laborers. During this era, the majority of African-Americans remained in unfair labor systems whether in a rural or urban area, which kept them indebted and landless, which was similar to their plight during slavery.

The prominent historian, Leon Litwack, explained the three common labor systems in the rural South during the era, which included tenant farming/renting, wage labor, and sharecropping. These systems were overlapping structures. Under the tenant farming system, the laborer rented from a planter the land that they cultivated. Litwack discussed a renters' agreement. "Benjamin Mays's father was a renter, owning his own mules and paying rent of two bales of cotton for every twenty acres he rented."¹⁵⁵ Secondly, there were wage laborers. The final structure was sharecropping. The sharecroppers shared the profits from their crops with the landowner upon the land they worked. "Sharecroppers exchanging their labor for a share of the profits on the crop they produced," mentioned Litwack. He continued, "less the deduction for housing, the provisions, the tools, the seeds and the farm animals advanced to them during the year."¹⁵⁶ Litwack further explained that workers preferred renting in comparison to sharecropping because the tenant or renter was able to own the crop he made, but the sharecropper was not.¹⁵⁷ However, sharecropping was more prevalent, and most of these systems kept laborers indebted to white landowners.

Of course, southerners also labored in urban areas. Women often travelled to the city for better opportunities. A government report that was published in 1900 on women's work noted that out of the 353, 787 black women who lived in a city with over 50,000 people, 54.6

percent of them identified as “breadwinner (a person who was gainfully employed at some point during the census year),” while only 41.4 percent of their counterpart in rural areas were gainfully employed.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, women often found employment opportunities in the city.

However, the majority of these rural and urban southerners faced limited options beyond those available as an agriculturalist, and worked as a manual laborer or in menial service. A quote in the *Baltimore Afro-American* explained the type of work they performed. It stated,

“I state a reasonable proportion when I say 90 per cent of our people are working with their hands. The majority of this number are women and girls. These are working either on farms, with turpentine firms as cooks, washer-women or in laundries, as chambermaids, butlers, coachmen, brick layers, stone masons, etc. All are serving in one way or another throughout the South.”¹⁵⁹

In 1904, Ida B. Wells presented her lecture, “The American Negro Women” regarding black women’s labor and she further supported the aforementioned claim about limited opportunities. “When she seeks employment in other than menial service there is a check to her enthusiasm,” lamented Wells. “As saleslady, bookkeeper, clerk, stenographer, or even as a factory-hand, she finds the door of opportunity closed to her because; and only because, her African lineage is discernible in her face.”¹⁶⁰

An audience member at Wells’ lecture, Mrs. Mary E. Holmes, responded to the speech and stated, “I am almost ashamed that I was born in America.”¹⁶¹ Holmes was dismayed by the limited opportunities for her race in her own country. She and Wells understood that African-Americans had few choices beyond those that kept them tied to the land or offered low-wages for unskilled labor.

The Federal Census records for 1890 and 1900 further exposed the extent to which black females identified as servants and manual laborers. Specifically, the *Statistics of*

Occupations listed different professional categories for girls 10 years of age and older based off of the 1890 census results. The largest percentage of black women, just over 50 percent, fell under the category of domestic servant or personal servant.¹⁶² The second largest percentage of this population, 44.02 percent, indicated that they worked in “agriculture, fisheries and mining,” which would include those who labored in the fields to cultivate crops. The remainder were reported as workers in “manufacturing and mechanical industries,” “trade and transportation” and “professional service” at 2.76 percent, .24 percent, and .01 percent of the population respectfully.¹⁶³ Therefore, the vast majority of women were servants or agriculturalist as opposed to a professional or a factory worker just as Wells’ claimed.

Furthermore, it is important to note that the number one occupation for African-American females varied by region. Although the majority of women, white and black, identified as domestic servants for most states and territories, the preponderance of women in certain states in the Northeast engaged in the manufacturing and mechanical industries.¹⁶⁴ In certain states in the South, the highest percentage of women workers labored within the category of “agriculture, fisheries and mining.”¹⁶⁵ For example, close to 70 percent of all women in South Carolina indicated that they worked within the latter category.¹⁶⁶ Overall, the majority of black females in the South were agricultural laborers, but of those southerners who lived in the city the majority worked as domestic servants.

The report also indicated that black males labored in “agriculture, fisheries, and mining” at 63.27 percent and in “domestic and personal service” at 21.75 percent. Their percentages in the remaining industries were very low with 6.96 percent in “manufacturing and mechanical industries,” 6.82 percent in trade and transportation and 1.20 percent in professional services.”¹⁶⁷ Once again, this supports Wells’ claim.

When the government released a report, *Statistics of Women at Work*, based upon the results from the 1900 Federal Census records, it appeared that a change had occurred in the most common type of labor performed by black females from the previous decade. A chart on the “principal occupations for women,” included the labels of “Laundresses,” and “Servant and Waitress.” Interestingly, the highest percentage of black females did not fall into those two categories, although black females made up the majority of servants and waitresses in the out-migration states at 92.2 percent in Georgia, 88 percent in Florida, 75.9 percent in North Carolina, 93.5 percent in South Carolina and 83.5percent in Virginia.¹⁶⁸

In the 1900 report on women workers, the majority of black females identified as an “Agricultural Laborer.”¹⁶⁹ Specifically, the top five occupations for black females were “Agricultural Laborer,” “Laborers (Not Specified),” “Laundresses,” “Servant and Waitresses,” and “Farmers, Planters and Overseers,” respectively (see chart 2).¹⁷⁰ The inclusion of “Laborer (Not Specified)” skews the numbers. The numbers are also different from the 1890 report because the age range used for the 1900 report slightly differs from the age range used in the 1890 report. However, the chart supports Wells’ claim that her race was not considered for employment in factories or professional fields. Both reports show that most African-Americans worked as agriculturalist or servants.

Chart 2

**Top Occupations for Female Breadwinners 16 Years of Age and Over
who were Classified as African American, Indian and Asian**

<u>RANK</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>
1	Agricultural Laborer
2	Laborers (Not Specified)
3	Laundresses
4	Servant and Waitresses
5	Farmers, Planters and Overseers
6	Barbers and Hairdressers
7	Nurses and Midwives (nurses also included people who took care of children)
8	Tobacco and Cigar Factory Workers
9	Janitors and Sextons

Contrary to the statistics in the aforementioned reports and Wells' statement, during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, a conspicuous black "Better Class" managed to acquire land, modest wealth, and labored in non-agricultural fields. Glenda Gilmore examined the black "Better Class" in New Bern, North Carolina. During the 1890s, "...all eight barbers in New Bern were black, as were three butchers, two carpenters, and two general merchants." Gilmore continued, "Three black lawyers practiced in the city, and eight black leaders organized the Mutual Aid Banking Company the first black private bank in the state..."¹⁷¹ Likewise, Tera Hunter discussed a "small but significant" conspicuous black upper class in Atlanta, Georgia in the early 1900s. They were made up of doctors, lawyers, bankers, ministers, professors, real estate agents, and insurance executives.¹⁷² Also, the middle class in the city included barbers, tailors, nurses, teachers, caterers, skilled artisans and small entrepreneurs.¹⁷³ Furthermore, the number of women domestics in Atlanta decreased by

6 percent and dropped to 84 percent, while the number of seamstress and dressmakers increased.¹⁷⁴ Therefore, the number of skilled female laborers increased.

W.E. B. Du Bois analyzed the black elite in his article on the talented tenth. He noted that over 2,000 African-Americans graduated from college before 1899.¹⁷⁵ He also mentioned how the Atlanta Conference had gathered the occupations for 60 percent of black college graduates, and the majority were teachers and clergymen (chart 3).¹⁷⁶ It is important to note that black professionals were a small component of the population as evident by the fact that just over 2,000 had college degrees. However, this small minority impressively managed to earn prominent and/or professional occupations during the brutal Jim Crow era.

Chart 3

Top Professions for Black College Graduates	
53.40%	Teachers
16.80%	Clergymen
6.30%	Physicians, etc.
5.60%	Students
4.70%	Lawyers
4.00%	In Govt. Service
3.60%	In Business
2.70%	Farmers and Artisans
2.40%	Editors, Secretaries and Clerks
0.5	Miscellaneous

Unfortunately, many intellectuals were unable to find reasonable employment or were criticized by others. A contemporary article mentioned,

“There is a class that does not work often because [they are] poorly prepared to follow their own trade and more often because of poor wages. Why cannot the 10 percent who are leaders, advisors, and instructors, preach the gospel of practicality and encourage the breadwinners to do the essential and necessary thing which will contribute to themselves and the community, thereby becoming producers as well as consumers.”¹⁷⁷

These professionals were criticized for not producing. Furthermore, this article points to the

crisis of the African-American middle-class and the elite. Some found themselves stuck in the degrading southern economy and unable to find employment in the areas for which they received training. Finally, like their laboring class counterparts, the “better class” received unfair compensation for their labor.

Low wages and unfair labor contracts contributed to a lack of land ownership. African-Americans often equated owning land with economic autonomy and full-citizenship. However, only 13 percent of black southerners owned land in 1900.¹⁷⁸ Collectively, African-American landowners held about 13.5 million acres of southern land, while whites owned over 100 million acres of southern land in 1900.¹⁷⁹

Although African-Americans were viewed as dependent laborers, the southern economy, and consequentially the White South, was dependent upon black labor. The *Baltimore Afro-American* reported that the former governor of Georgia, William J. Northern, discussed this southern paradox. “The Negro furnishes, almost exclusively, the farm labor at the South,” explained the Governor. Northern continued, “... their leaving [the south] in a body or gradually would paralyze the agricultural conditions at the South beyond recovery for three generations.”¹⁸⁰ The governor believed that the southern economy was built upon black labor, and if these laborers were to leave the region the economy would fail. Furthermore, some discussed how the southern white middle-class lacked a work ethic, which would cause a deficit of disciplined laborers if African-Americans left the region in significant numbers. An unnamed northern politician stated, “...The South’s difficulty was rather with the white than with the black man...the [White] southerner will not work.” The politician continued, “I was surprised to find how sober and quiet they are...The Southerner, does not want to work. He [white southerners] was not brought up to habits of industry and he will not cultivate

them.”¹⁸¹

During this era, southerners utilized extreme measures, such as unfair labor practices, to maintain the African-American labor force and to keep them indebted and landless. Although blacks made some advancements, as evident in an almost 100 percent increase in landownership during the last decade of the nineteenth century, their economic identity was similar to their circumstances during slavery and Reconstruction.

Turn of the 20th Century Migration

It is important to note that inter-state migration was popular during the pre- Great Migration era. Within the out-migration states, the increase in the black population from 1890 to 1900 was greatest in Florida because of a natural increase as well as migration and immigration to the state. Black movement went beyond the South.

A handful of pioneering African-Americans ignored Booker T. Washington’s call to, “cast down your bucket where you are,” and to remain in the South. A small percentage of black southerners moved further west or to the American North during this era. For instance, George White, who was the ex-United States Congressman from North Carolina, migrated to New Jersey and started a settlement, the town of Whitesboro.¹⁸² Furthermore, Robert Abbot, the editor of the widely consumed newspaper “The Chicago Defender,” was a Georgia born migrant in Chicago, Illinois. Like White and Abbot, southerners trickled out of their region for Abbotts new state of Illinois, White’s new state of New Jersey, as well as to Pennsylvania and New York, which were the Northern states with a significant black migrant population during the turn of the twentieth century.

It is likely that the disappointing economic plight of black southerners during the Jim Crow South motivated many to find new opportunities in the North. However, it is also likely that the political identity that developed during the early the Jim Crow era was a catalyst for out-migration, especially for people such as George White.

Specifically, New York City pulled southern migrants during the pre- Great Migration wave. As was the case with the migrants who would follow, southerners fled Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia and Florida respectively to New York City.¹⁸³ By 1910, the majority of New York City's population was southern born. The diverse group included the black elite and the laboring classes as well as males and females. Many were single and unskilled. During the pre-World War I era African-Americans in New York City typically found menial jobs because industrialist had yet to hire them.¹⁸⁴ As they labored and remained political actors in the North, aspects of their ideologies, economic and political plight and identities remained in the South.

Chapter Three: Imperial Subjects: Jamaican Economic and Political Identity, 1830s-1905

Roughly 600 miles from the coast of Florida, within the Caribbean, lays the beautiful and fertile island of Jamaica.¹⁸⁵ The small island, which is only 4,193 square miles in total, includes a large mountainous area and 646 square miles of ripe flat land.¹⁸⁶ Its' aboriginal name, Xaymaca, is a reference to the abundance of rivers that flow throughout the country.¹⁸⁷ The plentiful streams contribute to the growth of the islands' lush vegetation and crops that are either native to the island or have grown in abundance there after being introduced to the land from another region of the globe.

During the time period of this study, the land was divided into 3 counties and 14 parishes within those counties, and each parish produced a variety of commodities. A brief discussion of the crops that were grown in the native parishes' of Marcus Garvey, Amy Ashwood, James Watson and Claude McKay in 1890 sheds light on the agriculturally diverse landscape of the island (also, the crops in these parishes will be further discussed in another section in this chapter). Garvey, the prominent politician and founder of UNIA, called St. Ann's Parish his home. People referred to the large parish as the "Garden of Jamaica."¹⁸⁸ Its' major crops included rum, sugar pimento, and coffee.¹⁸⁹ McKay, the prominent poet, was born in the same county as Garvey, but in Clarendon Parish. In 1890, Clarendon was experiencing a major decline in crop production because of the decrease in the cultivation of sugar, which had been the major staple crop there.¹⁹⁰ Watson, who became a pioneering political figure after he migrated to New York City, also was born in a parish with sugar estates, St. Catherine. The most important commodities in St. Catherine were, rum, corn, sugar, oranges, cocoas and bananas.¹⁹¹ Finally, Ashwood, Garvey's first wife and co-founder

of the UNIA, called Portland home. It had many towns that became connected with the banana trade. Therefore, the land was ripe and had the capability to grow various crops. Unfortunately, the fertile and beautiful island had an ugly colonial history, which limited the colonist during this tumultuous period in their economic history.

Economic Identity

Sir Henry Blake, a native of Ireland who was appointed by the British Crown to hold the governorship of Jamaica from 1889 to 1897, discussed the economy of the Caribbean island.¹⁹² He exclaimed,

The readiness which Jamaica has set herself to multiply her industries and to retrieve some of her losses in sugar by the expansion of her fruit production affords ample proof of her energy and a guarantee for her future stability, while I have no doubt that the sugar growers will realize to their ultimate profit that depression is the mother of progress.”¹⁹³

Blake’s statement underscores two issues regarding the relationship between Jamaica’s government and the colony’s fiscal prosperity. First, public officials wanted the banana industry to boost the economy, which was sluggish because of the decline in the sugar industry. During the mid and late nineteenth century, the economy struggled as the production and sale of sugar decreased. It had been Jamaica’s most lucrative commodity for centuries. As the colonies’ profits from the sweet substance diminished, the Boston Fruit Company (the predecessor to the United Fruit Company), with the support of the imperial government, introduced large-scale and capitalistic banana cultivation to the island. The new industry grew to surpass sugar, and it became the biggest and most profitable. Unfortunately, the revenue from the sale and distribution of the yellow fruit did not improve the island’s economy. Secondly, the Governor, like many in the Crown’s government, was not significantly troubled by the islands’ hardships. He lacked empathy for the “sugar growers,” which may have been because his personal wealth and the financial stability of Great Britain remained intact.

Overall, during the turn of the twentieth century, the Crown's policies, which favored the empire, tempered the economy and hindered the political and economic status of Jamaican citizens and immigrants in the colonies.

Race and Class

Scholars and writers typically identify three distinctive racial groups in Jamaica during the era, although the social construct of race functioned differently in the colony than it functioned within the United States. The first group was the white English elite. They were a very small minority, who held political power and worked as businessmen or plantation owners. Secondly, the coloured population, who were noted for their brown-complexion and mixed-raced decent, held full civil liberties before emancipation and dominated the professional classes throughout the nineteenth century. Their occupations often included doctor, lawyer, teacher and at times politician. Finally, the black peasants or workers, who were the descendents of the enslaved, held little political power, faced financial hardships and made up the overwhelmingly majority of the spirited population.¹⁹⁴ According to scholars, the coloured population, with some white ancestry and a lighter skin tone, enjoyed certain advantages, not granted to blacks.¹⁹⁵

These classifications indicate that class was often linked to color. The black majority was typically classified as poor, while whites were classified as wealthy. The coloured group was noted as in between on both fronts.

While these generalizations accurately describe many of the islanders, the racial make-up of Jamaica was, and is, nuanced and more complex. For instance, some people with darker skin were professionals, while some with white skin and European heritage lived in poverty.

Furthermore, the different ethnic groups included the Chinese, East Indians, Jews and Syrians, which further complicates the racial structure.¹⁹⁶ Overall, this chapter examines the plight of Asian immigrants and mainly the black majority, who held the least electoral political power, but were political actors as the Crown controlled the economy and political structure. Specifically, this section examines how that the government manipulated the economy and politics, which often had drastic detrimental consequences for the majority of the people.

The Empire, The Economy and The People

The decisions made by the British imperialist government influenced agriculture in the islands, as was the case with Jamaica and sugar. In Sydney Mintz' groundbreaking publication on the addictive substance, *Sweetness and Power*, the scholar discussed that the Crowns' policies manipulated the "availability and price of sugar," allowing the industry in the Caribbean to grow to its zenith in the late eighteenth century.¹⁹⁷ Their policies also aided in its' decline in the region. During the mid-nineteenth century, Britain eliminated the tariffs that it had in place against some non-Caribbean growers. Specifically in 1846, the Government passed the Sugar Duties Act with the understanding that the policy would increase the production of the sweet substance in their newer colonies in the Indian Ocean and the East Indies. The law exemplified their new Free Trade Ideology, "which dictated that unimpeded market forces should determine economic relations."¹⁹⁸ The change led to more competition in the market and a major loss of revenue from the commodity in Jamaica and in other British Caribbean islands.

As wide-scale and systematic banana cultivation developed throughout the region, the empire's policies and the local government also contributed to the industry's remarkable

growth. For instance, the colonial state's policies prioritized large land holding in the Caribbean, which allowed the owner of the UFC to purchase and to lease a substantial amount of land in order to grow the fruit.¹⁹⁹ Also, the local Jamaican government created the Jamaica Agricultural Society to stimulate the economy through agriculture.²⁰⁰

Likewise, the policies of private companies in the United States as well the consumption habits of the American people contributed to the success of the banana industry in Jamaica. Americans were the major consumers of the fruit at times throughout the nineteenth century. Therefore, the colony often experienced a major decline in revenue from the sale of the yellow fruit when Americans purchased less of it from the Caribbean. For instance, from 1891-92, Americans produced an abundance of bananas in their own country and did not need to purchase it from abroad, which "represented a loss to the Colony of L181, 623."²⁰¹ A correspondent published in the *Jamaican Daily Gleaner* on January 18, 1892 exclaimed, "The Fruit Trade is very quiet. We hope that the Boston Fruit Company and Messrs J.F. Kerr & Co will soon commence to buy." It continues, "the poor people can't sell their fruit and how can they supply their wants?"²⁰² So, the Crown and America manipulated the industry as it grew and influenced the lives of many Jamaicans.

As the banana industry expanded during the late nineteenth century, many Jamaicans felt the industry's presence in the colony in general and specifically within their own parish. James Watson was born in the banana-producing parish of St. Catherine. By 1899, the land under cultivation for the production of coffee (5,000 acres) and bananas (3,845 acres) greatly surpassed the amount of land under cultivation for the rest of Jamaica's major commodities that grew in the parish (coconuts, canes, ginger, arrowroot, corn, ground nuts, tobacco, cacao and vegetables).²⁰³

Amy Ashwood lived in an area known for fruit production as well. She explained, “I was born in the eastern tip of Jamaica in the most ancient and popular town of Port Antonio in the parish of Portland...”²⁰⁴ One of the headquarters for the Boston Fruit Company was located in her hometown.²⁰⁵ The company owned a significant amount of land throughout the parish. Furthermore, many of towns in Portland housed people who were connected to the fruit trade in some way. *The Handbook of Jamaica* (HOJ) exclaims,

The fruit trade, which was opened up in Portland in the year 1868, ...has made the people of Portland one of the wealthiest communities in the island. Fruit cultivation is the business of the large proprietor as well as the peasant, and the shipment of the fruit constitutes the great bulk of the trade of the port [Antonio].²⁰⁶

Ashwoods’ parents were middle-class bakers there and possibly provided food for banana cultivators.

Marcus Garvey was familiar with banana cultivation as well, but in a more intimate fashion than his first wife, Amy Ashwood. As an adolescent, he worked with his uncle Joseph Richards (Ba Joe) who held a small farm of 50-acres. Garvey proudly noted, “I helped to keep his books and so at the week end I got a commission of 13/- for selling bananas.”²⁰⁷ In subsequent years, he also lived in port cities, where the banana boats docked and eventually departed to deliver the fruit to international markets.

It is notable that Garvey cultivated the fruit with his uncle because the process contributed to gendered roles for laborers with men handling the majority of the work,²⁰⁸ and less opportunities for women. In *Banana Cultures*, John Soluri briefly described the late nineteenth century cultivation process in Bay Island, Honduras, where many Jamaicans migrated and began to grow fruit and other commodities. The banana cultivation cycle began with workers burning the land in order to clear it from underbrush. Next, the cultivators

planted young plants about 3 to 4 meters apart. As they waited from 10 to 12 months for the right time to harvest their commodity, they carried out weeding. When bunches turned green, the fruit was cut with a machete from the plant so that it gently fell to the ground. The bananas were transported to the shore or to the market for sale. Finally, the agriculturalist cut the stalk to create room for the offshoot to reproduce the process.²⁰⁹

In McKay's poem, *King Banana*, he described the same process for banana growers, but also mentioned an important detail that was not included in Soluri's description. McKay wrote,

De cuttin' done same ole-time way,
We wrap them in a trash,
An pack dem neatly in a dray
So tight that them can't mash.²¹⁰

McKay emphasized the packing of the fruit in Jamaica. Wrapping the fruit "So tight that them can't mash," was important because the United Fruit Company often demanded that laborers transport their product to the shore and refused to pay for any fruit that was damaged en route.²¹¹

Even though men carried out the majority of the banana cultivation process, women took over at the docks.²¹² Although the yellow fruit was not as easy for them to balance as other fruits, they walked the gangplanks of the steamers with bunches gracefully placed upon their head. Their garments were stained from the dripping of banana juice, which was a symbol of their hard labor.²¹³

In fact, the *HOJ* noted that banana cultivation was more of a challenge for women and children than the cultivation of oranges and other fruits. It stated, "The peasants seem to benefit more from the cultivation of oranges than bananas as the carriage of the former [oranges] is not so cumbersome and laborious." It continues, "...boys, girls and women being

able to take head-loads of oranges to shipping places, whilst persons producing bananas to a small extent cannot always bear the expense of cartage...”²¹⁴ Furthermore, some banana cultivators found it difficult to find laborers during this era, which was in part due to the fact that the cultivation process was difficult labor, especially for women and children.

Beyond influencing gender norms, Winston James mentioned that the rapid rise and expansion of the banana industry correlated with major occurrences during the late nineteenth century. Four of the changes are discussed in this section. One change was the loss of land held by the non-elite.²¹⁵ Following emancipation, freedmen and women often migrated from plantations to the mountainous area of the island’s interior. There, and elsewhere, the children and grandchildren of the enslaved cultivated and lived off of the land they legally owned or simply claimed as their own, and they began to identify as a “free black peasantry.”²¹⁶ Many cultivated crops and lived a subsistent lifestyle. McKay discussed the type of crops that the masses grew on their grounds. He explained, “There [in Jamaica] grown in abundance, as if spilled straight out to the Hand of God- bananas, oranges, coco, coffee, pimento, breadfruit, ackee, mangoes, sugar cane...” He continued, “and all the lesser varieties of edibles such as various kinds of beans and peas, okra, cashews, cabbages, sweet potatoes, cassava and arrow-root.”²¹⁷ During the late nineteenth century, however, the government forced “squatters” off the land that they had cultivated and/or lived on as their own. The institution took ownership, and sold most of land in large- plots at a price the poor could not afford. By the mid-1890s, 81 people owned at least 97 percent of the rural land sold by the government.²¹⁸

A second change that occurred along with the expansion of the banana industry was a major migration. A movement to the city took root as peasants moved to find employment opportunities.²¹⁹ The population of Kingston, for instance, increased by 55 percent during the

turn of the century, even though the colonies population only increased by 43 percent.²²⁰

Third, a shift in identity occurred and many subsistent peasants became workers, especially as domestic servants and petty traders.²²¹ According to the *HOJ*, urban and rural workers often engaged in one of two types of labor, which was either a day-worker or task worker. The day-workers often labored as carpenters, painters, and blacksmiths, while the task-workers often worked on projects such as dry-stone walling, shingling, painting, white-washing, mixing-cement, cutting wood, and drilling etc.²²² The final change mentioned here that correlated with the rise of the banana industry related to employment. As people flocked to the cities and searched for work, unemployment increased significantly.²²³

Ironically, the professional class in Jamaica experienced noticeable growth during the same era. For instance, the number of doctors and dentist stood at 87 in 1861, but increased to 182 by 1911.²²⁴ Likewise, the number of lawyers stood at 60 in 1861, but increased to 113 by 1911.²²⁵ There was also a significant increase in clergy members, public servants, teachers and other members of the professional class.²²⁶ Even with the tremendous growth of the professional class, they still made up a very small percentage of the population.

The government in Jamaica, like the Imperial government, supported large-scale and systematic banana cultivation, which influenced life on the island often to the detriment to the majority of islanders. Unfortunately, most Jamaicans had limited power in their government. For instance, the people were often unable to vote for their legislatures who crafted the policies that influenced the islands' economy and subsequently their livelihood.

Political Identity

Many factors influenced the political identity of the majority of Jamaicans, who were often identified as black peasants and workers. Disenfranchisement crippled them politically as it did black Americans. Furthermore, the local politicians, who were often appointed or nominated by the Crown, typically voted in favor of laws that worked in their own self-interest and heavily taxed the people. Even with obstacles in place that eliminated the majority from electoral politics and limited their economic advancements, the people remained politically active and influenced their politicians during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

“Do you know what Crown government means? Some people talked about it as if it was a blessing,” said a black Jamaican politician by the name of Alexander Dixon about the political system of the mid-1900s. He continued, “Crown government does not mean Government by the Queen...we would all like it for we love our Queen.” Dixon concluded and provided his opinion of the system, “But I tell you what it means...that you [Jamaicans] must pay the taxes, and the spending of it must be left to officials, and you are to have no voice in your affairs.”²²⁷ Jamaicans also paid high taxes and had a limited voice in their affairs during the late nineteenth century when the Crown system was replaced with a semi-representative structure (the government system in place when Dixon was elected to office). An investigation of the island’s politics during the semi-representative era indicates that the Crown’s control had devastating consequences for the majority of the population. Specifically, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Crown controlled government in Jamaica often disregarded the interests of the majority of the population and left them without the ballot, but the people remained politically engaged.

It is important to contextualize this discussion of the late nineteenth century governmental structure with more details on the different systems that preceded it. These early and mid-nineteenth century structures included representative and non-representative politics. However, all of the nineteenth century political institutions were characterized by instability and the exclusion of the majority of the black population from direct participation in electoral politics.

In 1838, at the close of slavery and the apprenticeship system, the colony had in place a representative system. Unfortunately, a high poll tax kept most black peasants and others from participating in the elections for officials in the assembly. Women were ineligible to cast a ballot as well. The planter and business elite as well as the coloured population enjoyed political power.

An uprising of black peasants and others, known as the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865, contributed to the complete deterioration of this electoral system. During the revolt, black Jamaicans riotously expressed their grievances with the Crown, especially the empire's unfair regressive tax system that hurt their opportunity for advancement.²²⁸ Furthermore, angry peasants wanted land reform.²²⁹ In all, 18 white people died during the revolt, before the governor, John Eyre, ruthlessly suppressed the melee.²³⁰

Following the incident, the Planter elite feared the power of the black majority within the representative political system. Cheryl M. Cassidy asserts that a group of angered free-blacks led the rebellion, while the brown population did not participate. However, Cassidy argues that in the aftermath of the event, newspaper articles overwhelmingly conflated the black population, who were disfranchised, with the "brown population", who were politically active.²³¹ The identification of all non-whites as "black" in printed discourse about the

rebellion contributed to the white elite's hysteria, and their fear of the political power given to "blacks".²³² So, even though the majority of the black population were disenfranchised while the brown population participated in politics, the Planters willingly gave-up their rights to vote and called for a new form of government to eliminate "black" political participation.²³³

In 1866, Crown Colony Government was implemented. Within this structure, the crown appointed governor nominated the legislature and held veto powers. There were no elected members. Therefore, the coloureds and a small number of black men, who had previously participated in electoral politics, were disenfranchised along with the entire population. In essence, the British government held complete control.

As noted in Dixon's statement, many believed that Crown Colony government brought stability and progress to the island. However, Dixon also criticized the system. He noted that the people had no voice in their governmental affairs.

This structure remained in place until the "Florence Case" was one event, which led the islanders to demand less imperial power.²³⁴ In 1881, the governor in Jamaica, Anthony Musgrave, became suspicious of a ship headed for Venezuela and detained it. Subsequently, The boat's owner sued the Governor for unlawful detainment and was awarded damages. Governor Musgrave planned to utilize the colonies' revenue to pay the fee. However, the people believed that the Governor acted in the interest of the Crown during the Florence debacle, which would make the empire responsible for paying restitution. Ultimately, he forced the legislative council to approve of a payment to the owner of the Florence from Jamaica's revenue. This decision was one of the final straws. Outrage ensued. Members of the council resigned, and Jamaicans called for the return of the electoral system. Subsequently, a semi-representative government was established under a new constitution in

1884, and the system remained in place during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

During the transition to the electoral system, the colonists embraced the ideal of ‘Jamaica for Jamaicans.’²³⁵ The use of the slogan has implications regarding their plight and their identity. First, it indicates that a Jamaican identity existed that was divergent from that of a British subject. Secondly, the saying reflects the locals desire for less imperial influence. Even Governor Norman, who held that position from 1884 to 88, observed the unfair advantage given to Englishmen instead of Jamaicans in the colony. The Governor conceded, “Half of our troubles in Jamaica have arisen from unjust appointments of Englishmen to the prejudice of perfectly qualified Jamaicans.”²³⁶ Unfairly, Englishmen often discriminated against the islanders, which increased their desire for autonomy. Therefore, Jamaicans wanted change and less imperial influence in their affairs. Finally, while some historians claim the peasant majority embraced and championed the slogan, other historians’ claim that it was the cry of the coloureds.²³⁷ This underscores that Jamaicans were not a homogenous group, and that their political ideals differed according to gender, race, and class. Their political ideals also differed amongst groups of the same gender, race and class.

The Semi-Representative Government System

Although many of the islanders wanted autonomy, the semi-representative government enabled the empire to maintain control even with the presence of elected members. Under the new structure, the Crown appointed the governor who also held the title of president of the legislative council. The council also held additional non-elected members, who were approved by the Crown or the governor. These members included four ex-officio

legislatures and two nominated legislatures. Furthermore, the governor was able to nominate three additional officials under extenuating circumstances, which would increase the number of non-elected members to 10 total members (additional nominations never occurred between 1884 and 1895).²³⁸ In contrast, there were nine elected representatives. Each of the elected members held financial veto power. Financial veto power meant that if six of the nine elected members agreed to veto legislation involving Jamaica's finances, collectively they were able to do so. Therefore, they held some political power.²³⁹ Overall, the members that were appointed or nominated by the Crown (including those in emergency appointments) outnumbered the elected representatives by one person (See Chart 4). Also, the British Government had to approve of major legislation passed by the legislative council, which further diminished the power of the elected representatives and even the appointed or nominated representatives who actually lived in the colony. Therefore, the crown held considerable control on the island.

Chart 4

The Number of Appointed/Nominated Legislative Council Members (including potential members) in Comparison to the Number of Elected Legislative Council Members in 1884	
7	Number of Council Members Nominated or Appointed by The British Government
3	Number of Potential Council Members Under Extenuating Circumstances
10	Total Number of Nominated/ Appointed Members (including potential members)
9	Total Number of Elected Council Members

Of course, this structure did not appease the citizens who wanted Jamaica for Jamaicans. In fact, newspaper articles and histories document the colonist dissatisfaction with their new system. They rightfully compared it to the crown colony structure and argued that no significant change had occurred.

Well after the establishment of the semi-representative system, the colonist continued to call for reform and wanted an increased representation in their government. They requested one representative from each of the fourteen parishes, instead of nine elected members. In 1895, the council grew to include the fourteen members as requested by the people.²⁴⁰ However, the new legislative council included the governor, five ex-officio members, and six-nominated members. The governor held the right to nominate four additional members under extenuating circumstances.²⁴¹ Therefore, the council potentially consisted of sixteen non-elected members (including those in emergency appointments) in contrast to the fourteen parish representatives (See Chart 5). Some argued that the change in membership restored crown colony government.

Chart 5

The Number of Appointed/Nominated Legislative Council Members (including potential members) in Comparison to the Number of Elected Legislative Council Members in 1895

12	Number of Council Members Nominated or Appointed by The British Government
4	Number of Potential Council Members Under Extenuating Circumstances
16	Total Number of Nominated/ Appointed Members (including potential members)
14	Total Number of Elected Council Members

Furthermore, an examination of the electorate during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries indicates that the majority of all Jamaicans were disenfranchised and not able to vote for their representatives. In May of 1884, residents who believe they qualified for the right to vote under the guidelines in the new constitution began to register. Within months, the courts reviewed, revised and subsequently finalized their official registry. According to the *HOJ*, “there was one elector for every 62 persons.”²⁴² It is unclear if that ratio represented the number of people who qualified to register or those who actually did so. In September, the official electorate was able to vote during the general election for legislative council

members. Five out of nine open seats were contested.²⁴³ When the final vote was tallied only 3,731 people participated out of 5,560 men who were eligible to vote in the parishes with contested seats.²⁴⁴ Therefore, a very small number of Jamaicans registered to vote, and an even smaller number participated in the election in part because the laws limited the size of the electorate.

Also, an examination of the racial make-up of the electorate for an 1886 election underscores the extent of disenfranchisement by race.²⁴⁵ Overall, 7, 443 people successfully registered to vote. Out of a total population of 444, 186 black Jamaicans (listed as Africans in the census), only 3,766 of them registered to vote. Therefore, less than 1 percent (.85) of the black population qualified to participate in the election. McKay's father was proud to be one of the few black people who owned enough land to vote in an election during the late nineteenth century.²⁴⁶ Also, out of a total population of 109, 946 mixed raced Jamaicans, only 2,578 of them registered to vote. Therefore, approximately 2.3 percent of the coloured population qualified to participate in the election. Furthermore, out of a total population of 14, 432 white Jamaicans, only 1,001 of them registered to vote. Therefore, approximately 6.9 percent of the white population qualified to participate in the election. Finally, out of a total population of 11,016 Indians (from India) on the island, only 98 of them registered to vote. Therefore, less than 1 percent (.89) of Indians qualified to participate in the election. It is important to note that the percentages are skewed because the number given for the total population of each race includes females and children when only adult men could vote. The numbers also were taken from the 1881 census results and were not the exact number for the population in 1886. However, these numbers suggest that the voter registration laws, as

intended, kept the majority of the population from holding significant electoral political power no matter their race.²⁴⁷

It is important to note that during the 1886 election the Indian population in Jamaica, who will be discussed later in this chapter, were registered at a slightly higher percentage than black Jamaicans (less than 1 percent of both groups cast a ballot). From the mid- nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, Indians were taken to the colony, often against their will, as indentured laborers to cultivate cane. As they labored, they experienced horrific treatment. Considering their circumstances, their participation in elections is notable for many reasons. First, it exemplifies that a small percentage of the immigrants or their offspring were politically engaged. Also, because of the income and tax requirements to register, their qualification for registration further supports the claim that some Indian indentured immigrants or their offspring owned businesses and reached a certain level of financial success. Finally, by the late 1800s, some legislators encouraged the permanent relocation to the island for the Asian immigrants. The Indian electorate is an indicator that beyond the status of a permanent resident, the immigrants were able to vote because of one of the following reasons; their status as a naturalized citizens in Jamaica, their status as British subjects because of their birth in colonial India, or they were born to an Indian immigrant and held birth right privileges in order to cast a ballot. Although women could not vote, if a female Asian immigrant married a citizen whether native-born or naturalized, she acquired all the rights and privileges given to a naturalized citizen following her union.²⁴⁸ Overall, it is interesting that this population of voters were as woven into the fabric of Jamaica's mainstream electoral politics as many non-immigrant groups whose ancestors over many

generations were born in the colony. However, the political participation by all groups was extremely limited.

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the legislative council uncharacteristically passed voting laws to increase the electorate, but the majority of the population remained disenfranchised. The Legislative Council of 1886 moved to enlarge the size of the voting population. They attempted a careful balancing act of having more voters while not providing the majority with too much political power. Specifically, the Franchise Enlargement Law of 1886 conferred the right to vote on any male who (1) reached 21 years of age (2) “is under no legal incapacity” (3) was born a British subject or naturalized and (4) met one of the following (a) occupied or rent a home and paid taxes of ten shillings or more (b) has a property and paid one pound and ten shillings or more in parish tax, or (c) earns a salary of L50 or more in the parish where he wants to register. Certain criminals and people who “received any relief from public or parochial funds” were ineligible.²⁴⁹ Under this “relaxation” of the qualifications for franchise, the voting population swelled to one out of every 25 people, instead of one out of every 62 people, as was the case in 1884.²⁵⁰

The registration under the new guidelines began in 1887.²⁵¹ Those who registered to vote qualified to participate in the general election of 1888-89 during which only one seat was contested.²⁵² Out of the entire population of 639,491 people, approximately 22,660 of them casted a ballot.²⁵³

According to H.A. Will, the council members who were elected after 1889 were predominately white and seemed to care more about their personal interest than the interests of the Jamaican masses.²⁵⁴ For instance, the Legislative Council of 1893 passed laws that reinstated literacy tests and rid of facilities that helped the illiterate to cast their ballot.²⁵⁵ At

least one of the laws was overturned, but the consequences of the new guidelines were drastic. The number of registered voters had peaked at its' highest of 42, 266 people in 1893-94. After the passage of the aforementioned literacy laws, the number of registered voters dropped to 38, 376 people in 1894-95 and continued to decline.²⁵⁶ During the general election in 1896, the list of registered voters included just 34, 760 names, and only 11,544 participate in the election, which may have been because only one seat was contested.²⁵⁷ In addition to the passage of the draconian franchise laws, the struggling economy also contributed to a decline in registered voters to 16, 256 and 8,607 in 1900-1901 and 1905-06 respectively.²⁵⁸ Therefore, during this era the majority of the population had very little power in electoral politics (see chart 6).

Chart 6

<u>Total Number of Registered Voters By Year</u>	
Year	# Of Registered Voters
1893-94	42,266
1894-95	38,376
1896	34,760
1900-01	16,256
1905-06	8,607

Furthermore, the backgrounds of the elected representatives often differed from the backgrounds of the majority of the population, which may have contributed to competing interests between the politicians and the people they represented. Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, qualifications to hold public office were tied to property ownership, considerable income or substantial payment in taxes to the government. Specifically, the eligibility requirements in 1884 under the new constitution stipulated, “a clear annual income of between L150 and L300 depending on its source, or the payment of

direct taxes or export taxes of L10 or more.”²⁵⁹ The average male laborer in Kingston in 1890 earned 1s. 6d. to 2s per day.²⁶⁰ Therefore, the landed elite, or the professionals, typically held the right to run for and to hold political office. For instance, the general election in September of 1884 ushered into office nine men with property or “landed interest.”²⁶¹ John Palache a “Jewish solicitor with agricultural interest,” was the only coloured member. Emmanuel Levy, William Malabre and Michael Solomon held business and agricultural interest, while Robert Craig and Charles Farquharson identified as businessmen. In addition, J. M. Farquharson accumulated great wealth and labored as an attorney. Furthermore, George Henderson owned a coffee plantation. Finally, Edward Barrett, who was once a clergyman, was known as a radical.²⁶² Jamaicans relied on these men, with more wealth than the average person, to advocate for their needs.

More research is needed to understand if the race and class of representatives influenced their political actions and ideology, and if more black members or members of lesser means would have aided in advancements for the black majority on the island (unfortunately, people who could not meet the monetary requirements for office were ineligible). However, it is known that throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some coloured and black men won seats on the legislative council. Previous to 1899, there were no black members, although a few coloured legislators held office. As previously mentioned, John Palache was the only non-white member elected during the inaugural election for general council in 1884. More non-white men were elected in subsequent elections. For instance, the general election of 1894 ushered into to office an increase in coloured members.²⁶³ Also, a significant change occurred in 1899 when Alexander Dixon earned recognition as the first black man elected to the Jamaican general assembly. In

contrast to the aforementioned men, the majority of office holders were white. Therefore, few representatives personally understood the experiences of black constituents or the Jamaicans who were overwhelmingly poor.

Shortly after he took office in 1899, Dixon discussed important political issues with a black audience, and his speech suggested that more black politicians might have made a difference in the island political affairs. At a courthouse in Black River, St. Elizabeth Parish on March 1st, roughly 200 people (only about 1/5 were registered voters) attentively listened to Dixon's speech, which mostly covered his views on Jamaica's tax policy.²⁶⁴ A taxation committee had submitted a report on how to increase revenue for the colony, and Dixon indicated his position on the committee's findings. He explained that he favored the laws that were beneficial to the majority of the population, and that he opposed those laws that were favorable to the elite. For instance, he was against a holding tax on logwood and also against a pimento tax. He exclaimed that the tax on logwood and pimento "would fall on you [peasant majority] and not the man who is shipping it."²⁶⁵ However, he approved of a land tax, a bicycle tax accrued by those who utilized the roads and an income tax that would gather revenue from the Governor and others who made an income above L300, on.²⁶⁶ In regards to the land tax, he hoped to burden the wealthy large landholders and did not want to cripple the laborer. "I say tax the big man when he won't use his land for cultivation," stated Dixon. He continued, "Jamaica is an agricultural country, and no man has the right to keep the land idle. The land is the life of the people."²⁶⁷ The British government and its' nominated or appointed members in the Legislative Council held the power to tax either the rich or the poor. Many of the wealthy legislatures wanted to burden the poor, but during his speech Dixon advocated for policies that would benefit the majority of the islanders.

The politician's emphasis on "taxes" also underscores its' importance as a political issue to the black majority. According to Winston James, the council and Crown passed laws that mandated from 70 to 80 percent of the governments' revenue to come from duties imposed on the items consumed by the masses. In addition, the housing tax created the heaviest burden on the poorest. In contrast, employed Jamaicans did not pay income tax.²⁶⁸ Overall, the poor were deeply burdened by the tax system, which was in place during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

During his political events, Dixon also discussed the importance of good representation in government. He explained,

I assure my friend that times are changing and people are awakening, and now that they have thought for themselves and elected me as their member, I will endeavor to advance their interest and protect them.²⁶⁹

Unfortunately, many of the legislatures in Jamaica neglected to advance and to protect the interest of the people.

The low voter turnout, as exemplified in the election of 1896, caused some politicians to identify the black electorate as politically apathetic. Governor Blake (1888-1898) argued that black Jamaicans lacked political aspiration and an interest in public affairs. He noted the rate of participation in elections and the lack of involvement at some political meetings to support his claim.²⁷⁰ Although the racial make-up of the electorate in 1896 is unclear, it is possible that coloureds and whites refrained from voting in that election as they had in 1886. If so, the poor voter turnout was a national issue, not an issue regarding black apathy. Furthermore, the political acumen of the black electorate may have contributed to dismal participation in elections. As previously discussed, the structure of Jamaica's government gave the crown the power over the power of the elected representatives, who often acted in

their own self-interest. Therefore, a politically savvy electorate could have refrained from participating in electoral politics because they understood that the Crown truly held control no matter how they voted.

Overall, the Crown created an institution that disenfranchised its' people and created economic hardship. This situation contributed to the extreme poverty on the island (as discussed in chapter one), and the people being heavily taxed by their government (one of the major causes of the Morant Bay Rebellion). However, they continued to fight for change.

Political Actors

The black majority and the coloured professionals were politically engaged. Their methods were similar to the methods used by the African American southerners. Overall, they used writings, emigration and other forms of political discourse to fight for their causes.

During the transition to a semi-representative government, the black majority and brown- complexion coloured minority influenced electoral politics when they called for improvements to the public education system. Electoral candidates, who seemingly adhered to the needs of the peasant majority, campaigned on this issue during the 1884' election, and they also advocated for a better elementary system once they were in office.²⁷¹ Early into their term, the legislative council commissioned a report on the methods necessary to create a better school system. In 1886, the findings from the report were submitted to the legislature, but the politicians did not advance any laws based on the committee's findings.

The legislative council acted five years later, in 1892, when they passed two significant education measures.²⁷² The education law of 1892 mandated the establishment of a secondary school, which opened in 1896. The second law was a rather sweeping measure that

created a Central Board, under the auspices of the Head of the Education Department, to provide advice on educational issues. The law also included other initiatives that were meant to promote a well-educated population.²⁷³ For instance, it abandoned the practice of charging mandatory fees to attend schools, and it offered grant money for elementary schools that did not charge. Tax monies paid for the grants.²⁷⁴ In 1892, the government disbursed L30, 736 in grant and aid to 877 schools. In 1893, the total climbed to L34, 724 given by the government in grant and aid to 912 schools. A major increase occurred in 1894 and 1895 with L45, 721 given in grant and aid toward 957 schools and L52, 395 given in grant and aid toward 924 schools respectively, which is what the people wanted.²⁷⁵

Funding hovered around the L51,000 until there was a slight decrease in spending on education in 1900 because of the passage of new education laws based on the findings of a second education commission. The decline continued in the early 1900s (with a decline in rights). However, overall, from 1884-1894, expenditures on elementary education increased from L25, 863 to L68, 540.²⁷⁶

During this time period, from 1879 to 1919, the Indian population also mobilized and advocated for better and segregated schools. Specifically, they wanted to be educated without the presence of black children. Prejudice against black Jamaicans led them to want this system.²⁷⁷ During the early twentieth century, the government briefly conceded. However, it was not long before the ruling body changed course and called for the Indian population to integrate with Jamaican society, and eliminated the separate schooling for black people and the Indian population.²⁷⁸

According to H. A. Will, the increase in spending for public education was evidence of the influence of the masses in electoral politics. Will also suggested that schoolteachers and

clergymen in rural areas held political clout, and that they also influenced the politicians to improve the education system. Overall, the parish representatives acted in the interest of their constituents when they worked to improve the education system in the colony.

In addition to utilizing public pressure to influence politicians and the politics of Jamaica, influential Jamaicans often voiced their political concerns in writings that were released to the public. Claude McKay, who liked to represent the peasant majority, used island dialect in his poetry to express the grievances of his people. The *Jamaica Times* published McKay's *Christmas in de Air* in December of 1911 in which he criticized the government. McKay wrote,

While we're sufferin' in pain
Dem can talk 'bout surplus gain;
O me God! De sad do'n-care
An' dere's Hard Times in the de air.²⁷⁹

His dissatisfaction with the plight of Jamaicans was also evident in his two volumes of poetry published in 1912, *Songs of Jamaica* and *Constab Ballads*. Furthermore, the hard times and the frustration of the black majority were documented and argued in a column "The Peoples, Parliament," which was published in the *Jamaica Times* in 1911 and 1912.²⁸⁰ Also, Dr. J. R. Love, a Bahamian immigrant in Jamaica, regularly criticized the government (Dr. Love's support for Alexander Dixon aided in Dixon's win) in a newspaper that he edited titled, the *Jamaican Advocate*.²⁸¹ Finally, Marcus Garvey, like McKay and Love, published influential political writings that were critical of the system.

Also, people discussed their concerns with their political leaders during public debates, which was the setting where Marcus Garvey and Amy Ashwood first met when Ashwood spoke on a Tuesday evening in July of 1914 at a literary debate in Kingston. She defended the topic of "Morality does not increase with the march of civilization."²⁸² Garvey

was extremely impressed by her skills. At the conclusion of the evening, he approached the dynamic speaker and complemented her debate performance. According to Ashwood, Garvey professed after the debate, “At last, I have found my star of destiny! I have found [my] Josephine.”²⁸³ Their relationship blossomed, and they worked to build-up the fledgling UNIA. Historian Tony Martin categorized the UNIA in its early years as a literary and debating society.²⁸⁴

Civil disobedience also exposed the colonist’ discontent with the political structure. Tension existed between the black peasant majority and governmental institutions, such as the police department, and the tension raged throughout the turn of the twentieth century. Specifically, the colonists’ expressed and exposed their anger and frustrations during the soldier’s riot on June 8th, 1894. The riot began after a popular soldier in the West Indian Regiment was arrested for a minor offense. The police took the serviceman into custody. Subsequently, he appeared before a magistrate who set a punishment for the crime. As people heard of the events, many of the culprits’ fellow soldiers left their camps for Kingston, where the trial was held. In the city, others joined the group of soldiers as they headed to the Fletcher’s Land Police Station and subsequently the Sutton Street Police Station. After they arrived at the stations, Chaos ensued. Officers and servicemen attacked each other. Men and women threw stones and bricks at the police station and at the officers. Some of the “rioters” were arrested and went to trial. Subsequently, out of the 50 or 60 male “rioters” (mainly servicemen) thirteen were arrested and arraigned for trial.²⁸⁵ At least twelve female faced charges. They stood trial for riot and assault at each police station.²⁸⁶

An examination of the captivating trial of the conspirators in soldiers’ riot reveals that “loose” women were blamed for leading the civil disobedience. Woman and other idlers

joined the brigade in Kingston. It was alleged during the trial, that female rebellious leaders took control and gave orders to the servicemen and other participants during the chaos. The men supposedly followed the ladies' orders.

On October 18, 1894, the *Kingston Gleaner* published, "the Soldiers' Riot. Close of the Case. The Verdict." The article provides an overview of the entire trial with intimate details on the role of women as they led the civil disobedience. According to the article, witnesses testified that Caroline Green, Ada Miller, Maria Forsyth and Melvina Phillips instigated events by calling out orders to others. At least four witnesses made accusations against Green. "[Boaz]Bryan said she[Green] had bricks in her frock, told soldiers to rush, and they rushed.,"²⁸⁷ as stated in the *Kingston Gleaner*. Bryan damningly claimed that he watched her "at all times" throughout the ordeal and, "knew her."²⁸⁸ Chas (possible Charles) Bryan noted that Green also supplied stones and used them to damage the Fletcher's Land Police Station. Witnesses corroborated Chas' claim. Furthermore, many of the same people who testified against Green accused Ada Miller of crimes. "She [Miller] had a stick, said she would give the police h--- and threw stones that night," stated the *Kingston Gleaner* in regards to testimony from Charles Bryan.²⁸⁹ An unnamed source claimed that Miller, "was the legal advisor to the soldiers."²⁹⁰ In addition, some claimed that Forsyth was the soldiers' ringleader. Finally, the article mentioned the role of Melvina Phillips. She also gave orders to the soldiers. Phillips, it was contended, "pointed out a police constable and told the soldiers to lick him."²⁹¹

Other women carried sticks, stones and bricks in their frocks. They threw the objects at police stations and at police officers as they displayed their angst with this governmental institution. Some smashed lamps and other objects as well. The *HOJ* named one officer as

being severely hurt and “several members were more or less hurt.”²⁹² Damage occurred to the police stations. In addition to the aforementioned women, Frances Bean, Caroline Bennett, Jane Campbell, Isidora Forbes, Agnes Gordon, Diana MacBean, and Rintinella Walker allegedly took parts in these types of activities on the night in question.²⁹³

Green, Miller, Forsythe and Phillips denied the accusations against them. Green testified that she was sick with spasms on the day in question. After she heard of the riot she, “went out and came back.”²⁹⁴ Two testified on Forsythe’s behalf and denied her use of the aforementioned expression, but did little to deny other accusations against her.²⁹⁵ Ada Miller had a better defense and an alibi. Miller’s aunt stated that she was with her the evening of the riots. Phillips also had an alibi, who testified that she remained at home in her yard on the night in question.

At the close of the trial, Phillips and Miller were found not guilty.²⁹⁶ However, ten women were convicted, including Green and Forsythe, while only three men were found guilty out of the 13 who stood trial.²⁹⁷ The ladies screamed as the judgment was read and Forsythe was too emotional to remain in the courtroom.

Further research is needed to gather the women’s version of the events. Although two women claimed that they did not participate in the events, it is unclear if women in fact led the men or if the soldiers used them as scapegoats for starting the event. It is clear that the rioters, including many ladies, were disgusted and frustrated with their government institutions, including the police.

Women also engaged in less controversial activities to remain politically engaged. Similar to their female counterpart in the United States, Jamaican’s participated in women’s groups, such as the “benevolent, trust fund and institutions” that aided the needy each year.

The *HOJ* for 1901 listed twenty-two organizations under this category. Out of the twenty-two organizations, two were private institutions specifically for women and/or children; the Widows and Orphans of the Disestablished Church and The Lady Musgrave Women's Self-Help Society (only women on its committee).²⁹⁸ The former disbursed pensions to the widows and children of clergymen who had passed away.²⁹⁹ The latter had three objectives. First, it "enabled industrious women of all classes to help themselves and others. Secondly, the organization taught needlework in order to improve upon the lessons on sewing provided in some schools. Finally, they strove to temporarily hire "distressed needlewomen."³⁰⁰ The emphasis on sewing is significant because many Jamaican immigrants in New York City earned wages from sewing for wealthy families.

Further research is needed on these organizations to better understand the amount of participation, if any, by black and coloured women as well as the class of the participants. However, it is notable that the Women's Self-Help Society aimed to help "women of all classes." Overall, they worked to improve their communities.

Also, Dixon's speech implies that married women were involved in and interested in electoral politics. At the close of his speech Dixon stated, "I have also to thank the females for the part they took in the election, for I am sure by their advice, their husbands voted correctly."³⁰¹ Dixon indicates that political engagement may have differed for married and single women as he noted that married women influenced their husband instead of noting how women influenced men overall. However, maybe both groups saw their vote as a collective.

This period also had groups that eventually evolved into trade unions as well as nationalist organizations, whose members often were political actors. Many of the figures in "radical" politics were outspoken about their beliefs regarding mainstream politics and the

government system in the colony. They were often anti-colonial and therefore wanted and worked toward change in the colonial political system.

Political protest included emigration. Jamaicans fled to Cuba, Panama, the United States and other countries, against the desire of governmental officials, because of their desire for better jobs and higher wages and because of a dislike of their politicians. For instance, Marcus Garvey stated, “I started to take an interest in the politics of my country and then I saw the injustice done to my race because it was black.” The influential leader continued, “...and then I became dissatisfied on that account. I went travelling to South and Central America and parts of the West Indies to find if I was so elsewhere.”³⁰² He left Jamaica after he became interested in politics and disgusted with the treatment of his people by governmental officials. The vast outmigration of men, women and children during this era is intimately discussed in the next chapter, and their emigration was a form of political protest.

Jamaicans remained engaged and even influenced the Legislative Council without the ballot. They utilized their writings, speeches and actions (including emigration) to display their frustrations with their plight, their government, and the British Government. Unfortunately, it is obvious that those two institutions placated their own self-interest above the interest of the people who they governed.

“Coolies” and Jamaican Immigration

The governments’ disinterest in significantly improving the plight of Jamaicans is partially evident in the institutions’ scheme to “supply” migrant labor from China and India. They “recruited” these immigrants, as a source of cheap labor. Therefore, the Legislative

Council and the British Government did not prioritize increasing the wages and improving the working conditions of the majority of people on the island.

At the “end” of the slave era in British Guiana, Jamaica’s neighbor in South America, the government forced ex-slaves into an “apprenticeship” to “ease” the planters’ transition from utilizing enslaved laborers to the hiring of “free” black men, women and children as laborers.³⁰³ The apprentices were directed to work as they had during slavery by cultivating cane and running the sugar mills. However, the fate of “ex-bondsmen” at the expiration of the apprenticeship system remained unknown. Planters, who were anxious about this uncertainty, privately organized and secured the immigration of “coolies,” a racialized term for Asian indentured laborers who were meant to replace the black laborers in the cane fields and in the sugar mills.³⁰⁴ On May 6, 1838, as the apprenticeships were coming to an end, the “Whitby” and the “Hesperus,” docked in British Guiana.³⁰⁵ These vessels carried 396 migrant laborers from India who had survived the long and difficult 4 months journey (12 people died during the voyage).³⁰⁶ It was the beginning of a new, yet familiar, labor experiment in the region. Likewise, the *HOJ* derogatorily noted that Jamaica’s, “ first batch of coolies arrived in 1845.”³⁰⁷ This was 11 years following the abolishment of slavery after August 1st, 1834, and 7 years after the termination of the Jamaican apprentice-system in 1838. The immigrants in Jamaica were also meant to take the place of black laborers as the colony ended its’ apprenticeship system. This type of Asian immigration into Jamaica, which continued throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was a government run enterprise and underscored the government’s lack of an interest in improving the plight of the majority of their people.

Moon-Ho Jung's important and award-winning work, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation*, briefly contextualized the nineteenth century use of the term "coolies" within Imperial European discourse and explained the subsequent spreading of the construct beyond the European empires. Portuguese merchants and sailors originally popularized the term "coolie" in the early sixteenth century before other Europeans adopted it (the origin of the term is unknown).³⁰⁸ However, within Imperial European discourse, a transcontinental orientation of the term appeared in the eighteenth century and identified laborers who were hired in China and often "shipped abroad."³⁰⁹ When the Caribbean trade picked-up in the early nineteenth century, the label began to reference Asian indentured servants in that tropical region.³¹⁰ Finally, during the late nineteenth century, "coolieism" was known as the systematic migration and exploitation of Asian- born laborers who cultivated cane on the sugar plantations, where slaves had formerly labored.³¹¹

In Jamaica, the Crown initiated the scheme during the mid-nineteenth century and regulated it throughout the turn of the twentieth century. In 1845, James Bruce Elgin of London began his two-year term as the appointed Governor of the island. He had hoped to distinguish his tenure by improving social conditions and by further developing the colonies' industries.³¹² As he ran the colony, the imperial government hoped to strengthen Jamaica's declining economy. So, the crown decided to provide the island with laborers, some willingly and others forcefully, from India, which was under British rule to help to improve the economy with an influx of cheap labor.³¹³ Missionaries, humanitarian societies and others objected to the immigration and likened it to the re-opening of the slave trade. In 1845, however, 261 Indian indentured migrants arrived in Jamaica and worked to increase agricultural production.³¹⁴ Ironically, the schemes initial failure to increase agricultural

production coupled with the migrants' death and despair influenced the government in Jamaica to delay further immigration of laborers from India. The trade eventually resumed, but the movements were constantly disrupted throughout the nineteenth century. At one point, the colonial leaders in India even halted the emigration because of the deplorable conditions of those who had already traveled to the island.³¹⁵ Overall, the government manipulated the enterprise, which underscores connectedness of transnationalism and the state.

The government in Jamaica also attempted to regulate the sex ratio of the immigrants to the detriment of women. Recruiters in India appealed to both genders to sign-up for contract labor in Jamaica and wanted an even sex ratio. But, significantly fewer women than men agreed to the terms of service. However, some of the vessels used for the trade to the Caribbean were required to carry at least a 25 percent female population in the early years of the trade and at least a 40 percent female population in 1870.³¹⁶ The contractors in India often used questionable methods to fill this quota. The historian Erickson noted,

Those women who emigrated were generally single, broken creatures, who had been picked up by fair means or foul along the highways and in the cities and bazaars of India, and had been sent to the recruiting stations to fill the quotas authorized by the colonial office.³¹⁷

When the *Erne* embarked in Jamaica in 1891, it carried, "324 men, 131 women, [at least] 27 boys, 29 girls and 24 infants."³¹⁸ Even though less women immigrated, the sex ration for Asian migrant residents in the Caribbean equalized because the high mortality rate for the male population.

It is well documented that male and female immigrants were forced and manipulated onto the ships that departed for the Caribbean, and even to the United States. In fact, a mass antifoigner protest erupted in China, where the trade was eventually banned, because of the outrage over the overt kidnapping of their people to supply laborers overseas.³¹⁹ The British

Imperial government responded with a declaration to regulate the trade in order to avoid manipulation and forced migration. In late 1859, British and Chinese officials in Canton settled upon an agreement to have an open, regulated, and non-violent system.³²⁰ However, in January 1860, a U.S. ship, the *Messenger*, in Whampoa China that was bound for Cuba was caught with 28 passengers held against their will.³²¹ Even with the new regulated system, forced migrations continued.

Conditions were bad for the male and female indentured laborers once they arrived in Jamaica. The Indians who immigrated during the 1840s bore the brunt of the ill-conceived plan. Many became too sick to work and subsequently lived as beggars with no place for solitude. By 1904, over 29,077 East Indian immigrants had hoped to improve their economic identity on the tropical island, and 10, 253 returned to their native land, while others remained agricultural workers in Jamaica and many either “died or disappeared.”³²²

It is interesting to note that even with the horrendous conditions for the immigrants, the Immigration Protection and Regulation Law of 1879 was amended in 1891 to provide Jamaicans with “rights” already held by these foreign contract laborers in their colony. The *HOJ* mentioned,

Under these laws [passed in 1891] the Immigration Department has been made available for the protection of native labourers who enter into contracts for work on plantations, and extend to them the same rights and privileges as are enjoyed by indentured immigrants [coolies].³²³

The law established the same system of contract labor for blacks that was already in place for the newcomers. It is unclear if Jamaicans were already under contract when the law passed or if the government wanted Jamaicans to enter into such agreements with the planters. If Jamaicans were already contracted under less favorable terms, than foreigners in Jamaica held more rights than natives in this case. In 1891, indentured workers were provided wages in the

amount of L15 in a lump sum during the first year of their five-year contract or wages in the amount of L17 over a five-year period (See Chart 7).³²⁴

Chart 7	
Wage Chart for Indentured Servants in 1891	
(a) L15 10/ in cash on allotment,	
or	
(b) L2 in cash on allotment	
L1 10/ at the end of one year	
L3 10/ at the end of two years	
L3 10/ at the end of three years	
L3 10/ at the end of four years	
L3 10/ at the end of five years	
	L17 10/

Black Jamaicans became eligible to enter into contracts to labor for these wages, which were fairly low.

It is known that Asian indentured servants held contracts at times when there was an economic crisis on the island. Therefore, they were guaranteed positions and wages, no matter how meager, during a time when Jamaicans who did not have a contract looked for employment.³²⁵ Also, the government passed laws to create revenue to cover the medical cost of the Asians laborers who fell ill. To a certain extent, they held rights than natives. Also, contract laborers were guaranteed labor, unlike many Jamaicans.

Furthermore, the Asian immigrants' sub-par working conditions were blamed for reducing the earnings of Jamaicans. A 1919 article in the *Journal of Negro History*, "Labor Conditions in Jamaica prior to 1917" by Ethelred Brown, expressed that the migrant labor force contributed to lower wages and horrendous working conditions for everyone on the island. Brown called the immigrants "unfair competitors" and noted how they accepted lower

rates for their labor, which contributed to Jamaicans earning about 36 cents (eighteen pence) a day in 1917, which was approximately the wage given to slaves after emancipation.³²⁶ Brown referred to the black workers as “economic slaves” and the Asians as “modern slaves.” Nominal and real wages over three generations from 1838 to 1910, according to Winston James who agreed with Brown on this point, remained stagnant.³²⁷ However, James noted their wages in 1838 between “7 pence, and 1 shilling and 2 pence for a day’s labor,” and the wage range in 1910 at “6 pence to 1 shilling and 6 pence.”³²⁸ Sydney Mintz also engaged immigration and the economy and exclaimed that the importation of Asian laborers caused blacks in the Caribbean to remain tied to sugar production for their livelihood and discouraged blacks from using “collective bargaining and strikes” to improve their circumstances after slavery.³²⁹

In contrast to Brown, Mintz and James, other scholars have argued that the presence of an East Indian population in Jamaica did not affect wages on the island. Verene A. Shepherd explored the relationship between the black laboring class and the immigrant population during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. She found that the significantly low number of Indian transplants in Jamaica made it unlikely that they could have influenced wages. She concluded that the introduction of the indentured servants did not depress wages for all blacks, “by creating a reservoir of cheap surplus labour.”³³⁰ She also argued that Jamaicans and East Indians co-existed amicably, and noted the lack of a volatile situation between the different groups to support her claim.³³¹

In contrast to the plight of most Asian immigrants, it is important to note that Jamaica became to the land of opportunity for some immigrants and their descendents. For instance, on Paul Island in Westmoreland, which was lush with marshlands, an industrious group of

Asians began to cultivate rice.³³² They grew substantial quantities that were sold to merchants and within the community in which they lived. Also, immigrants and their descendents prospered in business and other areas. The large Chinese population was known to control the commercial life. Since the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, Jamaicans often referred to a store as a “Chinee-Shop.”³³³ Furthermore, the Legislative Council passed laws in order to improve their plight. Some scholars argued that Jamaica provided a more hospitable economic climate for the immigrants than their native lands of India and China.

Overall, many Asians, including families, signed contracts to labor in the colony. Some of the permanent residents and their descendants managed to open businesses and climb Jamaica’s economic and social ladder. But, the majority of them were treated poorly as the government wanted the laborers to replace blacks instead of working to improve the conditions of workers in the colony.

Their immigration underscores the imperial governments lack of concern for its’ subjects, whether native born or immigrant. The government could have passed laws that improved the plight of Jamaican laborers, instead of attempting to supply more laborers. However, they just continued to tax the people and kept them without the ballot. The detrimental policies of the government, which did not allow the people to have a voice, could only increase their desire for emigration.

Asian Immigration and the Construction of Color

The 1871 census of Jamaica, like those in previous and subsequent years, included a categorization of the population by color. In 1871, everyone was classified as black, coloured or white. Asians were absorbed as white or coloured. The *HOJ* estimated that in the 1871,

“[Indian] coolies”, people from China (Chinese Immigrants were not referred to as Coolies in the HOJ), and people who did not list their color, “[were] apportioned by means of one-third to the whites and two-thirds to the color population...”³³⁴ In the following census, more categories were created. The census results provided on April 4th, 1881 included separate classifications for Chinese and Indians. It documented the population of the island at 580, 000 people which included 444, 186 blacks, 109,946, coloureds, 14,432 whites, 11,016 “coolies” and 99 Chinese.³³⁵ The census in Jamaica, like in America, exemplifies how color differs according to time and place because the Indian and Chinese population in Jamaica were considered white during the 1871 census, but were listed as Chinese and Indian in subsequent census records.

Conclusion

Great Migration studies often examine black southerners’ discontent with disenfranchisement and their dissatisfaction with the American political system. In contrast, recent scholarship that engages early twentieth century Jamaican emigration to America often lacks a thorough discussion of electoral political participation on the island. However, political engagement in electoral politics and the relationship between Jamaicans and their government are relevant to their emigration and their identity.

Furthermore, Jamaicans were a part of an empire that enabled them to develop a transnational identity. They were Jamaican, but they were also British. The dual identity along with being a part of an empire most likely contributed to less of an attachment with their “native land,” which would make emigration a very viable option when there were problems at “home.”

Chapter Four: On to Harlem: A Transnational Perspective, 1890s-1930s

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, migration was a familiar aspect of black life in the British Caribbean and the United States. Jamaicans and African-Americans endured difficult circumstances, such as poverty and political disenfranchisement, and they intentionally sought better opportunities in a new city, town, state/parish or country. Although the push factors varied for the migrants and institutions tempered their movements, people of African descent were constantly in motion in search of an environment where they could improve their plight, especially their economic identity.

A comparison of Jamaican and African-American migrations during this era indicate that the streams within both regions transpired on different scales, started for different reasons, and flowed in different directions. Although various movements occurred within both places, this chapter is primarily concerned with the four flows that contributed to New York City housing the most ethnically and culturally diverse black population in the nation. These movements include; Afro-Caribbean immigration to Panama during the building of the Panama Canal, Jamaican immigration to America during the early twentieth century, the first Great Migration of black southerners to the North, and the relocation of black New Yorkers on to Harlem, a major receiving community for the colonists and the southerners during this era. Specifically, this chapter investigates the motivations for participating in these streams and the factors such as immigration laws, and citizenship status, which manipulated these streams to New York City. It places the “On to Harlem” movement within an international context. It also indicates that economic factors were not the major cause for the movement at

the local level, even though economic factors were the major cause for the movement at the national and international level.

Caribbean Immigration

The end of legal slavery in the British Caribbean led to a major increase in voluntary black migrations. Eventually, the descendents of the enslaved, like Claude McKay, James Watson, Amy Ashwood and Marcus Garvey, travelled globally. This section examines the governmental policies that tempered Jamaican emigration during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as the colonists' motivations for leaving. The cause of the movement and the factors that motivated Jamaican workers and peasants to leave their homeland are emphasized because their reasons for leaving were based upon real and familiar situations as opposed to ideas or ideals about the reality in their chosen destination (their ideals are important, but not thoroughly examined here). Economic issues were the catalyst for their movements, even though government institutions attempted to slow the out-migration of the working-class. However, the Afro-Caribbean immigrants were also motivated by a lack of political autonomy, the draconian colonial structure and possibly their citizenship status.

Suzanne Model, a sociologist, explained the waves of voluntary West Indian migration to America after emancipation in the colonies (This differs from the waves of Caribbean immigration described by George Gmelch, that were explored in Chapter One). According to the scholar, the first cycle began in 1834 and continued into the twentieth century (the Jamaican government enforced indentured servitude for the "ex-slaves" until 1838, which most historians cite as the year of full emancipation in Jamaica).³³⁶ Although some moved

within their colony or within the Caribbean to islands with a demand for laborers, other colonists travelled internationally to the United States, where they also sought employment. Two significant events led this wave to pick up steam during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The opening of the banana trade created regular shipping routes between the two regions. Also, America's engagement in the building of the Panama Canal created a waterway between the two regions and the Caribbean.³³⁷ During the early twentieth century, hundreds of thousands of black colonists had easier access to travel to the land of opportunity.

The dismal economy was the cause of the migration. James Grossman distinguished between the "causes" of migration on a macro-historical level and the travelers' motivations to move (similar to push factors).³³⁸ In a similar vein, Grossman's colleague, James N. Gregory, distinguished between the context for a migration and the reasons why people choose to participate.³³⁹ It seems that the simplest explanation of the cause and context of wide scale Jamaica emigration to America (and to other territories and countries) during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is that it happened because of the negative impact from the decline in sugar production upon the economy and labor markets. Chapter three discusses the flux in the economy as sugar production declined and banana cultivation became the major industry in the colony as well as how this transition in the economy had a devastating impact on wages and employment. Many in the colony did not want to live in that environment.

Specifically, black and coloured professionals departed for America because of the lack of suitable employment opportunities. Professionals, such as teachers, often earned meager wages, which meant that financial security eluded them in Jamaica.³⁴⁰ An article that appeared in the *Jamaican Gleaner* in 1920 suggested that the colonialists supported the out-

migration of the middle-class to America so that they could earn higher wages in a new country. It stated, “[the Jamaican middle-class] were never able in the past to afford a decent livelihood to all the young men and women of our educated classes...”³⁴¹ The article referred to the exodus of the middle-class as a “godsend,” and discussed the success of Jamaican nationals who already lived in America.³⁴² Overall, colonial rule and the downturn in the economy created a lack of opportunity for the middle-class, and many moved to the United States in hopes of a better future and a better livelihood.

In October of 1922, James Watson wrote a letter to a judge and described how he associated his move to the U.S. with a desire for a professional career. Watson explained,

I served as a bookkeeper and as a chief clerk, respectively, at the Myrtle Bank and Constant Springs Hotels (two of the largest hotels in that island [Jamaica]) and resigned only because of my desire to travel and acquire a profession. Shortly after my arrival in this city [New York] in June 1905, I obtained employment.³⁴³

Watson’s Petition for Naturalization, noted that he emigrated from Kingston, Jamaica “on or about” June 1, 1905. He boarded the Sarnia and arrived at the Port of New York in New York City on June 7 of that year.³⁴⁴ He immediately sought employment.

Clerk was the most common occupation for Jamaican males who also boarded the Sarnia when Watson did. The manifest of Alien Passengers listed seven males who were racially identified as Jamaican. Six of them noted clerk as their “calling.” The seventh passenger, Edward C. Earle, was a doctor. Therefore, Watson travelled to America with other professionals.³⁴⁵

They left the colony just before changes to the Civil Service hiring process created less social mobility for workers and peasants who wanted to climb into the middle-class. Previous to Watson’s migration and for a few years after it, the colonialists offered

professional positions within the Civil Service to any Jamaican who out-performed their cohort on the entrance examination. Therefore, the ambitious and intelligent black Jamaicans had an opportunity to earn a solid career within the Civil Service, which presented the opportunity to earn higher wages and become a professional. In 1911, the government nixed the examination process in preference for an appointment system.³⁴⁶ The change outraged the black majority,³⁴⁷ and it heightened their desire for emigration.

Education was also a pull factor in the movement to America from Jamaica in particular and from the Caribbean in general. A Jamaica native, W. A. Domingo, left the colony to study medicine, and he stated, “the largest number come from the British West Indies and are attracted to America mainly by economic reason.” He continued, “...though considerable numbers of the younger generation come for the purposes of education.”³⁴⁸ Some travelled for both economic reasons and education purposes. For instance, within months after his arrival, Watson took advantage of the opportunity to attend school. As he held menial jobs in New York City, he attended New York Evening High and Harlem Evening High Schools. He completed five years of classes and course work and received his diploma. Watson’s ambition, work ethic and intelligence, led him to the College of the City of New York, where he completed special courses. He also pursued a law degree at New York Law School and eventually earned his LL.B, in 1913. In April of the following year, Watson was duly admitted to the New York Bar and eventually practiced law.³⁴⁹ Education was the means to his professional career.

Claude McKay decided to further his education abroad too. In August of 1912, he boarded a United Fruit Company passenger-cargo ship in Port Antonio, Jamaica and began his journey to the United States.³⁵⁰ An article in the *Jamaican Times* on August 10th of that

year discussed his departure. It explained, “He [McKay] is off to a training center in America, to study agriculture and he is not likely to be back in three years.”³⁵¹ McKay enrolled in Booker T. Washington’s Tuskegee Institute and planned to earn a degree in agronomy,³⁵² the study of the soil and plant production. However, the institution was a bad fit for the budding poet. Within months, he transferred to Kansas State College. It too was a bad fit. According to the literary artist, “...After a few Years of study at the Kansas State College... I quit college.”³⁵³

He was more interested in expressing himself through his writing.³⁵⁴ Frank Harris, the editor of Pearson’s Magazine and a close friend of the literary artist, was not sure that education pulled his friend to a new country in the first place. Harris questioned McKay’s “underlying urge” to venture to America.³⁵⁵ McKay admitted to Harris about his emigration from his homeland, “back in my mind there had really been the dominant desire for a broader audience [for poetry]. Jamaica was too small for high achievement.”³⁵⁶ McKay went on to explain, “If I would not graduate as a Bachelor of Arts or science, I would graduate a poet.”³⁵⁷ Although the path for Watson, the lawyer, differed from that of the literary artist, both of them attended an institution for a higher education after their arrival in the United States, and they eventually became successful professionals. They were pulled by the opportunity for a better education and a professional career.

Non-economic factors, including dissatisfaction with their citizenship status, also motivated people to leave their colony. Winston James noted the characteristics that disposed Afro-Caribbeans to radical politics in the United States. A broad interpretation of James’ argument on this topic suggests that a desire for a change in their national status might have influenced British subjects, especially Afro-Caribbeans who fought for the Crown during

World War I, to migrate. During the Great War, black soldiers from the British Caribbean enlisted in the British West Indies regiments. In fact, Marcus Garvey supported soldiers in this regiment as they left for war. However, the servicemen experienced degrading treatment and racial discrimination when they interacted with non-blacks in the armed services.³⁵⁸ White servicemen questioned the status of their black comrades as British subjects and denied blacks the benefits that were given to other servicemen. For instance, in 1918, “British” soldiers were given a 50 percent increase in their pay. However, the British West Indian regiment did not receive the increase in their wages because they were considered “natives.”³⁵⁹ Furthermore, white and “Near- White” Caribbeans enlisted and were only given assignments as commanders over the black troops from the islands.³⁶⁰ Following the war, Afro-Caribbean servicemen migrated to America in great numbers.³⁶¹ One participant in this wave, the Ex-Corporal Samuel A. Haynes, served in the British West Indies regiment from British Honduras and became a prominent Garveyite in America.³⁶² Years after he returned from serving in the war, Haynes stated, “The highest patriotism, the highest loyalty, is to humanity.”³⁶³ He did not consider the highest patriotism to the British crown (or his new country, America). Furthermore, Haynes eventually fought for Caribbean independence, including when he responded to Winston Churchill’s iron-curtain speech. Haynes stated,

The sooner the British empire is dissolved, and its enslaved and exploited possessions be freed from its tyranny and thralldom to endure as free and independent nations and communities, the sooner we can be assured of peace and security throughout the world.³⁶⁴

He no longer desired the status as a British subject for himself or his fellow colonists. Therefore, it is likely that disheartened soldiers, like Haynes, participated in the mass movement to America partly because of their desire to change their national identity and citizenship status. However, more research is needed on this subject.

According to Marcus Garvey, he originally emigrated from his native country because of dissatisfaction with his political identity, and he desired to better understand the political identity of blacks throughout the world. Although the ambitious and charismatic leader rarely wrote about his personal life, his article, “The Negroes Greatest Enemy,” included a self-assessment and his view on his emigration and his political plight as a black man in Jamaica.³⁶⁵ Garvey claimed, “I started to take an interest in the Politics of my country, and then I saw the injustice done to my race because it was black.”³⁶⁶ He immediately continued, “I went traveling to South and Central America and parts of the West Indies to find out if it was so elsewhere, and I found the same situation.”³⁶⁷

His journey to Central and South America preceded his voyage to Europe, where he decided that he needed to lead his race. In London, Garvey asked himself, “ ‘where is the black man’s Government?’ ‘Where is his King and his Kingdom?’ ... ‘I will help to make them.’ ”³⁶⁸ Shortly after he came to that realization, he sailed back to his country and founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities (Imperial) League, which later just became the UNIA. As the organization grew, Booker T. Washington invited him to America and promised to help with his nascent movement. Although Washington died in 1915, Garvey sailed to the United States on March 23, 1916.³⁶⁹ In this new land, he further developed his organization. Like Garvey, “a significant number” of Afro-Caribbean emigrants who went to America, “came with political and organizational experience.”³⁷⁰ They had political aspirations. It is likely that they wanted to improve their political status and/or their political influence in a new country.

There were numerous reasons for the out-migration from the colony during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The weak Jamaican economy and blacks’ troubled

economic plight was the major reason for the movement. America, specifically, pulled professionals who wanted an education and a better career in comparison to the movements of the working- class to other countries during the same time period. However, it is also likely that Jamaicans moved to the U. S. for a greater sense of political autonomy and because of their disappointment in the colonial government structure in the island.

Gatekeepers

American Corporations

Significant preparation was necessary to migrate to the United States. Those who wanted to move abroad had to complete the formal requirements that were mandated by the government and needed to take care of their personal responsibilities. Unfortunately, the governments in Jamaica and America as well as American private companies implemented policies that made the preparation and migration process difficult.

By 1890, steamers owned by private corporations regularly travelled between America and Jamaica. The islands' location was ideal for their shipping needs because it laid on a "direct track between Europe, the United States and the Isthmus of Panama."³⁷¹ Furthermore, businessmen and politicians considered Kingston the most important commercial town in the entire British Caribbean.³⁷² These circumstances contributed to an increase in the scale of travel by steamers between the colony and the United States. By 1901, the Atlas Steamship Company sailed with passengers and other goods from New York City to Kingston every Saturday, while ships sailed from Kingston to New York "fortnightly."³⁷³ During the same year, the United Fruit Company, which carried their products, mail, and passengers, boasted of the fastest and finest ships in the waters. From March 1st to October 1st, their busy season,

they dedicated two ships, “The Beverly” and “The Belvernon” out of their fleet of twenty, for passenger transportation from Jamaica to New York City.³⁷⁴

These private companies influenced the cost of legal travel to America for those who choose this popular mode of transportation. After the colonists acquired a passport in their native land and a visa from the United States Consulate in Jamaica, they also had to pay the price of passage between the two places. The UFC’s banana boats were expensive. During the turn of the century, when the average Jamaican earned very little, the UFC charged from approximately \$35 to \$45 for passengers for there “good” accommodations on ships primarily for the fruit trade from ports in Jamaica to ports in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and New Port News.³⁷⁵ There were other options for the voyage. However, if they wanted to legally travel to America, they often had to pay the high price for accommodations on a corporate owned vessel.

It is important to note that black immigrants sometimes hid on the boats to migrate. Also, some of the ships’ workmen exited their mode of transportation once they arrived in a new city and never re-boarded to return to the islands. Therefore, many Jamaicans illegally entered the United States.

Beyond the expensive fare for passage, segregation greeted Jamaicans when they boarded their vessel for departure. Companies often required separate accommodations for white and black passengers. The latter were provided lodging on the ships’ deck. The Reverend Herbert Bury described the scene at the docks where black Jamaicans boarded the United Fruit Company steamers for trips to Central and South America as “deck passengers.” Bury explained,

The most extraordinary collection of personal property...friends on shore handed over the side, and those on board received and stowed away,

pathetic little bundles...imposing tin boxes and portmanteaux [large trunk], pillows, beds, chairs, cooking vessels...everything was now neatly arranged and in order, for their two days and nights at sea had to be spent just where they had put down their belongings when coming on board.³⁷⁶

In 1900, the journey from Kingston to New York City took four to five days. For the duration of the voyage, black passengers faced ill treatment and whatever weather conditions the ship met, but discrimination and an expensive fare were not the only hurdles that they had to overcome before travelling to America.

American Immigration Laws

In 1925, the United States Congress implemented the Johnson Reed Act, which greatly slowed the movement of people to this country. The new policy strengthened the immigration restriction Laws that Congress passed in 1917 and 1921, and it placed quotas on the number of foreigners who could enter from the Caribbean and every other region of the globe. Although the quota for the colonists was substantial, legal immigration subsided after the implementation of the new legislation.

Specifically, under the new law an “extremely generous” quota was determined for the maximum number of “British subjects”, including Caribbean colonists, who could migrate to the United States.³⁷⁷ The policy intentionally favored the British and citizens from countries in Northeast Europe. It allowed 34,007 slots for people from the British Empire.³⁷⁸ Emigrants from the Empire rarely met or exceeded the number. On a regular basis, they underused their quota by thousands of travelers.³⁷⁹ Therefore, the colonists should have been able to travel at the same rate as they had previous to 1925. In 1924, 12,243 black immigrants gained entry into this country, which was greater than their number in any previous year in the twentieth

century.³⁸⁰ However, in 1925, after the law went into effect, the movement stalled and only 791 black people came to America.³⁸¹

Roger Daniels speculated that the actions taken by the American consulate, which was directed by Wilber J. Carr, could have contributed to the significant decrease in black immigration after the passage of the law. The Johnson-Reed Act mandated a visa from Carr's agency as a requirement to enter the country. However, Carr and many of his employees were nativists who held the power to reject an application from any immigrant who they deemed undesirable.³⁸² According to Daniels, in many cases, the agency may have acted as "gatekeepers." Therefore, they could have prevented black people from obtaining a visa and subsequently stopped them from moving to and living in America.³⁸³

A notice that appeared in the *Jamaican Gazette* supports Rogers' claim to an extent. The article explained,

[I]n view of the stringency of the regulations in regard to persons more especially women and children travelling to the Republic [USA] and in order to save disappointment and expense...persons desiring to proceed to the United States of America should before obtaining passports first consult him [United States Consul] as to the probability of their granting a visa to proceed thither and such persons are advised to consult the Consul accordingly.³⁸⁴

In order to receive a visa from the American consulate in Jamaica, prospective immigrants needed the agency's approval regarding the necessity of their trip.³⁸⁵ The above notice implies that many endured challenges as they went through the process, just as Daniels suggested. But, the above excerpt was published in 1918. Therefore, the consulate implemented "stringent regulations" and blocked Jamaicans from obtaining the necessary documentation for American immigration before the passage of the aforementioned law. However, it is possible that the regulations that were put into place after the implementation of the Johnson-

Reed Act made the process of obtaining a visa more difficult than it had been previously, which slowed migration to snail's pace.

Furthermore, the above excerpt from the *Jamaican Gazette* highlights the gendered nature of the regulations or the gender bias of the regulators. If consulates acted as “gatekeepers,” and excluded blacks, it seems that the consulates turned away black women and children at a higher rate than men. This may have contributed to the statistics that show that males from the Caribbean outnumbered their female counterparts in America and New York City, a city where black women outnumber Black men in general. However, after the passage of the Johnson-Reed Act, migration stalled for both sexes.

While the American government passed laws that manipulated immigration and if Jamaicans could travel to this country, African-Americans used their political influence and lobbied for or against these laws. During World War I, Senator James Reed of Missouri, the same politician associated with the Johnson-Reed Act, sponsored and subsequently passed a bill in the senate, which was intended to exclude, “all members of the Black or African Race” from American immigration.³⁸⁶ The black community swiftly organized to kill the bill. Archibald Grimke and other members of the black elite met with members of the House of Representatives and explained their opposition.³⁸⁷ W.E. B. Du Bois and his political adversary Booker T. Washington agreed on this issue, and mobilized the black community. Organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P), protested. They were victorious. The bill died in the House. It was defeated on a 252 to 72 vote (after the bill failed, Congress continue to introduce legislation aimed at the exclusion of people of African descent).³⁸⁸ Therefore, the political influence of African-

Americans, native or naturalized, and black immigrants in this country directly contributed to how governmental policies influenced black immigrants.

Overall, in 1905, over 3,000 black people entered the United States from the Caribbean. Anywhere from 3,000 to 5,000 arrived per year from 1905 until 1920 (see chart 8).³⁸⁹

Chart 8

Total Number of Black Immigrants admitted into the United States

Year	Total # of Black Immigrants	Total # of Black Caribbean Immigrants
1899	411	388
1900	714	703
1901	594	520
1902	832	805
1903	2,174	1,134
1904	2,386	1,762
1905	3,598	3,034
1906	3,786	3,018
1907	5,233	4,561
1908	4,626	3,563
1909	4,307	3,340
1910	4,966	3,769
1911	6,719	4,973
1912	6,759	4,885
1913	6,634	4,891

Specifically, the immigration of Caribbean colonists increased substantially from 411 in 1899 to 12,243 per year by 1924.³⁹⁰ Ultimately, over 140,000 black immigrants travelled from the Caribbean and entered the United States between 1899 and 1937.³⁹¹

It is important to note that the majority of Afro-Caribbean immigrants settled in South

Florida at the turn of the twentieth century. The state received an influx of cigar makers from Cuba and Bahamian immigrants. However, by the height of Caribbean immigration in the early twentieth century, 1913-1924, the majority of black immigrants settled in New York City.³⁹²

Jamaican Emigration Laws

The government in Jamaica also passed laws that slowed emigration during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Scholars with an interest in Afro-Caribbean immigration to the United States have paid less attention to these influential colonial policies, than they have to the Johnson Reed Act (although scholars blame the colonial structure for creating an environment ripe for Jamaican emigration). However, the Jamaican government, like the American government and private corporations, had a stake in the movement. The Legislative Council and the British government wanted the descendants of the enslaved, especially the laboring-class, to remain in the colony and to continue to labor. From the 1890's throughout the early twentieth century, they implemented policies, which increased the cost of emigration to the detriment of their constituents, especially the poor black population.

A major piece of emigration legislation passed in the colony during the 1890s, which made it more difficult to travel. Within the Emigrants Labourers Protection Law of 1893 (Law 35 of 1893), the Governor was able to deem any foreign country a "proclaimed place," and the law required citizens and residents to purchase a permit in order to travel there in order to regulate the process.³⁹³ When it went into effect, many Caribbean colonists were moving throughout Central and South America. They went to Panama to work in the Canal Zone, where there was a need for laborers. Overtime, a significant number of Jamaican nationals

also moved to Cuba, where they cultivated sugar (the major producer of sugar in the region). The Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico pulled migrants for sugar cultivation as well, but in less numbers than Cuba. Furthermore, they sailed to Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras and elsewhere, where they worked on the UFC's banana plantations.³⁹⁴ Jamaicans also labored in Mexico and Nicaragua. The Jamaican migrants received higher wages in the Canal Zone and most of these countries in central and South America, than in their native country. They also sent their hard earned wages to family members back in their native country and purchased land too. During this time, the Governor labeled Panama, Cuba and other places in Central America that attracted workers a proclaimed place.³⁹⁵ Therefore, the passage of the law put into place another obstacle, the purchase of a permit, for Jamaicans who hoped to migrate to countries where they had economic incentives to do so.

The law also required a bond for a departure permit for those colonists who wanted to work in a proclaim place without signing a labor contract. The policy stipulated, "permit will be granted only on his entering into a bond to Her Majesty, with two good and sufficient sureties, being householders in the island, in the sum of Ten pounds..."³⁹⁶ Therefore, it forced prospective emigrants,

to produce two persons with property worth L10 who agreed to repay any money which the Government of Jamaica, British Consular, or any other authorities in a proclaimed place spent to assist him or her.³⁹⁷

People, who were unable to meet the guidelines of this draconian policy, were unable to legally travel. Therefore, the law created financial and time-consuming obstacles for the potential emigrants.

It is important to note that certain people were exempt from having to pay for a permit under the law. The exemption was granted to anyone who met any of the following criteria;

they wanted to travel to conduct business in the receiving country, or a person who “already made such proclaimed place his temporary home.”³⁹⁸ Unfortunately, a significant number of black peasants and workers did not meet these requirements. This also suggests that the government did not want the poor to leave, but made exceptions for others such as businessmen.

There were more obstacles to obtaining the permit, than its cost. The colonists were required to gain approval from the “Inspector,” which was the term given to the chief officer of the constabulary, for the document.³⁹⁹ The previous chapter explained that tensions existed between many islanders and the constabulary. Even Claude McKay, who briefly worked as a constabulary, disliked the agency. In his biographical article “A Negro Poet,” McKay explained, “Trade proved a failure. I gave it up, joined the Jamaican Constabulary 1910-11, despised it and left.”⁴⁰⁰ That was the only sentence in the entire article regarding his time in the position that he loathed. Unfortunately, Jamaicans had to gain approval from the constabulary to get their permit to labor abroad.

The law was also a setback for those who wanted to recruit laborers. Labor recruiters were forced to follow a harsh set of guidelines if they wanted to secure workers in Jamaica. The governor mandated that potential recruiters had to pay the Treasury a sum of five pounds in order to be placed on an official registry list of recruitment agents. The law even stipulated punishment for those who did not follow the guidelines and illegally gathered workers.⁴⁰¹

Ironically, Jamaican legislators claimed that they created the law to gather financial aid for emigrants who fell upon hard times while they lived abroad. The money accrued from the fees were supposed to be deposited into the “Distressed Emigrants” fund. The law included the below excerpt,

All monies coming to the hand of the Treasurer...shall be carried by him to the credit of a fund to be called "The Distressed Emigrants" fund; and the said fund shall be applied in meeting such expense...incurred in repatriating, or otherwise relieving, emigrants from this island who may become destitute in a Proclaimed Place.⁴⁰²

It was intended to help with return passage. However, the law actually protected the government from finding other means to cover the cost associated with a migrant laborers' homecoming.

As the flow to Panama and other countries continued in spite of the 1893 law, the colonial government continued to regulate out-migration. An amendment to the aforementioned law passed in 1894 (Law 16 of 1894) and gave more teeth to the sections regarding contract laborers and the recruiters' financial responsibility to them. First, the new law required the Resident Magistrate or Inspector to be present during the signing of any contract between the agent and laborer. Also, the magistrate had to certify the document for the additional fee of one pound. The recruiter paid the fee. Furthermore, legislators mandated that the recruitment agent had to assure a subsistent lifestyle for their workmen while they labored abroad. Finally, the recruiter was required to provide the laborers' return passage to Jamaica at the completion of their term of service. Law 16 of 1894 solely placed on the recruiter the burden to financially provide for their laborers.⁴⁰³

The Emigrants Protection Law, 1902, (Law 23 of 1902) further strengthened the harsh guidelines for the process of recruiting workers, but it was written in a way to suggest that it actually helped the colonists (Winston James examines the importance of this law). Similar to previous versions of this law, legislators insisted that the new policy provided a safety net for Jamaicans who wanted to labor abroad. The opening paragraph explained that it provided, "a fund for the purpose of relieving persons emigrating...in the event of such persons falling into

distress...”⁴⁰⁴ Section six declared that all of the money given as payment for a permit contributed to the “Distress Emigrant” fund and aided those when they attempted to repatriate or became distressed in a foreign country.⁴⁰⁵ However, Winston James explained that the laws were a “departure tax” meant to stop laborers from leaving the colony and to financially punish those who chose to do so.⁴⁰⁶

Ironically, the colonial government eventually disbursed “Distressed Emigrants” funds for reasons other than supporting destitute Jamaicans who lived abroad. Law 18 of 1903 gave the governor the right to use the money, that he deemed no longer necessary for its intended purpose, in order to alleviate problems associated with Jamaican immigration. Specifically, the law allowed funds to offset the deportation cost for distressed immigrants in Jamaica, who the government believed were, “desirable to remove.”⁴⁰⁷ Furthermore, Jamaica’s Governor Olivier discussed how the money became a source of funding for the Department of Immigration and paid the amounting medical cost associated with the hospitalization of Indians.⁴⁰⁸ Ironically, the payments made by black Jamaicans for permits to work abroad actually aided Indian or Chinese immigrant laborers in Jamaica. This contributed to the site at harbors where ships that arrived with Asian immigrant laborers were docked next to vessels departing with black migrants who hoped to find better economic opportunities in Central or South America.⁴⁰⁹

In 1924, the year the American government passed the Johnson-Reed Act, Jamaica’s government revisited their out-migration laws and clarified their policies at that time. They passed a law to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the emigration of persons to certain foreign countries (Law 41 of 1924). It confirmed that a Jamaican native or person who was “domiciled” in the island needed a permit, even if it was a “free permit” that did not

require a deposit to the Treasury for travelling to a proclaimed place.⁴¹⁰ Also, the process to acquire a permit remained. Therefore, many Jamaicans continued to pay a fee (which was one pound and five shillings at that time) for the documentation that was needed for travel. Finally, a recruitment agent, who also continued to pay a fee to register, could pay the fee on behalf of the recruited laborer.⁴¹¹ Therefore, obstacles remained in place for those who wanted to labor abroad.

It is important to note that by 1924, it was clear that the majority of immigrants who had travelled to Panama, and other countries in Central and South America did not plan to return to their native colony. They became settlers.⁴¹² Therefore, fees for repatriation were not needed.

Ultimately, the law did not relieve the plight of Jamaican emigrants or help with their repatriation. Multiple sources indicate that many fell upon hard times while they lived in Central and South America. Panama, especially, was known for its' harsh conditions for Canal workers, and Jamaicans made up the majority of Afro-Caribbeans in the area. The laborers in Panama endured Jim Crow segregation, horrible work accidents, malaria, yellow fever, and a significant death rate.⁴¹³ Irma Watkins-Owens discussed the conditions in which the migrants lived while they were in Panama as well as their experiences with repatriation. Watkins-Owens explained,

In the end, the opportunity for economic advancement that many islanders had expected of Canal construction left scores little better off financially than they had been before. Unable even to pay fare home, some took the the next available job, hoping to better their luck, to save more of meager wages elsewhere, or simply to move geographically closer to loved ones.⁴¹⁴

Her explanation indicates that the Distressed Emigrants fund was not used as intended or many travelled illegally and could not request funds for repatriation. Furthermore, the

migration experience of Amy Ashwood supports Watkins-Owens' claim. Amy Ashwood was destitute when she left the Canal Zone for America, where she hoped for reconciliation with Marcus Garvey. In Panama, Ashwood had legal troubles. According to her letters to Garvey, she also needed 20 teeth replaced. In late September or early October of 1918, a destitute Ashwood boarded the SS G.W. Goethals for New York (Garvey's organization later bought the ship).⁴¹⁵

As the colonial government in Jamaica passed the aforementioned policies, recruitment agents secured laborers in other colonies in the British Caribbean. Agents from the Isthmian Canal Commission (ICC) recruited over 23,000 workers from the Caribbean islands for work on the Canal.⁴¹⁶ All of the laborers, who signed contracts with the ICC, received free passage. However, only forty-seven of the recruited laborers were from Jamaica.⁴¹⁷ Therefore, the laws contributed to financial hardships for the labor migrants.

However, the lack of agents on the island did not stall the movement to the Canal Zone. Although the colony had tough emigration laws and few recruiters, it supplied the largest number of Caribbean immigrants who worked on the Canal and the rest of the Americas.⁴¹⁸ From 1881 to 1915, over 240,000 laborers left Jamaica and Barbados for Panama.⁴¹⁹ It is likely that more would have migrated if the laws had not passed. However, the sheer number of emigrants who left for Central and South America, as well as in the United States, indicates that the harsh emigrations laws did not break the tide of blacks who wanted to move for better opportunities in a new land.

The aforementioned emigration laws directly tempered legal migration to Panama and other countries in Central and South America (as noted by other historians), but the policies' direct affect on American immigration is not clear. Neither the original Emigration

Protection Law that passed in 1892 nor the 1924 version of it included the list of “proclaimed Places.” Therefore, it is not obvious if any of the countries, which lay north of Jamaica, were listed. However, the Jamaicans who worked in Panama during the building of the Canal often immigrated to America after their stint there or used their “Panama money” to pay the transportation cost of their loved ones who chased the American dream. Therefore, the legislation indirectly limited, without stopping, the movement to America by slowing the tide to Panama.

Furthermore, in contrast to the Jamaican governments’ approval of the middle-class immigration to the United States, the colonial government wanted to limit out-migration of the laboring class to the country. A *London Times* article that also ran in the *Jamaican Daily Gleaner* in July of 1920 underscores the concern with the laboring class’ immigration. It hints at why the government wanted to slow the stream and why America may have been a proclaimed place. The article states,

A matter, which deserves the attention of British Government is the serious and rapidly growing exodus of the negro laborers from the West Indies to America and other countries where they either have been promise or expected higher wages and better conditions. This exodus will soon lead to an unprecedented labor crisis on our West Indian Colonies. From one small island alone 500 negroes have gone to America, 150 to Cuba and another batch of 150 will soon be leaving. The planters lot in the West Indies is not exactly a happy one.⁴²⁰

They wanted Jamaica’s laboring class to remain in the Caribbean colonies. Overall, the people faced many obstacles and many gatekeepers as they tried to improve their plight, but the government institutions and private companies never completely curbed the movements.

Migration Similarities

It is important to note that the stream to America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in some ways mirrored the relocation of the colonists to Central and South America. More men, than women, participated in both. Also, single participants outnumbered family groups. However, the migration of Jamaicans to America differed from their movement to Central and South America because its' participants disproportionately were highly skilled, literate and belonged to the middle-class.⁴²¹ Furthermore, those who travelled to America participated in chain migrations where family members that already lived in the states aided their relatives as they came to this country. Historians, such as Watkins-Owens, examined and acknowledged the importance of Jamaican women as they led their families during chain migrations.

Eliethia (Lee) Pretto Endel's mother led her families' movement from the island to the land of opportunity. Endel emigrated from Jamaica at a young age. During an interview about her experience, she discussed how hard her mother worked and saved to prepare for the journey accompanied by her three children. Endel said about her mother,

She was a kind of a woman that loved or knew what she wanted. She wanted to come to America and she worked very hard to get the three of us—and the four of us into America. And she wanted to come to America. She was the kind of woman, if she wanted something, she worked for it...⁴²²

Jamaican's, such as Endel's mother, overcame the obstacles implemented by the colonial government in Jamaica. It is likely that more people would have legally migrated if the protection laws had not been implemented. However, as they realized that Jamaica was not for Jamaicans, many moved and sought a better future in a different colony or nation.

African-American Migration

The closing years of the first wave of voluntary West Indian immigration to America occurred during the commencement of the country's Great Migration. The latter was a movement of over 6 million black southerners to the North and West from the World War I era until the 1970s. During the early years (1910-1930), which many refer to as the First Great Migration, over 500 black migrants crept to the North per day. Therefore, more than 15,000 African-Americans participated per month.⁴²³ Specifically, about one-half million people left the South from 1916-1919 for northern cities, and another one million followed during the 1920s.⁴²⁴ Participants in the southeastern seaboard stream, fled from the states of Georgia, Florida, Virginia, and the Carolina's to the major cities of Washington, Philadelphia, New York and Boston.⁴²⁵ Therefore, the Afro-Caribbean colonists and black southerners often crossed-paths in Boston and New York City, while the majority of Afro-Caribbean immigrants choose the latter as their destination. This section examines the cause and motivations for the southern exodus, especially the economic and political factors.

James Grossman noted that the cause of the major southern exodus was the "impact of the war [World War I] on the labor market."⁴²⁶ Industries needed people to produce the materials, goods and other necessities required to successfully fight. However, many white workers joined the military and could not work as needed to produce war materials. Simultaneously, the Great War and the aforementioned restrictive immigration laws stalled the stream of European immigrants to America. The European immigrants often became industrial laborers upon their arrival. Subsequently, a shortage occurred in many factories and other working facilities. This presented the opportunity for black southerners to travel to the North for employment as non-agricultural laborers.

Contemporary observers noted the type of industries that the migrants entered in their receiving cities. A 1923 article in the *Buffalo Times* exclaimed,

The Negro Labor is not going to any one particular point in the North, but appears to be very well diffused among the industrial states. Large numbers heading North...bound for the steel mills in Chicago-Gary-Calumet region, for the rubber factory towns in Ohio, the steel centers in Pennsylvania and Ohio, while they are moving in large groups into the the automotive cities in Michigan.⁴²⁷

Also, there was a high demand for laborers in other northern industries including, “meat-packing, glass, transportation and food-production.”⁴²⁸ New York was not mentioned in the quote. Although there were industrial laborers in the city, it was seen as the hub of black culture and black political activity (non-electoral), where male and female unskilled laborers typically performed menial labor.

In addition to the cause of the movement and its’ pull factors, contemporary articles in black newspapers also indicate that a host of economic factors motivated the determined African-Americans to escape the Jim Crow south. First, the decline in the southern cotton economy, in part because of the devastating attack of the boll weevil, contributed to the exodus. Secondly, numerous articles cite awful working conditions and the unfair treatment of blacks as the impetus. The *New York Age* exclaimed,

"The intolerable conditions of peonage in Georgia, enforced convict labor for petty thieves...and the infamous robbery of tenant farmers under the crops haring system in Arkansas, all these are driving the Negroes from their old homes."⁴²⁹

Likewise, the *Houston Informer* stated, “It appears that quite a number of Southern communities not only don’t know that slavery has been abolished in this country, but on the contrary they are maintaining a species of peonage far worse...” The article continued, “Previously the black men endured these evils and ills, because he had no other alternatives,

but once other sections of the country began to bid for his services...the colored brother did what any other sensible man or race would have done.”⁴³⁰ Thirdly, the *Montgomery*

Advertiser mentioned various push factors including unfair labor agreements. It states,

They prefer to remain here. But they want something to eat and to wear. They want a brighter future held out to them; they want to be reasoned with by their landlords, and want things made plain to them in the adjustment of yearly accounts; they want to be protected against lynching's and personal abuse; they want better treatment on the farms, on the common carriers, and in public places in general.⁴³¹

These articles expose African-American's desire for adequate compensation for labor and better treatment in general, which was not available in the South.

It is notable that voter suppression was not mentioned in the excerpts, which implies that economic issues trumped political rights. However, as previously noted, the economy and politics are connected. Furthermore, an article in the *Star of Zion* included, “Why are hundreds of the best Negroes...leaving this state [North Carolina]...” It continues, “It is because of the institution of Jim Crow cars, the passage of disfranchise amendment, and the bitter political campaigns of 1898 and 1900...”⁴³² During the turn of the twentieth century, African-Americans wanted to escape the cruelty of the Jim Crow, including disfranchisement and other laws, which denied their basic rights as Americans.

While there is very little scholarship regarding whether Jamaicans intentionally embraced America because they wanted a change in citizenship status, it is known that black southerners left Georgia, Florida, the Carolinas and Virginia bound for New York City, because their rights as American citizens were denied to them in the South. These southerners, especially in rural areas, often thought of land ownership as a step toward full citizenship. However, most found that land ownership was not attainable in the South. They headed North.

They wanted “freedom” and more rights (linked to citizenship) in the North. However, “citizenship” and “freedom” took on different meanings as the Great Migration continued, and southerners began to associate the city and employment in northern industry as “prerequisites of American citizenship,”⁴³³ They also gave up on land-ownership in the city, although property ownership was still an option.

The economic factors coupled with natural disasters, lack of full-citizenship, racial oppression, and the harsh reality of their “social” plight led southerners to venture to a new region. Many scholars associate their “social” plight with poor facilities for education, disenfranchisement, judicial system discrimination, peonage, and the bad treatment of the ex-slaves and their descendants.⁴³⁴ Under these circumstances, many left their homes and hoped to find better opportunities in New York City.

Jamaican Immigrants and Southern Migrants

There are some notable similarities between the divergent movements out of the American South and Jamaica to New York City during the early twentieth century. First, laws were implemented to stall the movements. Specifically, laws were implemented to curb the recruitment of laborers in Jamaica and the American South. Also, migrants from both areas, often left rural areas and lived in towns and cities before they left for the northern region of the United States (although many Jamaicans travelled to other countries before they settled in America). Furthermore, chain migrations were a characteristic of both. Therefore, a strong kinship network made relocation easier for family members. The migrants’ relatives, when they could, provided financial support for the voyage and prepared the travelers for a new life in the receiving town, where they often met their kin upon arrival. Additionally, a desire for a

better education also motivated both, although many of the colonists preferred the elementary education system in their native land. During her interview, Endel mentioned, "...the education down there [Jamaica], I must say, is better than up here."⁴³⁵ Moreover, a diverse range of skilled and unskilled laborers as well as males and females from the middle and working class participated in the streams from Jamaica and the American South to New York City. In addition, the economy was the cause of both relocations. Finally, the cost of transportation for the migrations was expensive for both.

Black southerners boarded segregated trains and endured difficult circumstances during their journey to the North. When some entered the vehicle for New York City, they were on their first train ride and on the longest journey of their life (many stopped in other cities and lived there for a while before moving to New York City). Ira Berlin noted that the journey was no "joy ride."⁴³⁶ The accommodations for black passengers were often dingy and neglected. The sanitary facilities were less than satisfactory, if they existed at all. To make matters even worse, blacks were granted seats at the end of the train, which caught fumes from the vehicle.⁴³⁷ Once in New York City, the black migrants joined "black" immigrants, who also had a difficult and segregated journey, and black native New Yorkers who moved from communities in midtown Manhattan and participated in the 'on to Harlem' movement as they all searched for better opportunities.

On To Harlem

In 1900, foreign-born people of African descent lived in New York City, where most found housing in established black districts located downtown.⁴³⁸ Because the middle-class emigration from the South to this city began around the 1890s, the African-American

population who lived in these established black districts mainly comprised of southern migrants and native New Yorkers.⁴³⁹ Many resided in the community known as the “Old Five Points Slums.” However, people began to relocate from there to the Tenderloin section of Midtown during the early 1900s. As, Georgians, Virginians, Carolinians and others poured into the community, they began to stretch their quarters beyond the Tenderloin and into the bordering area of mid-town known as San Juan Hill.⁴⁴⁰ Black families also lived in Harlem and other Manhattan neighborhoods during the era.⁴⁴¹ By 1910, over 60,000 African-Americans lived in Manhattan, mainly in mid-town, and less than 15,000 were actually born in New York City.⁴⁴² This section investigates the push factors for the local migration from mid-town and downtown up to Harlem in contrast to motivational factors, which led Jamaicans and black southerners out of their homelands and eventually to New York. Overall, racial tensions, circumstantial situations and the black church spurred the on to Harlem Movement, which increased the wealth of black business owners and the black church.

Racial and Ethnic Tension

In contrast to black migration and immigration to New York City, economic factors were not overwhelmingly the major cause of the “onto Harlem movement” from other communities in New York City, although economic issues were a factor. The trek uptown began around 1905 and intensified during the 1910s and 20s. One push factor was the racial and ethnic tensions that surfaced in mid-town where the southern migrants clashed with their Irish immigrant neighbors. The racial tensions boiled over in August of 1900. A young African-American named Arthur Harris stopped at a shop to purchase a cigar while his wife

waited for him outside. When Harris returned, he noticed his spouse in an altercation with a white male who happened to be an Irish police officer in plain clothes. Harris stepped-in to protect his wife and was beaten by the officer with a baton. Harris then struck his assailant with a knife. The officer died. As news of the killing spread, tension erupted in the city. Within days, the district was engulfed in a full-blown race riot.⁴⁴³

Police officers were sent to quell the violence, but the force included many Irishmen and friends of the deceased officer. They often participated in the uprising or looked the other way while black people were beaten. James Weldon Johnson noted that “an intimate friend” of his went to the police for protection during the commotion. The friend was beaten so severely that his scalp required stitches in several places.⁴⁴⁴ Therefore, African-Americans had a strained relationship with the police, just like black Jamaicans. The riots eventually subsided, but interracial violence continued.

Another uprising occurred because of ethnic tensions in 1905,⁴⁴⁵ and they continued in the following years. Samuel J. Battle, a North Carolina native who became the first African-American police officer in Manhattan, discussed an incident in San Juan Hill during “race riots” in 1911-1912. During an interview, Battle explained how he responded to the racially charged events as the only African-America police officer in Manhattan. He stated,

I went on down, and we got there, with my squad. The whites and the Negroes were battling. I saw the white cops beating up the colored people, and I thought, ‘Here’s my chance to get even with them.’ I saw them whipping black heads, and I was whipping white heads. I’ll never forget that.⁴⁴⁶

When Battle was asked about the cause of the riots, he simply blamed “interracial conflict.”⁴⁴⁷ Because of ethnic and racial tensions as well as a lack of protection from those who took an oath to serve and protect the community, blacks did not feel safe in their own neighborhoods during the early twentieth century. They wanted a safer place to live.

In addition to being a catalyst for the move to Harlem, Weldon Johnson noted that the riot exemplified a change in the citizenship status of African-Americans. He wrote, "...the great New York riots involving the Negro was really systematic of a national condition. The status of the Negro as a citizen had been steadily declining for twenty-five years..." Johnson continued, "his civil state was in some respects worse than at the close of the Civil War." To support his claim, Johnson explained how 1,665 African-Americans were lynched during the 1900s without any protest from fellow Americans. But, according to Johnson, the riot revived the African-American spirit for more rights.⁴⁴⁸ Indeed black migrants fought for better housing, the right to own businesses, the right to vote and other issues in New York City.

Transportation and Available Housing

Other factors contributed to why so many participated in the local migration. As the racial tensions grew, black residents looked for new housing. Circumstantial situations, such as new construction, led them to Harlem where they found vacant apartments.

The building of Pennsylvania Station in mid-town (which opened in 1910) forced black residents to search for new living quarters. For example, Texas native, James C. Thomas, was paid a substantial amount of money to relocate off of his property, which was needed for the project. Like Thomas, many residents in the area where Penn Station was built, looked uptown for accommodations.

Furthermore, during the 1890s, construction began on a new subway route to Harlem. The investment in the city's infrastructure led to excessive housing development in the area of Harlem that would become more accessible with the completion of the underground train station. Speculators poured into the community and purchased lots. Empty land and dirty

swamps were transformed into high-end apartments for the cities wealthiest white tenants, who wanted to move further away from ethnic minorities. The apartment complexes included luxuries such as maid quarters, butler pantries and elevators. Unfortunately, the completion of many housing developments preceded the completion of the subway. With no transportation to the area, people did not rush to buy the stunning apartments. The market was a bust.⁴⁴⁹ Once the subway was completed in 1904, a depression of 1904-05 made it more difficult for people to buy the expensive housing.⁴⁵⁰ There were vacant apartments and occupants were needed.

Furthermore, in December of 1905, a murder occurred at 31 West 133rd Street, a building in West Harlem inhabited by white tenants.⁴⁵¹ Following the killing, some fled their neighborhood. Even before the unfortunate situation, the manager of the housing complex experienced difficulties as he attempted to fill the vacancies. The murder only made the situation worse.⁴⁵²

The tragic event presented an opportunity for the black real estate broker, Phillip A. Payton, Jr., who founded the African-American Reality Company in 1904 and was credited with initially filling West Harlem with black tenants.⁴⁵³ In Uptown, he secured better housing for blacks in comparison to their dwellings in midtown. Payton recalled,

"My first opportunity came as a result of a dispute between two [White] landlords....To 'get even' one of them turned his house over to me to fill with colored tenants. I was successful in renting and managing this house, and after a time I was able to induce other landlords to give me their house to manage."⁴⁵⁴

Although, he started a movement, Payton's real estate firm folded a few years after he led the wave to Harlem.

It seems that the cause of the movement to the community of Harlem was available housing. Ethnic tension was a major push factor from other areas of the city. The lack of space in mid-town because of Penn Station also contributed, while the new subway station created more available transportation and pulled many to the area.

As the movement to Harlem grew, black businesses and black institutions encouraged people to participate. For instance, pastors preached about the benefits of the movement. While many people struggled financially in Harlem, the church and some businesses seemed to profit.

Two of Payton's students created their own real estate firm, Nail and Parker, and capitalized on Payton's misfortune. The firm was instrumental in the building of black Harlem because the agents secured housing for black tenants after the demise of Payton's firm. While the growth of black Harlem increased the wealth of Payton, Nail and Parker, it also significantly lined the pockets of an investor in Payton's business. The aforementioned James C. Thomas, a southern migrant, provided the financial backing for Payton's company and was very influential in acquiring property for African-Americans in the community.⁴⁵⁵ Thomas amassed a fortune, in part because of Harlem Real Estate and mostly from the purchase of his property by the Pennsylvania Railroad for \$103,000 in cash.⁴⁵⁶

Thomas' life was not one of a typical southern migrant because of the level of success that he achieved in New York City. He was born in 1863. As a young man, he worked as a cabin boy on a steamer, similar to how many migrants and immigrants held jobs on modes of transportation. He travelled between his home state and New York. In 1881, Thomas made his way to New York City and never looked back. The brash town became his home, but it did not offer many opportunities for young migrants. He took menial jobs in the service

industry, including work as a steward in a private club. His ambition and hard work along with opportunity led him to open his own business, a funeral home in the Tenderloin. He earned a good reputation within the black community as he built his company. With the profits from his funeral home, he was able to purchase the aforementioned property on 7th Avenue that was sold to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. After his investment in the African-American Realty Company, he acquired properties throughout Harlem while it grew into a “Black Mecca.” He was one of the richest African-Americans in New York City.⁴⁵⁷

Beyond Thomas, plenty of black migrants and immigrants contributed to the development of black Harlem via their role in real estate. The owner of Nail and Parker, Henry C. Parker, also migrated to New York City. He moved from North Carolina.⁴⁵⁸ It is likely that his partner, John E. Nail was born in New York City. However, Nail’s father, John B. Nail, moved to New York City from Baltimore and invested in properties in Harlem.⁴⁵⁹ In 1919, John E. Nail, the younger Nail, started the Sphinx Realty Company along with Caribbean immigrant H. Adolph Howell, and others.⁴⁶⁰ Therefore, an ethnically diverse population of black migrants, immigrants, and native New Yorkers were instrumental in building “Black Harlem” and many increased their own finances during the process.

The Black Church

Watkins-Owens credits African-American pastors with aiding the “On to Harlem” movement when they made it the topic of Sunday sermons.⁴⁶¹ Church leaders followed some of their parishioners uptown. Subsequently, the pastors spurred more people to join the movement, which was financially rewarding for the church.⁴⁶²

Saint Philip's Episcopal Church, once located in the Tenderloin, erected its new edifice on West 134th Street in Harlem.⁴⁶³ The institution also purchased \$640,000 worth of real estate property, which Watkins-Owens labeled "the most important real estate deal of the period."⁴⁶⁴

Under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Charles Satchell Morris, Abyssinian Baptist Church thrived after its' relocation to Harlem in 1902. The institution then purchased a new building along with some apartments on West 40th in Harlem. While they remained in this new location in 1908, Dr. Morris secured the employment of a young and promising minister named Dr. Adam Clayton Powell Sr. During the early years of the Harlem Renaissance, Dr. Powell decided to follow his' parishioners as they moved further uptown. Eventually, the church sold the building on 40th for \$200,000. They purchased a large lot on 138th Street between Lenox Ave. and 7th Ave. They utilized profits from the sale as well as the tithes and offering from the congregation in order to build a beautiful new cathedral, which cost \$334,888.86 to complete. It was adorned with stained glass windows and marble imported from Europe.⁴⁶⁵ The church and its' parishioners continued to buy property in Harlem.

Gilbert Osofosky explained that the black church purchased properties in the neighborhoods that had restrictive covenants meant to keep out certain minorities, including African-Americans. Like immigration laws, housing ordinances did not keep black churches and their parishioners out of Harlem. Osofosky noted, "Negro Churches became the largest Negro property owners in Harlem...By becoming landholders, Negro churches helped transform Harlem to a Negro section."⁴⁶⁶

White property owners and managers also reaped financial benefits from the influx of blacks into the community. When whites leased to the black newcomers, they often raised the

cost from what it was for their former white tenants. Ferdinand Q. Morton, the African-American Civil Service Commissioner, spoke before the State Housing Commission, and he discussed injustices related to the unfair cost of housing in the community. According to Morton, the “respectable Harlem family” needed a lodger for extra income to pay their housing. The average room cost between \$12 and \$14 per month or \$13 to \$20 per month in certain instances.⁴⁶⁷ A family “of good standing” typically earned \$125 per month, which placed the apartment rate higher than what they could afford.⁴⁶⁸ Furthermore, an 1923 article in the *World* claimed, “In Harlem and elsewhere are notable cases of both white and colored occupying the same house and the former paying less rent than the latter.”⁴⁶⁹ Blatant housing discrimination occurred. Morton called for, “rentals commensurate with the average income of the ordinary family.”⁴⁷⁰

Native New Yorkers, southern migrants, and Afro-Caribbean immigrants created interesting ways to pay their rent. Multiple families lived together in a single apartment. In addition, single families took in borders. Some tenants had a “hot bed policy,” and rented a single mattress to two or three people who worked different shifts and needed the bed at different times.⁴⁷¹ Furthermore, Harlem became known for its rent parties.

In contrast to the black church, businessmen, and real estate agents, who pulled blacks to Harlem, the majority of African-Americans who moved to Harlem from other areas of the city often faced greater financial hardship because of the exorbitant cost of rent. They moved for better housing, even though the relocation placed financial strains on the family.

The Growth of Black Harlem

“Black Harlem,” the community, experienced extreme growth during the early twentieth century when southerners, native New Yorkers and Afro-Caribbean immigrants moved there. At the turn of the century, before preachers touted the “On to Harlem Movement,” African-Americans rented and purchased property on blocks in the 130s.⁴⁷² By the end of the decade, the black population spilled into the 140s. By 1930, the black “enclave reached from 127th Street on the south to 145th Street on the north and from Fifth to Eighth Avenue. The main thoroughfare was 135th Street.”⁴⁷³ According to David Levering Lewis, two thirds’ of Mannhattans black population of approximately 300,000 lived in Harlem, but they made up less than 30 percent of the communities population.⁴⁷⁴

During the early twentieth century, the black population in Manhattan also grew astronomically, and increased from 2.6 percent to 4.8 percent and eventually to 12.7 percent of the population in 1910, 1920 and 1930 respectively.⁴⁷⁵ On January 1st, 1898, New York City incorporated Queens, Brooklyn, the Bronx, Long Island and Staten Island.⁴⁷⁶ The rate of increase for African-Americans in Greater New York City, which includes all of these boroughs, was not quite as impressive as the swell in Manhattan. New York City grew from 1.9 percent, to 2.7 percent, and eventually to 4.7 percent of residents in 1910, 1920 and 1930 respectively.⁴⁷⁷

A comparison of the local, national and international movements to New York City underscores similarities and differences. Both, the migrants and immigrants left areas where they lacked economic autonomy and had very little influence in politics and traveled to a new destination where they hoped to improve their economic plight. In contrast, the local movement from other areas of New York City to Harlem was a movement for better housing.

Also, local policy makers in New York City, like the American government and Jamaican government, used laws and covenants to curtail these movements, but determined African-Americans and black immigrants continued in their efforts at relocation.

The movements discussed in this chapter underscore the strength and perseverance of southern migrants and Afro-Caribbean immigrants. They conquered obstacles and sought to make a better life for themselves and their families. An article titled, “The Negro Migration” stated, “From the viewpoint of the migrating colored worker, of course the change means greater freedom, and his eagerness to take advantage of this new opportunity is not at all surprising.”⁴⁷⁸ Pull factors included employment, education, higher wages and participation in politics. The following chapter will explain the economic and political identity of black southern migrants, Caribbean immigrants and native New Yorkers in Harlem.

The Waves Continued

The final two waves of West Indian Migration to America underscore how our nation’s policies as well as the laws passed by colonialists continue to manipulate the flow of people to this country throughout the twentieth century and beyond. The second stream, from 1924 to 1967, was noted for its’ low level of migration. The Johnson-Reed Act, the Great Depression and World War II dampened the pace of Afro-Caribbean immigration to America during the 1930s and 40s. In 1952, Congress passed the McCarran- Walter Act that changed the quota for Jamaica to 100 people annually, the same number that was granted to each colony in the western hemisphere.⁴⁷⁹ While the United States closed their door, Britain passed the Nationality Act of 1948 that permitted all British subjects entry into to their country.⁴⁸⁰ When Britain reversed the law and passed restrictive policies in 1962, Caribbean immigration

to America resumed. Over one-third of the 80,000 Caribbean immigrants, who were no longer “colonists” after Jamaica’s gained its’ independence in 1962, arrived after 1961.⁴⁸¹

When the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (also known as the Hart-Cellar Act) passed, it ushered in the third and final wave of voluntary West Indian migration to America. The law, like the laws the preceded it, also included a quota system. However, it did not include a preference for Britain and other countries in northern Europe. It allocated “generous hemispheric wide quotas” for the eastern and western hemispheres.⁴⁸² Specifically, countries in the west, which included the British West Indies, were allotted 120,000 slots for immigrants, without a maximum number determined for any particular country.⁴⁸³ Although the Hart-Cellar Act was amended and other immigration laws passed in Congress during the following decades, by 2004, over 1.2 million black immigrants from the British West Indies participated in the wave. Jamaican immigrants greatly outnumbered immigrants from other islands in the Caribbean (Jamaica also had the largest population in the Caribbean). Therefore, throughout the twentieth century, Jamaicans continued to travel to America in search of better economic and political opportunities.

Chapter Five: I, too, am America: The Construction of a New Identity, 1915-1930s

Once they settled in Harlem, the newcomers' interethnic interactions included instances of collaboration as well as instances of ethnic distancing. Whether Jamaicans and African-Americans were friend or foe, their very existence within the same space shaped their American identity and changed their community. This chapter examines the post-migration plight of Marcus Garvey, Claude McKay, and James S. Watson to underscore how the movement to Harlem and the rapport that was established between African-American migrants, Jamaican immigrants and native New Yorkers changed the economic, political, racial and national identities of the Harlemites. Although these men achieved substantially more success in America than the average Jamaican or African-American, a discussion of their plight underscores a change in identity that occurred for working-class and middle-class black people in the community.

Caribbean Immigrants: Racial Identity and Nationality in New York City

The system of racial classification in America differed from the system of racial classification in Jamaica. Likewise, the social construct of race functioned differently in America than it did in Jamaica. Working-Class and middle-class Jamaicans experienced an abrupt and difficult introduction to race in America, which changed their views about the social construct, racism and nationality.

Upon their arrival, the racial identity of a few immigrants changed. Jamaicans who were racially classified as coloured in their homeland faced an uncertainty because Americans identified coloured or mixed-raced people of African descent as black. Therefore, many

coloured immigrants became “black” in America. However, coloured Jamaicans with a white complexion became “white” (similar to how some black southerners with a white complexion passed for white). Their racial identity was fluid, yet it was vital to their treatment.

Jamaicans who were classified as black experienced a form of racism in America that differed from what many endured in Jamaica. In the article, “Claude McKay Describes His Own Life: A Negro Poet,” which was published in Pearson’s Magazine in September of 1918, the poet noted that his perception about race and racism shifted after he interacted with Americans. According to the literary artist, the English in Jamaica, who represented about 14 percent of the population during the early 20th century, often discriminated against people because of their class, not their race.⁴⁸⁴ He explained, “at home there is also prejudice of the English sort...rooted in class-distinction color and race being hardly taken into account.”⁴⁸⁵ Furthermore, he described the discrimination by the English as “subtle and dignified.”⁴⁸⁶ Although some scholars believe that racism existed in Jamaica during the late 19th and early 20th century, the Jamaican poet felt that he had very little experience, if any at all, with racism while in his native land. However, during his first year in America he felt, “manifest, implacable, hate of [his] race,” and witnessed, “the most primitive animal hatred towards...[his] black brothers.”⁴⁸⁷ Black Jamaicans realized how race functioned in their new country, and were often hated because of their racial identity.

Subsequently, McKay engaged the themes of race and racism in his poetry. He did so in his seminal pieces, “Harlem Shadows” and “If We Must Die.” In “Harlem Shadows” he discussed black identity and his disgust with racial discrimination. He wrote,

Ah, stern, harsh words, that in the wretched way
Of poverty, dishonor and disgrace
Has pushed the timid little feet of clay,
The sacred brown feet of my fallen race!⁴⁸⁸

He engaged the same themes in his piece, “If We Must Die,” and wrote the following in response to race riots,

Oh, Kinsmen! We must meet the common foe;
Though far outnumbered, let us show us brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one deathblow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!⁴⁸⁹

McKay penned the stirring poem during a year when many race riots occurred in the United States, the red summer of 1919. The previous chapter mentioned that New Yorkers also lived through horrific unrest in 1900 and 1905. The racism that McKay felt during the ugly and viscous disturbances left an unsettling impression upon the poet, and he wanted black people to fight for their rights, which many did in Harlem.

Devon Carbado, a legal scholar, coined the phrase racial naturalization and claimed, “that racism is a naturalization process through which people become Americans.”⁴⁹⁰

Furthermore, this dissertation argues that the Harlemites related more closely with each other after black immigrants were racially naturalized because they then had shared experiences with racism. Even if Caribbean immigrants choose not to legally naturalize, they were racially naturalized, especially during the race riots. It seems that McKay further identified with black people after the riots. Therefore, Jamaicans, who already had a transnational identity, and African-Americans connected because of the trials and tribulation that they endured as a result of racism and racial naturalization.

Ironically, racism also caused immigrants to distance themselves from African-Americans, and to embrace their foreign identity. Their strategy was not very successful. Immigrant status could not protect Jamaicans from racism.

The hatred that McKay endured and witnessed also forced him to think differently about nationality. While he grappled with discrimination in America, he noticed that “whites” oppressed and exploited people of African descent, Asian descent, and people of their own race and nationality.⁴⁹¹ White Americans were not alone. People of all races degraded and demeaned people of their own race and their own countrymen.⁴⁹² In regards to this phenomenon, McKay wrote, “and now this great catastrophe has come upon the world proving the real hollowness of nationhood, patriotism, [and] racial pride...”⁴⁹³ Subsequently, he questioned his loyalty to his race and to his nation. It seems that his racial pride remained intact, but he eventually denounced his allegiance to the British crown and became an American citizen.

It is important to note two interesting details about McKay. First, Jamaicans of the working-class and the middle-class discussed their shock and disgust with American racism. Therefore, McKay’s experiences with the social construct can be generalized to other black Jamaicans. Secondly, McKay’s views about race and nationality changed throughout his lifetime, as did the views of other black people in America. Even if Jamaicans and African-Americans did not want to identify with each other, their interactions influenced their views on race, racism and nationality.

Political Identity

The diversity of thought and experience amongst Harlemites contributed to the development of one of the most vibrant, powerful and influential black political communities in the world. The role played by Jamaicans in radical politics, especially within the Garvey Movement, has been documented in great detail. The rise of black organizations, such as

Garvey's UNIA and the N.A.A.C.P. in Harlem during this era has been documented in great detail as well. Therefore, the two aforementioned topics are not the focus of this section. This section engages Afro-Caribbeans and African-Americans involvement in electoral politics and how social and political organizations supported voting rights.

Harlem was a black Mecca for political activities for men and women who were native, naturalized and non-citizens. Political messages appeared on the pages of a wide range of magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, and cultural writings. Literate and illiterate Harlemites also belonged to fraternal groups, benevolent societies, church groups, grass-roots political organizations and more.

Two of the most notable organizations with southern migrant and Afro-Caribbean immigrant members were the N.A.A.C.P., which began as a civil rights organization for the advancement of black people, and Garvey's UNIA. Both groups worked to improve the political plight of black people in Harlem.

Garvey began his rise to prominence in America as a stepladder speaker (also known as a soap-box speaker). Alongside Jamaican immigrants (i.e. W.A. Domingo and Grace Campbell) and migrants from out-migration states (i.e. A. Phillip Randolph), the brilliant orator stood on platforms in the Harlem streets and discussed the pressing issues of the times, including political topics.⁴⁹⁴ Garvey eventually became one of the most powerful black political figures in America, and the leader of one of the most powerful political organizations in the country, the UNIA. Although he was considered a radical political figure, he also believed in the power of mainstream electoral politics. Robert Hill noted Garvey's interests in the 1924 elections. Hill explained,

“Hastily put together by Garvey as a political instrument, the Universal Negro Political Union aimed to win support from white politicians in hope of tilting

the political balance and developing a protective shield for the UNIA. UNIA members were instructed to work for and give their votes to selected candidates in the November 1924 elections. At the same time that he urged participation in electoral politics...⁴⁹⁵

Although Garvey filed his Declaration of Intention to become an American citizen on September 1, 1921,⁴⁹⁶ he could not vote because he was not an American citizen. However, The powerful and inspirational Jamaican understood the political landscape in the United States, and wanted black citizens to participate in electoral politics.

Furthermore in 1930, the N.A.A.C.P. initiated a campaign in support of voting rights when the organization was relentless in their attempt to reject President Hoover's nomination of Judge John J. Parker from North Carolina to the U.S. Supreme Court. The organization's main grievance with Judge Parker was his support for the disfranchisement of black southerners. During a speech in 1920, Parker asserted, "I have attended every [North Carolina] state convention since 1908 and I have never seen a Negro delegate in any convention that I attended."⁴⁹⁷ He, continued, "The Negro as a class does not desire to enter politics. The Republican Party of North Carolina does not desire him to do so."⁴⁹⁸ The judge went on to argue that intelligent men understood that black people were not advanced enough to "share the burdens and responsibilities of Government."⁴⁹⁹ The N.A.A.C.P. was outraged by his comments. They argued that the judge was unfit to sit on the highest tribunal in the country because of his blatant disregard for upholding the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The organization called on every N.A.A.C.P. branch to flood Senate offices with letters and telegrams that expressed their extreme disapproval of the nomination.⁵⁰⁰ Members of the white and black media and other organizations joined the fight. An article in the *Christian Science Monitor* claimed, "This is the first time that the Negro in an organized campaign is making himself felt in powerful political manner."⁵⁰¹ The N.A.A.C.P. succeeded

in the campaign against the judge. The Senate denied Judge Parker's nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court by one vote.

While organizations encouraged Harlemites to vote and supported voting rights, Afro-Caribbean immigrants swayed the mainstream political landscape and influenced the political identity of the residents. Specifically, James S. Watson's 1930 campaign for a municipal judgeship, which engaged the theme of race consciousness, forced African-Americans to question their allegiance to the Republican Party, while it also forced Jamaicans to question their allegiance to Union Jack.

Eight years after his arrival, Watson earned the degree of L. L. B. from New York Law School.⁵⁰² Subsequently, the young lawyer focused on his career and politics. He was admitted to the New York State bar on April 6, 1914, and landed a position at the distinguished law firm of House, Grossman and Vorhaus.⁵⁰³ Due to his strong work ethic and his excellent record, the firm promoted him to lead their Corporation and Tax Department from 1916 to 1920.⁵⁰⁴ While he climbed the corporate ladder, he gained notoriety as one of New York City's most eminent attorneys. He represented influential black New Yorkers including political figures. For instance, Marcus Garvey retained Watson as counsel for the UNIA, and as his personal attorney following Garvey's arrest for libel in 1919.⁵⁰⁵ The following year, the talented young lawyer opened his own practice.⁵⁰⁶ While he grew his practice, his keen interest in government and political figures led him to be active in mainstream politics. From 1890 until the early 1910's, the majority of black Americans in New York City voted for the Republican Party.⁵⁰⁷ However, Jamaicans were not tied to the Party of Abraham Lincoln,⁵⁰⁸ and neither was Watson. He joined the Cayuga Democratic Club and the United Colored Democracy (UCD).⁵⁰⁹ On October 1, 1922, Democrats

appointed the ambitious lawyer to the position of Special Assistant Corporation Counsel of the city of New York.⁵¹⁰ He held that title until the opportunity of a lifetime came about when Republicans developed a new electoral district in Harlem.

During the 1920s, black Harlem was divided into multiple assembly districts, and the majority of voters lived within the Nineteenth or the Twenty-first assembly districts. The black electorate in each locality was too small to elect a candidate with just the black vote, but the major political parties attempted to gain their support. During the early 1900s, Charles W. Anderson, an Ohio native, headed the Republican Clubhouse and handed out patronage positions to people of his race in exchange for their support of his party.⁵¹¹ He handled every government job for black New Yorkers, “from post office clerk to janitor.”⁵¹² The politician held the powerful position until a new party gained control in New York. In 1915, after the Democratic Party rose to power, Ferdinand Q. Morton, handed out the patronage positions to black Harlemites in exchange for their support for the Democratic Party.⁵¹³ Morton, a black migrant from Mississippi, held the position during the 1920s and into the 1930s.

In 1930, Francis E. Rivers, a black Republican Assemblyman, offered a bill to create the Tenth Municipal District (Tenth), in order to pack black Harlem into one municipal locality, in which they could elect a municipal judge.⁵¹⁴ The bill called for the Tenth to cover the majority of the Nineteenth and Twenty-first Assembly Districts as well smaller parts of the Eleventh, Thirteenth, Seventeenth and Twenty-Second Assembly Districts.⁵¹⁵ The area covered Nicholas to Fifth Avenues and 110th to 155th Streets, which was known as the heart of Harlem.⁵¹⁶ Many of the residents in the area were southern migrants, who supported the party of Lincoln.⁵¹⁷ The Republican Legislature passed the bill, and the Democratic governor

signed it into law, which effectively allowed for the election of two municipal judges from the Tenth municipal locality.⁵¹⁸

Before the bill passed, forty-eight municipal judges worked within ten different districts in Manhattan.⁵¹⁹ Each magistrate rotated between the districts and never stayed in a single locality for more than two months in any year.⁵²⁰ The passage of the bill enabled the number of municipal judgeships in Manhattan to increase to 50.⁵²¹ The two new justices would be elected from the Tenth.

The Democratic Party tapped two promising black lawyers to run for the municipal judgeships from the Tenth, but there was a rift amongst African-Americans in the party. Ferdinand Q. Morton was eager to pick the perfect candidates.⁵²² Dr. Hudson J. Oliver, who was the head of the Negro Democrats, disliked Morton and planned to oppose Morton's candidates.⁵²³ Hudson's nemesis called on Watson to run along with Charles E. Toney. Toney migrated to New York City from Franklin County, Alabama.⁵²⁴ Even though there was tension within the Democratic Party, Watson and Toney began their campaigns.

During the general election, the Democratic candidates faced the Republican ticket of Rivers, who offered the bill for the creation of the Tenth, and John C. Hawkins, an alderman. Each of their districts included Harlem.⁵²⁵ Mr. Louise Lanelle ran as an Independent (he was probably a socialist).⁵²⁶

It was likely that either the Republican ticket or Democratic ticket would win the election. Like Toney, Rivers and Watson, Hawkins was of African descent. Therefore, excitement was in the air in black Harlem. New Yorkers had never elected a black judge, and Harlemites were going to be the first to do so. According to a newspaper article, "the election restored hope, pride and social advancement to a badly demoralized people."⁵²⁷

The Watson campaign was in tune with the racial pride within the community. The campaign appealed to the race consciousness of the constituents. In a thoughtful, calculated, and bold move, they utilized the slogan, “put race loyalty ahead of party loyalty,” and portrayed the Democrats in the state of New York as truly devoted to black people. An official campaign committee sent a flyer that noted,

We address ourselves to colored voters; but to those voters only who put their race above their party, who believe that the interest and welfare of colored Americans is paramount above the interest and welfare of any political party.⁵²⁸

The flyer then indicated that Democrats abolished slavery in New York. It also noted a laundry list of Bills, which benefitted the black community, that were signed by Democratic Governors in the state. The governors mentioned were Grover Cleveland, William Sulzer and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Gov. Cleveland vetoed legislation, which would have created separate schools for African Americans. Gov. Sulzer signed a bill that allowed for the creation of a black regiment in the state, and he also signed the Levy Civil Rights Bill. According to the flyer, the Civil Rights Bill was, “the first Civil Rights Law, which adequately secured to the Negro his Civil Rights.”⁵²⁹ Gov. Roosevelt signed a bill that created the Tenth Municipal District for the election of black judges in Harlem. Because of the action of the governors as well as Democrats throughout the city, the campaign declared that the contemporary Democratic Party in New York was identical to Lincoln’s Republican Party. Within the flyer the campaign argued, “The present day New York Democracy stands for exactly the same principals and policies toward the Negro that the party of Abraham Lincoln represented.”⁵³⁰ In other words, the Democratic Party wanted to uplift the race.

Although some of the aforementioned Democratic governors signed bills that were passed by the Republican legislature, the mailer portrayed the contemporary Republican

Party as apathetic to the black vote. The claim was supported by detailed accounts of the failures of the sitting Republican President, Herbert Hoover, and how Hoover's failures devastated the black community.

Democratic media, like the Watson campaign, discussed their party's commitment to the black community and criticized the Republican Party. An article in *The Fraternal Review* asserted that the Democratic administration's high regards for African-Americans were evident in the party's appointment of numerous black people to Civil Service positions. The Party's administration hired over 600 teachers and 550 laborers, who were city employees.⁵³¹ Overall, the Democratic Party contributed to a total of 2, 281 black employees within the city of Manhattan (see chart 9),⁵³² who drew from an annual salary of \$3,869, 875.00.⁵³³ Therefore, the party appealed to their constituents desire for gainful employment, as they touted their devotion to them.

Democratic media also discussed the Republican Party's disloyalty to African Americans. A columnist by the name of Paul Young portrayed the general election of 1930 as a referendum on President Hoover, and presented a scathing affront on how the President let down the black community.⁵³⁴ Even though the troubled leader was not on the ballot, Young declared,

...President Hoover is on trial. Congressmen and Senators are to be elected and the Republican majority in Congress is likely to be overthrown by the people who thought that Hoover would bring prosperity, but who have suffered during the past two years from low-wages, the longest period of unemployment in the history of the country, high prices for food and clothing which are being boosted still higher by an outrageous tariff.⁵³⁵

The passionate journalist urged voters to elect men who could help their current political needs. Young argued that the political party that left them with low wages, high-

unemployment and extremely high prices for food and clothing could not help the constituents. Furthermore, Young harshly criticized President Hoover's nomination of John J. Parker to the U. S. Supreme Court.⁵³⁶ Overall, the journalist presented the Republican Party as complicit in creating economic and political struggles for black people.

Media members also portrayed Rivers and Hawkins, the Republican Candidates for the Municipal Judgeship in the Tenth, as disloyal to African-Americans. The *Fraternal Review* claimed that Rivers was ashamed of his race, and made the following claims. As a child, he attended his father's church, where African-Americans could not be baptized.⁵³⁷ As a young adult, he attended Yale University and only sought the companionship of white students.⁵³⁸ When he moved to New York, he socialized with the white population.⁵³⁹ According to the article, "He tries to be white simply because he is ashamed to be colored."⁵⁴⁰

While Rivers was accused of being a race traitor in his private life, Hawkins' was accused of being a race traitor in his public life. During Hawkins' first term as an assemblyman, the African-American Elks Association sought his assistance. The Elks asked the alderman to offer an amendment to the Grattan Law, which was a state law that gave benefits to the Elks.⁵⁴¹ The Amendment would have given African-American Elks the same benefits that were received by the white Elks.⁵⁴² However, Hawkins refused to introduce the Amendment. Furthermore, a handful of African-American politicians had hoped to succeed the Alderman when his term expired.⁵⁴³ But, Hawkins declared his intention to run for re-election. To the surprise of the black men who wanted Hawkins' seat, on the night that he was once again given the nomination for his position, "[he] immediately declined in favor of Horace Palmer, a white man whom he placed in nomination, thus forestalling any effort of a

colored man to succeed him.”⁵⁴⁴ The media and the Democratic Party effectively painted Watson’s opponents as race traitors.

The media also criticized black constituents for their devotion to the Republican Party. A newspaper article noted that the African-American greatest vote in Manhattan had never exceeded 18,000 and of which 4000 was the average number of votes casted for the Democratic Party (more research is needed to see if those numbers are correct).⁵⁴⁵ Specifically, some critics called black migrants in the city, “southern dyed-in-the-wool Negro Republicans,” and urged them to stop acting as if Lincoln were on the ballot.⁵⁴⁶

While the attacks continued, a headline noted that a change in voting habits seemed likely in Harlem. On Friday October 24th, the *New York Contender* published a story with the following headline, “Democrats Favored In Tenth Judiciary Fight As Campaign Advances: Character of Watson and Toney Stands Out As Voters Drop Party Line For Their Support.”⁵⁴⁷ In just two weeks, Harlemites would know if the headline was correct.

On November 4th, 1930, the heavy rain did not stop Harlemites from participating in the historic election. They rallied to the polls. Tensions ran high amongst the candidates, especially Watson and Toney, while they awaited the results. Soon, it became clear that the Democratic Party, under the leadership of Gov. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, had a big night throughout the entire state.⁵⁴⁸ In a landslide victory for the Democratic Party, Watson and Toney won their elections. They became the first African-Americans elected to a judgeship in New York City. Watson received the largest number of votes out of the five candidates for the judgeship, with a total of 14,918 votes casted for the Jamaican.⁵⁴⁹ A columnist noted, “Judge Watson was perhaps the best-liked candidate to appear on a platform in Harlem.”⁵⁵⁰ Similarly Watson claimed, “...more people voted on that occasion than any other.”⁵⁵¹

The Judge also praised his fellow Afro-Caribbean immigrants for their support during the election, and stated, “The West Indian realized what an achievement it would be to have one of their fellow countrymen elected to the position, and so they did their duty.”⁵⁵²

Although the League of Foreign-born voters (a white national organization) listed the number of black immigrants who registered to vote at 1,126 people,⁵⁵³ an ethnically diverse black population elected the Democrat to office.

Women participated in Watson’s election, and his wife played a critical role. In 1917, Watson wed Violet Mae Lopez.⁵⁵⁴ The judge called his marriage one of his proudest accomplishments, and his wife the inspiration for his service.⁵⁵⁵ She was more than just his’ inspiration. Although Mrs. Watson, appeared neither on the list of committee members for the Watson for Judge Volunteer Campaign Fund Committee nor the Non-Partisan Committee for the Election of Charles E. Toney and James S. Watson as Justices of the Municipal Court, 10th District, she was a vital figure in his campaign. According to an article, “Friends say Mrs. Watson was his closest political adviser and that much of the credit for his success was due to her ability to conduct campaigns.”⁵⁵⁶ The judge and his supportive wife had four children; Barbara (November 5, 1918), Douglas (June 21, 1920), James Lopez (May 21, 1922), and Grace (January 30, 1924).⁵⁵⁷ The entire family, including James’ wife and daughters, campaigned on his behalf.

The same year that Watson married Lopez, she gained his status as a naturalized American citizen, and she also gained the right to vote. In 1917, women in New York won the right to vote.⁵⁵⁸ About 15,000 African-American women resided within the Tenth.⁵⁵⁹ Therefore, women participated in Watson’s campaign, and many voted for him.

Furthermore, the election results indicated that some constituents, who typically endorsed Republican candidates, voted for Watson. The judges' friend in the Republican Party, Charles A. Taussig, did so. In a letter that Taussig wrote just before the election, Taussig mentioned that he planned to vote for Watson. Taussig wanted the best candidate elected to the bench, not just a candidate from Taussig's political party.⁵⁶⁰

Watson's campaign and his election caused some within the black community to re-think their political party affiliation in its entirety. Judge Edward W. Henry urged Judge Watson to attend Moot Court on Tuesday, May 5th 1931 at Howard University, a historical black university. Henry hoped that Watson's presence would force students to think more independently about their political party affiliation. Judge Henry wrote, "When the students realize that you and your associate, Judge Toney, have been elevated to your high judicial position by the Democratic Party." He continued, "...it will create respect for that party...which will be far reaching in its affect."⁵⁶¹ Judge Henry believed that the election would inspire some black students to join the Democratic Party.

Furthermore, Watson's judgeship enabled him to rule on economic issues in civil cases.⁵⁶² Although people of all races were seen before the judge, African-Americans in Harlem jammed the courts with tenant disputes. Judge Watson attempted to uphold the rights of landlords and property owners, while being fair to the tenants who were close to losing their home.⁵⁶³ Charles Marks, the attorney for the West Harlem Tenants' Association, represented a significant number of black tenants in Watson's district and often appeared before the judge. Marks claimed, "I know that you [Watson] have treated the rights of tenants fairly and honestly."⁵⁶⁴ Some black people in Harlem felt that they were treated better in civil matters when they appeared before a black judge.

Harlem deservedly gained a reputation as the most politically active black community in the nation. Overall, the interethnic interactions amongst the vibrant and intelligent community of southern migrants, Afro-Caribbean immigrants and native New Yorkers led to a flurry of political activities. Together, the community came up with effective means to improve their political plight, such as switching political parties to the Democratic Party and participating in the N.A.A.C.P. and the Garvey movement.

Naturalization

Black immigrants' citizenship status was a major topic of conversation. The theme arose during Watson's campaign. However, African-Americans and Jamaicans often had a tenuous relationship, which caused Jamaicans to question if they should become American.

Watson's campaign had to address his citizenship status. Previous to his election, his staff mailed a letter to voters and assured them that Watson was able to win the election, even though he was a naturalized citizen from Jamaica, not a native-born citizen.⁵⁶⁵ Furthermore, the *New York Defender* quoted Watson during the election, when he stated, "Would you believe that I only became a citizen in 1913?" The article continues, "then he [Watson] explained to this friend that there was no other country in the world in which he could have made the rapid advancement which he had as a colored man except in America."⁵⁶⁶ Watson claimed that his naturalization was a major factor for his success in America.

With that in mind, a columnist named Vere E. Johns urged Jamaicans to naturalize as Watson did. Johns noted that Caribbean immigrants travelled to the land of opportunity with the dream of finding a profession and earning a substantial income.⁵⁶⁷ They worked to turn their dream into a reality, but eventually lived an American nightmare. While they faced

hardships and difficulties, “many clung tenaciously to British affiliation so that they might not have to return to their homeland as an alien and so earn the reproaches of their friends and relatives.”⁵⁶⁸ The columnist argued that there was not a need for black immigrants to return to their homelands because of the Caribbean islands’ bad economies. Johns also argued that the greatest reason to naturalize was to elect American politicians, who could improve their economic plight.

Johns believed that naturalization placed immigrants in a greater position to earn a living in America. He used Watson as his example. The columnist understood that Watson’s identity as an American citizen enabled Watson to become a municipal judge with an annual salary of \$12,000 per year.⁵⁶⁹ Most immigrants from the English-speaking Caribbean also knew that the rights and advantages of American citizenship included better employment opportunities, increased availability of housing and a decreased fear of deportation.

Conversely, there was ethnic tension within the black community, which caused immigrants to embrace their status as British subjects. Jamaican and African-Americans often competed for jobs, especially within the working class population. Furthermore, many non-naturalized Jamaican immigrants felt that they had more rights and advantages in America than black citizens.⁵⁷⁰ For instance, Claude McKay believed that his status as a black foreigner enabled him to evade serving time in jail for dodging the draft. Meanwhile, African-American draft-dodgers who were arrested with McKay, served five and ten day sentences.⁵⁷¹ Furthermore, Jamaicans often contacted the British consulate when they had grievances, which annoyed African-Americans. The superior treatment of black immigrants at times in America, frustrated African-Americans and contributed to the discord within the community.

The ethnic tensions were heightened during certain time periods. As previously mentioned, African-Americans fought to allow black immigrants in the country. But following World War I, American nativism increased, and Anti-foreigner propaganda consumed the nation.⁵⁷² African-Americans further discriminated against Jamaicans during the time.

Overall, the majority of black immigrants did not naturalize. According to the 1930 census reports, only 25.6 percent of West Indians over the age of twenty-one were naturalized American citizens.⁵⁷³ In contrast to the naturalization rate for the Caribbean immigrants, over 60 percent of foreign-born white immigrants became American.⁵⁷⁴ The majority of Caribbean immigrants valued their status as a black British subject more than the status of a black American citizen.⁵⁷⁵ They did not want to become an American.

Economic Identity

White New Yorkers earned wages for their whiteness, and black New Yorkers paid the price for their blackness. Black Harlemites held low-paying jobs as menial or manual laborers and paid high prices for rent in run-down apartments (the housing conditions of black tenants is discussed in Chapter 4). There was also a black middle class. The economic identity of many Jamaicans and African-Americans changed to a laborer in the urban North.

Caribbean immigrants had a reputation for holding skilled and professional positions in Harlem and in their homeland. An immigration report listed the occupational status of black immigrants who entered the United States from 1899-1931 (see chart 10).⁵⁷⁶ Specifically, the report included the occupation that the colonists held before they ventured abroad. While 13.3 percent of the population indicated that they were unemployed, the

remainder provided their occupation.⁵⁷⁷ The workers were categorized as either a professional, a skilled worker, or within the collective category of servants, farm laborers and laborers. Surprisingly, the majority of immigrants, 43.5 percent, fell into the latter category.⁵⁷⁸ Fewer black immigrants, about 32.8 percent, were skilled laborers, which included those who identified as carpenters, joiners, dressmakers and seamstresses.⁵⁷⁹ The slimmest number of black immigrants, just 3 percent, claimed that they were professionals such as teachers or physicians.⁵⁸⁰ Therefore, the largest number of black immigrants in the United States entered the country as laborers, not as a skilled laborer or a professional.

CHART 10

Occupational status of black immigrants, 1899-1931

Years	1899-1905		1906-12		1913-19		1920-26		1927-31		1899-1931	
No. admitted	10,710		36,398		44,817		4,477		5,855		142,557	
Children	1,496		3,264		4,394		6,717		1,051		16,922	
Adults	9,214		33,134		40,423		38,060		4,804		125,635	
	No.	% of adults	No.	% of adults	No.	% of adults	No.	% of adults	No.	% of adults	No.	% of adults
Adults without occup.	1,383	15	4,010	12.1	4,646	11.5	5,334	14	1,393	29	16,766	13.3
Adults without occup.	7,831	85	29,124	87.9	35,777	88.5	32,726	86	3,411	71	108,869	86.7
Professional	204	2.2	811	2.4	1,152	2.8	1,286	3.4	289	6	3,742	3
Teachers	69	-	248	-	405	1	448	1.2	94	2	1,264	1
Physicians	11	-	31	-	36	-	36	-	16	-	130	-
Skilled	2,787	30.2	9,552	28.9	13,291	32.9	13,802	36.3	1,789	37.2	41,221	32.8
Carpenters and joiners	234	2.5	940	2.8	1,643	4.1	1,574	4.1	120	2.5	4,511	3.6
Dressmakers and seamstresses	298	3.2	2,773	8.4	4,493	11.1	4,645	12.2	632	13.2	12,841	10.2
Clerks and accountants	182	2	777	2.3	1,236	3	1,563	4.1	320	6.7	4,078	3.2
Servants, farm laborers and laborers	2,645	28.7	16,901	51	18,801	46.5	15,150	39.8	1,106	23	54,661	43.5

Source: *Immigration Reports, 1899-1931.*

However, black immigrants from the Caribbean held more skilled and professional positions in their homeland than southern migrants and white immigrants did in their departure city or town. According to Osofsky, skilled and professional black immigrants sought similar employment opportunities in America. They viewed menial positions with “disgust” and thought of menial and manual labor as “social degradation.”⁵⁸¹ However, many

immigrants held a “demeaning” job as a manual or menial laborer when they arrived in Harlem, but were highly motivated to improve their status. They were “thrifty” and “frugal” and worked toward a skilled or professional position, especially as a business owner.⁵⁸² There was a saying in Harlem that when a “West Indian got ten cents above a beggar, he opened a business.”⁵⁸³

Indeed, Afro-Caribbean immigrants became business owners. In 1925, Edgar M. Grey published a column that included a profile of 128 black immigrant business owners in Harlem, and the article supported Osofsky’s claim. It mentioned that the majority of business owners lived in New York City for over 10 years, and worked in an industry related to their business before they became business owners.⁵⁸⁴ For instance, Jamaican jewelry makers often sought employment in the jewelry district upon their arrival in New York City, but were unsuccessful. They then engaged in menial or manual labor before they saved enough money to open their own jewelry shop.⁵⁸⁵ Furthermore, Marcus Garvey supported black business ownership and started the Negro Factories Corporation, which aided in the management of black businesses including a hotel, laundries, restaurants, printing press and a doll factory.⁵⁸⁶ More importantly, most of these entrepreneurs were naturalized citizens.

African-American and Jamaican professional and skilled workers, such as business owners, labored in a variety of fields. Caribbean immigrants dominated as cigar-makers, jewelers, importers and exporters and milliners.⁵⁸⁷ African-Americans dominated as barbers, bakers, butchers, dressmakers, hairdressers, mechanics, painters and plumbers.⁵⁸⁸ An overlap occurred in carpentry and tailoring, which included an equal number of Caribbean immigrants and African-Americans.⁵⁸⁹ Therefore, competition existed amongst southern migrants and

Afro-Caribbean immigrants in those few industries for the black middle-class, just as there was competition amongst the interethnic black working-class community.

The majority of Harlemites were manual and menial working-class laborers. For instance, McKay named the various jobs that he held after his wife returned to Jamaica. The poet stated, “So I just stayed here and worked desultorily-porter, houseman, janitor, butler, waiter-anything that came handy.”⁵⁹⁰ In Langston Hughes poem “Elevator Boy” he also underscored the lowly positions given to black people. Hughes wrote,

I got a job now
Runnin’ an elevator
In the Dennison Hotel in Jersey,
Job aint no good though.
No money around.
Jobs are just chances⁵⁹¹

As the poem continued, Hughes also mentioned the occupation of shoe shiner and dishwasher.

In May of 1927, the New York Urban League, which was an organization that developed in Harlem in order to acclimate southern migrants to urban living, published a study titled, “Twenty-Four Hundred Negro Families in Harlem.” The study provided specific details on the working-class. The Urban League pulled from multiple sources to gather information on these families. It listed the top 60 occupations recorded for 1762 black male laborers. The majority of males were listed as porters (589), which was followed by males who simply identified as a laborer (404).⁵⁹² The only remaining occupations with more than 40 respondents were elevator operators (100), general clerks (69), longshoremen (45), janitors (43) and post office employees (43).⁵⁹³ Likewise, this study listed 21 occupations for 1225 female laborers. The majority of females were listed as full-time domestic laborers (359).⁵⁹⁴ The only remaining occupations with more than 100 respondents were factory workers (238),

day workers (63) and part-time domestics (110).⁵⁹⁵ Therefore, women worked as domestic laborers and in factories (see chart 11),⁵⁹⁶ while men held a variety of non-skilled positions.

Furthermore, the report noted five interesting facts about black workers. First, in a sub-survey of 1,316 families in Harlem, 63 percent of them lived in a household, where each adult was gainfully employed.⁵⁹⁷ Therefore black households often included a male and female breadwinner. Second, male and female workers held a wide range of occupations. Specifically, the 1920 census indicated 316 different occupations for Harlemites.⁵⁹⁸ Third, the outbreak of WWI coupled with the restriction of European immigration to America, opened up industrial jobs to black men. These men lost their positions in peacetime when white laborers returned from fighting abroad. However, an uptick in the number of black laborers occurred during the mid 1920s.⁵⁹⁹ Fourth, the 1920s also witnessed an increase in black artisans. For instance, New York City housed 268 black carpenters in 1910, which increased to 737 in the mid- 1920s.⁶⁰⁰ Finally, there was a trend of black laborers away from the service industry, but an overwhelming number of workers remained in the personal service industry.⁶⁰¹

While they held the aforementioned low-paying jobs, many lived in unsanitary conditions. Apartments throughout the community were overcrowded and lacked hot water. Furthermore, the landlords were disinterested in the living conditions of their black tenants, and charged African-Americans and Jamaicans with low-paying occupations as manual and menial labor more for their rent than their white counterparts. It is important to note that their living conditions in run-down apartments often were an improvement in comparison to their living conditions in Jamaica and in the American South.

CHART 11
FEMALE OCCUPATIONS

Total = 1225

<u>PERSONAL & DOMESTIC SERVICE</u>		<u>MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS</u>		<u>INDUSTRIAL OCCUPATIONS</u>	
Chamber-Maids	12	Actresses	1	Car Cleaners	19
Cooks	25	Steno / Typist	37	Examiners	12
Day's Workers	163	Dressmakers	30	Factory Workers	238
Full Time Domestic	359	Hairdressers	27	Finishers	39
Maids	36	Office Girls	5	Laundresses	79
Nurse Girls	28	Sales girls	2	Operators	16
Part-Time Domestic	110	Teachers	1	Pressers	18

Conclusion

The migrations and the relationship that was developed between African-Americans and Jamaicans changed the community and its' residents. Harlem became a hub for black radical politics and cultural activities. Within Harlem, the residents experienced a change in their economic and political identity, and they attempted to improve their status.

McKay's passionate and powerful writings exemplify how his movement to America and his relationship with black Americans shaped black culture. The poet wrote "Harlem Shadows" and "If We Must Die" because of his experiences in his new country. Furthermore, the writer was seen as a mentor to the young writers of the Harlem Renaissance. In addition to McKay, many Afro-Caribbean immigrants were prolific writers during the time. They were present, influential and involved during the Harlem Renaissance, which is sometimes inaccurately described as a solely African-American cultural movement.

Robert Hill noted the significance of the relationship between Jamaicans and African-Americans in politics, especially regarding the rise of the Garvey movement. Hill explained,

At the simplest level, Marcus Garvey and the UNIA symbolize the historic encounter between two highly developed socioeconomic and political traditions: the social consciousness and drive for self governance of the Caribbean peasantry and the racial consciousness and search for justice of the Afro-American community.⁶⁰²

The growth of the Garvey movement was due in part to Garvey's relocation to America, where Jamaicans interacted with race-conscious African-Americans. Scholars, such as Winston James, indicated that more than fifty percent of Garvey supporters in the United States were African-Americans.⁶⁰³ Like Watson's election to a municipal judgeship, the Garvey movement was successful because of the collaboration of African-Americans and Jamaicans.

While their interactions were significant, they often distanced themselves from one another. Even within the Garvey Movement, tensions often existed between the groups. Beyond politics, the tension typically boiled over when the southern migrants and Jamaican immigrants competed for jobs, or when black immigrants experienced a benefit from their foreign status while in America.

However, the entire community worked to improve their plight and identity. Langston Hughes' poem, "I, too," captured the spirit of the Harlemites. He wrote,

I, too, sing America.

I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the kitchen
When company comes,
But I laugh,
And eat well,
And grow strong.

Tomorrow,
I'll be at the table
When company comes.
Nobody'll dare

Say to me,
“Eat in the kitchen,”
Then.

Besides,
They’ll see how beautiful I am
And be ashamed-

I, too, am America.⁶⁰⁴

The poem acknowledges the pride in the black community that developed during the era. The poem also acknowledges that an improvement in their identity occurred, as they continued to work toward a better future. Specifically, black southerners gave up their desire for landownership and settled for apartment living in the city, where they were not indebted to a landowner. Furthermore, many southern agriculturalists became urban laborers. Likewise, Jamaican agriculturalist also became urban laborers and gave up their dream of land-ownership. In the city, many received higher wages and lived in better housing in comparison to their wages and housing in their departure city or town. In regards to politics, the southerners and Afro-Caribbean colonists were unable to engage in electoral politics in their departure city or town. However, black citizens were able to vote in Harlem and contributed to the switch in the black community from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party. The residents also engaged in the most vibrant radical political community in the world. Lastly, many Jamaicans naturalized and became African-American. Overall, Afro-Caribbean migrants and African-American southerners shaped the economy, changed black political life, as well as defined what it meant to be and become an American for people of African descent.

¹ Irma Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations: Caribbean Immigrants and the Harlem Community, 1900-1930* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 1.

² Our Documents.gov <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=40>. (Accessed on December 10, 2013).

³ Dorothee Schneider, "Naturalization and the United States Citizenship in Two Periods," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 21(2001): 52-53.

The Fourteenth Amendment changed citizenship and naturalization laws.

⁴ Schneider, "Naturalization and United States," 52-53.

⁵ Library of Congress. <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/14thamendment.html>. (Accessed on December 10, 2013).

Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment states:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States;..."

⁶ Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 3-15.

⁷ Devon Carbado, "Racial Naturalization," *American Quarterly* 57.3 (2005): 633-658.

⁸ Claude McKay, *A Long Way From Home* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 11-12. McKay documents his entire ordeal with the police and judicial system in Pittsburgh, PA.

⁹ Wayne F. Cooper, *Claude McKay: Rebel Sojourner in the Harlem Renaissance* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 84.

¹⁰ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 83.

¹¹ The 1920 United States Federal Census Record for Cyril Crichlow
This source is available on ancestry. Ancestry.com <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com/>. (Accessed on Dec 10, 2013).

¹² U.S. National Archives and Record Administration.
<http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1998/summer/women-and-naturalization-1.html> (Accessed on December 10, 2013).
This source provides information on the Expatriation Act and the Cable Act.

¹³ The 1920 United States Federal Census Record for Lillian Crichlow
This source is available on ancestry. Ancestry <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com/> (Accessed on December, 10 2013).
The nationality of Lillian Crichlow's husband, Cyril Crichlow, differed on government documents. It seemed the 1920 US Federal Census enumerator listed Barbados as Cyril Crichlow's birthplace, although his writing was unclear. However, Lillian and Cyril Crichlow had three children. The enumerator listed Barbados as the father's birthplace for the Crichlow's three children on the 1920s US Federal Census. In 1921 Crichlow filed for a passport and listed his birthplace as Trinidad, which was also his birthplace on the 1930 US Federal Census.

¹⁴ U.S. National Archives and Record Administration.
<http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1998/summer/women-and-naturalization-1.html>. (Accessed on December 10 2013).

This source provides information on the Expatriation Act and the Cable Act.

¹⁵ The British Empire. <http://www.anglik.net/empire.htm>. (Accessed on August 21 2015).

¹⁶ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 4.

According to Watkins-Owens, 82 % of the foreign born Black population in the United States from 1911-1924 traveled from the English-Speaking Caribbean.

¹⁷ African Americans and Afro-Caribbeans cross-migrated between their regions before the American government legally granted Blacks citizenship rights. From the colonial period to emancipation, slaves and freed people of color were moved within the Americas (a few traveled voluntarily). In the 18th century, for example, New York held the largest slave population in the Northern states. Most were Caribbean-born slaves. In the American South, Caribbean born slaves from Jamaica was a significant minority in Virginia and South Carolina.

¹⁸ George Gmelch, *Double Passage: The Lives of Caribbean Migrants Abroad and Back Home* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), 41.

The waves of Caribbean migration, as explained by Gmelch, are discussed in this study. However, the waves of Caribbean Migration differ from the three waves of West Indian migration to America as explained by Suzanne Model. In, *West Indian Immigrants: A Black Success Story?* (Russell Sage Foundation: New York, 2008), 12-23. Sociologist, Model, explains the three waves of West Indian migration to the United States. She emphasized how American public policy shaped the ebbs and flows of West Indian newcomers. The cohort in the first wave of migration arrived between 1834, when Britain emancipated their Caribbean slaves and continued traveling until 1925 when the United States implemented the Johnson Reed Act. During that time period, the United States endeavor in building the Panama Canal (which opened a waterway between Panama, The West Indies, and America) and the development of the banana trade between America and the Caribbean paved the way for easier travels and increased the number of West Indians migrating to the United States. The flow of the migrants decrease as politicians intentionally limited the number of immigrants to America with the passage of the immigration policy of 1924. The second wave of migration began with the implementation of the policy in 1925 until the passage of the Hart-Cellar Act of 1967 during which time the states saw a major decline in the number of West Indian immigrants.

¹⁹ Gmelch, *Double Passage* 41.

²⁰ Gmelch, *Double Passage* 41.

²¹ Gmelch, *Double Passage* 41-42.

²² Colin Grant, *Negro With a Hat: The Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 58.

Grant discusses the migration of Amy Ashwood and her family to Panama.

²³ Howard Dodson and Sylviane A. Diouf, eds., *In Motion: The African American Migration Experience* (Washington D.C.: National Geographic, 2004), 158.

²⁴ Dodson and Diouf eds., *In Motion*, 159.

²⁵ Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth Century America*. (London: Verso, 1998), 32-33.

James discussed the weather such as the cyclone and the Jamaican economy.

²⁶ Dodson and Diouf eds., *In Motion*, 161.

²⁷ James, *Holding Aloft*, 12.

²⁸ James, *Holding Aloft*, 12.

²⁹ Dodson and Diouf eds., *In Motion*, 100.

³⁰ James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989) 23-24.

³¹ Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 24-25.

³² Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 24-25.

³³ Stewart E. Tolnay, "The African American 'Great Migration' and Beyond." *Annual Review of Sociology* 29 (2003): 209-232.

³⁴ Daniels, 11.

³⁵ Suzanne Model, *West Indian Immigrants: A Black Success Story?* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008) and George Gmelch.

³⁶ Ransford W. Palmer, ed., *In Search of Better Life: Perspectives on Migration from the Caribbean* (New York: Praeger Publisher, 1990).

³⁷ Mary Waters, *Black Identities: West Indian American Dreams and American Realities* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999).

³⁸ Philip Kasinitz, *Caribbean New York; Black Immigrants and the Politics of Race* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

³⁹ Tolnay, "Great Migration and Beyond," 211.

⁴⁰ Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 5.

⁴¹ James N. Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora: How The Great Migration Of Black And White Southerners Transformed America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

⁴² Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration* (New York City: Vintage Books, 2010).

⁴³ Ira Berlin, *The Making of African America: The Four Great Migrations* (New York City: penguin, 2010).

⁴⁴ Leon Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 136.

⁴⁵ Omar Ali, *In the Lion's Mouth: Black Populism in the New South, 1886-1900* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010), 15.

⁴⁶ Ali, *Lion's Mouth*, 16.

⁴⁷ "Revels, Hiram Rodes" History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives, accessed December 19, 2014, <http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/20291?ret=True>.

⁴⁸ "Senate History" The United States Senate, accessed on December 19, 2014, http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/minute/First_African_American_Senator.htm. This website explains that Senators cited The Dred Scott Decision as well as the 14th Amendment to deny Revels the right to his seat. The website cites the following source:
U.S. Congress. Senate. *The Senate, 1789-1989*, Vol. 2, by Robert C. Byrd. 100th Cong., 1st sess., 1991. S. Doc.100-20.

⁴⁹ “Revels, Hiram Rodes.”

⁵⁰ “Bruce, Blanche Kelso” History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives, accessed December 19, 2014, <http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/20291?ret=True>.

⁵¹ “Rayne, Joseph Hayne” History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives, accessed December 19, 2014, <http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/20291?ret=True>.

⁵² “Rayne, Joseph Hayne.”

⁵³ “Long, Jefferson Franklin” History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives, accessed December 19, 2014, <http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/20291?ret=True>. This site mentions Long’s political engagements and his strides to help educate his people.

⁵⁴ “Long, Jefferson Franklin.”

⁵⁵ “Long, Jefferson Franklin.”

⁵⁶ “Hyman, John Adams” History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives, accessed December 19, 2014, <http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/20291?ret=True>.

⁵⁷ “Hyman, John Adams.”

⁵⁸ “Hyman, John Adams.”

⁵⁹ “Hyman, John Adams.”

⁶⁰ Elsa Barkley Brown, “African American Political Life in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom” in *African American Religious Thought: An Anthology* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 446.

⁶¹ Barkley Brown, “Political Life,” 435-446.

⁶² Barkley Brown, “Political Life,” 446.

⁶³ “19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution” Our Documents, accessed on December 19, 2014, www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=63.

“Introduction to the Federal Voting Rights Law” The United States Department of Justice, accessed on December 19, 2014, http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/vot/intro/intro_c.ph.

⁶⁴ Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877*, (New York: Harpers Collins, 1988), 360.

⁶⁵ Foner, *Reconstruction*, 372.

⁶⁶ “War Department, Bureau Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Land, Washington D.C. May 19, 1865.” in *Congressional series of United States public documents*, Google Docs, accessed on December 19, 2014, <https://books.google.com/books?id=FWdHAQAIAAJ&pg=PA122&lpg=PA122&dq=It+will+be+the+object+of+all+commissioners+to+introduce+practical+systems+of+compensated+labor.&source=bl&ots=L9lgzgTNEy&sig=AJwmB8niPeHdx0Kd7fZ1piS6vZ0&hl=en&sa=X&ei=KYOYVPuYNcqQyATE5YKGAw&ved=0CCUQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=It%20will%20be%20the%20object%20of%20all%20commissioners%20to%20introduce%20practical%20systems%20of%20compensated%20labor.&f=false>.

⁶⁷ Carol Shammas, “Re-Assessing the Married Women’s Property Acts” in *Journal of Women’s History* 6 (1994): 11.

-
- ⁶⁸ Foner, *Reconstruction*, 87.
- ⁶⁹ Foner, *Reconstruction*, 87.
- ⁷⁰ Tera W. Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Harvard University Press, 1997), 21.
- ⁷¹ Hunter, *My Freedom*, 25-26.
- ⁷² Hunter, *My Freedom*, 40.
- ⁷³ Wilkerson, *The Warmth*, 40-41.
- ⁷⁴ Litwack, *Trouble*, xiv.
- ⁷⁵ Wilkerson, *The Warmth*, 41.
- ⁷⁶ Wilkerson, *The Warmth*, 41.
- ⁷⁷ Leon Litwack, "Jim Crow Blues," *Magazine of History* 18 (2004): 7.
- ⁷⁸ Wilkerson, *The Warmth*, 41.
- ⁷⁹ Litwack, *Jim Crow Blues*, 7.
- ⁸⁰ R. Douglas Hurt, ed. *African American Life in the Rural South* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 1.
- ⁸¹ "In Congress," *The Baltimore African American* (Baltimore, MD) May 12, 1928.
"White, George Henry" History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives accessed on December 24th, 2014 <http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/23657?ret=True>.
- ⁸² William Alexander Mabry, "Disfranchisement of the Negro in Mississippi" in *The Journal of Southern History* Vol. 4 No. 3, 325-331.
- ⁸³ Mabry, "Disfranchisement," 333.
- ⁸⁴ Mabry, "Disfranchisement," 332.
- ⁸⁵ "Elections" History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives, accessed on December 26, 2014 <http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Historical-Essays/Temporary-Farewell/Elections/>.
- ⁸⁶ "In Congress" This article mentions that White was the last black Congressmen to serve in 1901.
- ⁸⁷ George B. Tindall, "The Campaign for Disfranchisement of Negroes in South Carolina" *The Journal of Southern History* 15, no. 2 (1949): 215.
- ⁸⁸ Tindall, "The Campaign," 215.
- ⁸⁹ "The Negroes Temporary Farewell: Jim Crow and the Temporary Exclusion of African Americans in Congress," History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives accessed on December 25, 2014 <http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Historical-Essays/Temporary-Farewell/Introduction/>.

⁹⁰ “Race, Voting Rights, and Segregation Direct Disenfranchisement: Techniques of Direct Disenfranchisement, 1880-1965” University of Michigan, accessed on December 25, 2014. <http://www.umich.edu/~lawrace/disenfranchise1.htm>.

⁹¹ Tindall, “The Campaign,” 218-224.

⁹² Tindall, “The Campaign,” 221-233.

⁹³ Tindall, “The Campaign,” 233.

⁹⁴ “Elections.”

⁹⁵ Tindall, “The Campaign,” 216.

⁹⁶ “Miller, Thomas Ezekial” History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives accessed on December 26, 2014 <http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/18276?ret=True>.

⁹⁷ Eric Foner, *Freedom’s Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders During Reconstruction, Revised Edition* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 149.

⁹⁸ “Miller, Thomas Ezekial.”

⁹⁹ “Miller, Thomas Ezekial.”

¹⁰⁰ “Miller, Thomas Ezekial.”

This source includes biographical information on Miller. There are other sources with the same information.

¹⁰¹ “Miller, Thomas Ezekial.”

¹⁰² “Miller, Thomas Ezekial.”

¹⁰³ “Miller, Thomas Ezekial.”

¹⁰⁴ “Miller, Thomas Ezekial.”

¹⁰⁵ “Miller, Thomas Ezekial.”

¹⁰⁶ Miller, Thimas Ezekial.”

It is important to note that I gathered information from the cited sources, but other sources mention that Miller simply lost his re-election and did not mention the contestation of the results.

¹⁰⁷ “Miller, Thomas Ezekial.”

¹⁰⁸ “Miller, Thomas Ezekial.”

¹⁰⁹ “Miller, Thomas Ezekial.”

“Miller, Thomas Ezekial.” Most of the information for Miller was gathered from this source.

¹¹⁰ “Miller, Thomas Ezekial.” Most of the information for Miller was gathered from this source.

¹¹¹ “Murray, George Washington” History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives accessed on January 15, 2015 <http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/18709?ret=True>.

¹¹² “Murray, George Washington.”

¹¹³ “Murray, George Washington.”

¹¹⁴ “Murray, George Washington.”

¹¹⁵ “Murray, George Washington.”

¹¹⁶ “Murray, George Washington.”

¹¹⁷ “Murray, George Washington.”

¹¹⁸ “Murray, George Washington.”

This site includes biographical information on Murray. Most of the biographical information for Murray was gathered from this source.

¹¹⁹ “The 1898 Election in North Carolina” The University of North Carolina accessed on December 26, 2014 <http://exhibits.lib.unc.edu/exhibits/show/1898/history>.

¹²⁰ “The 1898 Election in North Carolina” The University of North Carolina accessed on August 30, 2015 <http://exhibits.lib.unc.edu/exhibits/show/1898/primary/editorial>.

¹²¹ “Editorial that Shook the State” The University of North Carolina accessed on December 26, 2014 <http://exhibits.lib.unc.edu/exhibits/show/1898/item/2278>.

¹²² “Undoing the Work of Lincoln: The Democratic Conspiracy Against Negro Suffrage” Baltimore Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland), September 9, 1899.

¹²³ “Undoing the Work of Lincoln.”

¹²⁴ “White, George Henry.”

¹²⁵ “White, George Henry.”

¹²⁶ “White, George Henry.”

¹²⁷ “Race Gleanings.: Mr. Perry on the Future of the Race” in the Baltimore Afro-American Nov 25, 1899.

¹²⁸ “White, George Henry.”

¹²⁹ “White, George Henry.”

¹³⁰ “Cheatham, Henry Plumber” History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives accessed on January 15, 2015 <http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/10878?ret=True>.
This source includes a significant amount of biographical information on the Congressman.

¹³¹ “Cheatham, Henry Plumber.”

¹³² “Cheatham, Henry Plumber.”

¹³³ “Cheatham, Henry Plumber.”

¹³⁴ “Cheatham, Henry Plumber.”

¹³⁵ “Cheatham, Henry Plumber.”

¹³⁶ “Cheatham, Henry Plumber.”

¹³⁷ “1902 Constitution of Virginia” accessed on December 30, 2014
<http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/afam/politics/home.html>.
This site mentions three requirements to vote that are mentioned above.

¹³⁸ “The Recent Voter Registration Drive” *Daily Progress* (Charlottesville, VA), October 4, 1902 on
<http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/afam/politics/newsclipping.html#19021004>.

¹³⁹ “Langston, John Mercer” History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives accessed on August 2, 2015 <http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/16682?ret=True>.

¹⁴⁰ “Langston, John Mercer.”

¹⁴¹ “Langston, John Mercer.”

¹⁴² “Langston, John Mercer.”

¹⁴³ “Langston, John Mercer.”

¹⁴⁴ “Langston, John Mercer.”

¹⁴⁵ “Langston, John Mercer.”

¹⁴⁶ “Langston, John Mercer.”

¹⁴⁷ “Langston, John Mercer.”

¹⁴⁸ Langston, John Mercer.”

¹⁴⁹ Russell Korobkin, “The Politics of Disfranchisement in Georgia” *Georgia Historical Society* 74 (1990):45-46.

¹⁵⁰ Korobkin, “The Politics,” 56.

¹⁵¹ “The National Association for Colored Women’s Clubs” accessed on August 29, 2015
<http://www.nacwc.org>.

¹⁵² Hunter, *My Freedom*, 131.

¹⁵³ “White, George Henry.”

¹⁵⁴ Tolnay, “Great Migration and Beyond,” 211.

¹⁵⁵ Litwack, *Trouble*, 129.

¹⁵⁶ Litwack, *Trouble*, 128.

¹⁵⁷ Litwack, *Trouble*, 129.

¹⁵⁸ Statistics of Women at Work: Based On Unpublished Information Derived from the Schedules of the Twelfth Census: 1900 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1907),17.

¹⁵⁹ “Educational Mass Meeting” *The Baltimore Afro-American* (Baltimore, MD,) Jul 22, 1905.

¹⁶⁰ “Urges Justice for the Negro.:Chicago Political Equality League Addressed by Mrs. Barnette.” *The Baltimore Afro-American* (Baltimore, MD) Jan 17, 1903.

-
- ¹⁶¹ “Urges Justice for the Negro.:Chicago Political Equality League Addressed by Mrs. Barnette.”
- ¹⁶² “Special Census Report on the Occupations of the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890,”(Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), 19-20.
- ¹⁶³ “Special Census Report on the Occupations of the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census,” 19-20.
- ¹⁶⁴ “Special Census Report on the Occupations of the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census,” 9.
- ¹⁶⁵ “Special Census Report on the Occupations of the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census,” 9.
- ¹⁶⁶ “Special Census Report on the Occupations of the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census,” 9.
- ¹⁶⁷ “Special Census Report on the Occupations of the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census,” 19.
- ¹⁶⁸ Statistics of Women at Work: Based On Unpublished Information Derived from the Schedules of the Twelfth Census:1900 (Washington: Government Printing Office), 42.
- ¹⁶⁹ Statistics of Women at Work: Based On Unpublished Information Derived from the Schedules of the Twelfth Census:1900, 34.
- ¹⁷⁰ Statistics of Women at Work: Based On Unpublished Information Derived from the Schedules of the Twelfth Census:1900, 34.
- ¹⁷¹ Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 28.
- ¹⁷² Hunter, *My Freedom*, 148.
- ¹⁷³ Hunter, *My Freedom*, 148.
- ¹⁷⁴ Hunter, *My Freedom*, 111.
- ¹⁷⁵ W. E. B. Du Bois, “ The Talented Tenth” Teaching America History accessed on January 9, 2015 teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/the-talented-tenth/.
- ¹⁷⁶ Du Bois, “Talented Tenth.”
- ¹⁷⁷ “Educational Mass Meeting”.
- ¹⁷⁸ Hurt, ed., *Rural South*, 1.
- ¹⁷⁹ Hurt, ed., *Rural South*, 1.
- ¹⁸⁰ “Deportment Is Foolishness: So Says Former Governor Northern of Georgia” The Baltimore Afro-American (Baltimore, MD) Sep 26, 1903.
- ¹⁸¹ “Race Gleanings.:An Uncertain Factor...” in the *Baltimore Afro-American* (Baltimore, MD)August 6, 1898.
- ¹⁸² Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, 131.
- ¹⁸³ Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem:The Making of a Ghetto Negro New York, 1890-1930* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee Inc, 1966), 18.

¹⁸⁴ Grossman explained that industrialist had yet to hire and they ended up with menial jobs

¹⁸⁵ Miami, Florida is roughly 600 miles from Kingston, Jamaica.

¹⁸⁶ S. P. Musson and T. Laurence Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1891-92: Comprising Historical, Statistical and Other Information Concerning the Island* (Kingston: Government Printing Establishment, 1891), 25-27.

¹⁸⁷ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1891-92*, 25.

¹⁸⁸ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1891-92*, 290.

¹⁸⁹ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1891-92*, 292.

¹⁹⁰ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1891-92*, 299-300.

¹⁹¹ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1891-92*, 303.

¹⁹² “Geography and History of Jamaica” Gleaner accessed on August 30, 2015
<http://www.discoverjamaica.com/gleaner/discover/geography/history5.htm>
This site includes a timeline with information of the tenure of Jamaica’s Governor.

¹⁹³ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1891-92*, 75.

¹⁹⁴ Cherly M. Cassidy, “Pro Rege, Lege and Grege: Newspaper Accounts of the Jamaica Insurrection and Its After math” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 25 no1 (1992); 3.

Malcolm Gladwell, *Outliers: The Story of Success* (New York: Little Brown and Company, 2008), 278-279.
They discussed the class and color structures in Jamaica.

¹⁹⁵ Gladwell, *Outliers*, 280.

¹⁹⁶ Gladwell, *Outliers*, 280.

¹⁹⁷ Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Group, 1985) 156.

¹⁹⁸ James A. Delle, “The Landscapes of Class Negotiation on Coffee Plantations in the Blue Mountains of Jamaica” 1790-1850 *Historical Archeology* 33 (1999):141.

¹⁹⁹ James, *Holding Aloft*, 17.

²⁰⁰ T.L. Roxburgh and Jos. C. Ford, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1901, Comprising Historical, Statistical, and General Information Concerning the Island*. (Kingston: Government Printing Office, 1901), 414-416.

²⁰¹ S. P. Musson and T. Laurence Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1893: Published by Authority, Comprising Historical, Statistical, and General Information Concerning the Island* (Kingston: Government Printing Office, 1893), 291.

²⁰² Madeleine E. Mitchell, *Selected Vital Records from the Jamaican Daily Gleaner; Life on the Island of Jamaica as seen through the Newspaper Extracts Volume 1 1865-1951* (Brewery Heights, MD: Heritage Books, 2007), 132.

²⁰³ Roxburgh and Ford, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1901*, 402.

²⁰⁴ Tony Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey: Pan-Africanist, feminist and Mrs. Marcus Garvey No.1 Or, A Tale of Two Aimes* (Dover: The Majority Press, 2007), 16.

²⁰⁵ Roxburgh and Ford, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1901*, 375.

²⁰⁶ Roxburgh and Ford, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1901*, 375.

²⁰⁷ Grant, *Negro with a Hat*, 11.

²⁰⁸ Grant, *Negro with a Hat*, 26.

²⁰⁹ John Soluri, *Banana Cultures: Agriculture, Consumption, and Environmental Change in Honduras and the United States* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005) 20-21.
He cites a letter to the U.S. state department.

²¹⁰ The Poem is mentioned, and excerpts are provided, in Wayne Cooper's biography on McKay. However, the poem is provided in its entirety online via an e-book version of Winston James' *A Fierce Hatred of Injustice: Claude McKay's Jamaica and His Poetry of Rebellion* (London: Verso, 2000), 172. The website for the e-book is below.
http://books.google.com/books?id=85KuR05BDacC&pg=PA172&lpg=PA172&dq=king+banana+by+claudemckay&source=bl&ots=AXaCncTeob&sig=oFuE9ZPH5A0IS13iTWLlX8KXNJc&hl=en&sa=X&ei=P_mSUuPVMojc2gWan4CYCg&ved=0CCsQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=king%20banana%20by%20claudemckay&f=false.

²¹¹ James, *Holding Aloft*, 19.

²¹² Grant, *Negro with a Hat*, 26.

²¹³ Grant, *Negro with a Hat*, 26.

The Handbook of Jamaica also mentions that boys, girls and children had much more difficulty carrying bananas on their head in comparison to oranges and other fruits.

²¹⁴ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1891-92*, 294.

²¹⁵ James, *Holding Aloft*, 20.

²¹⁶ Cooper, *Claude McKay*, 2.

²¹⁷ Cooper, *Claude McKay*, 2.

²¹⁸ James, *Holding Aloft*, 20-21.

²¹⁹ James, *Holding Aloft*, 22.

²²⁰ James, *Holding Aloft*, 22.

²²¹ James, *Holding Aloft*, 21-22.

James declared it a transition from peasant to proletariat.

²²² S. P. Musson and T. Laurence Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1895 Published by Authority, Comprising Historical, Statistical, and General Information Concerning the Island* (Kingston: Government Printing Office, 1895), 539.

²²³ James, *Holding Aloft*, 22.

²²⁴ James, *Holding Aloft*, 360.

²²⁵ James, *Holding Aloft*, 360.

²²⁶ James, *Holding Aloft*, 360.

²²⁷ “Political Meeting at Black River: Hon. A Dixon Addresses his constituents,” *Kingston Gleaner*. (Kingston, JM), March 4, 1899.

²²⁸ James, *Holding Aloft*, 23.

²²⁹ Watkin- Owens, *Blood Relations*, 12.

²³⁰ Cassidy, “Pro Rege,” 3.

²³¹ Cassidy, “Pro Rege,” 3-4.

²³² Cassidy, Pro Rege,” 3.

²³³ Cassidy, Pro Rege.”

²³⁴ “Jamaica History 5” *The Gleaner* accessed on September 1, 2015.

<http://www.discoverjamaica.com/gleaner/discover/geography/history5.htm>

This site provides details on the Florence Case. However, other sites and publications provide different dates for the ordeal as well as a different destination for the ship. All publications agree that the event caused Jamaicans to want less imperial control on the island.

²³⁵ H. A. Will, *Constitutional Change in the West Indies, 1880-1903: With special reference to Jamaica, British Guiana and Trinidad* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 64.

The information about ‘Jamaica for Jamaicans’ is within a footnote on the page.

²³⁶ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 39.

²³⁷ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 63.

This information is in the footnote on page 63.

²³⁸ Patrick E. Bryan, *Jamaican People, 1880-1902: Race, Class and Social Control* (Kingston, the University of the West Indies Press, 1991), 13.

He listed all of the members of the council in 1884, including those who were appointed or nominated by the British Government.

²³⁹ Bryan, *Jamaican People*, 13.

Bryan discussed the number of elected member and their political power of the financial veto.

²⁴⁰ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 87.

²⁴¹ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 87.

²⁴² Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica* 1893, 107.

²⁴³ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 60.

²⁴⁴ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 60.

²⁴⁵ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 60-61.

The Handbook of Jamaica and Historian, H.A. Will, list the exact numbers for the racial make-up of Jamaicans on the register for the election in 1886. The Handbook of Jamaica alone provides the statistics on racial make-up of the entire population. I utilized this information to calculate the percentages for each race that are provided in this paragraph.

²⁴⁶ Cooper, *Claude McKay*, 8.

²⁴⁷ Bryan, *Jamaican People*, 13.

²⁴⁸ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1891-92*, 337.

²⁴⁹ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1893*, 107.

²⁵⁰ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1893*, 107.

²⁵¹ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1893*, 107.

²⁵² Will, *Constitutional Change*, 62.

²⁵³ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1893*, 107.

²⁵⁴ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 62.

²⁵⁵ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 63.

²⁵⁶ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1895*, 101.

²⁵⁷ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 88.

²⁵⁸ A. A. Ford and Jos C. Finlay, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1906 Comprising of Historical, Statistical and General Information Concerning the Island*, (London: Government Printing Office, 1906), 93.

²⁵⁹ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 61.

²⁶⁰ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1893*, 538-539.

²⁶¹ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 61.

²⁶² Will, *Constitutional Change*, 61.

Will listed the occupation for all of the aforementioned politicians.

²⁶³ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 62.

²⁶⁴ "Political Meeting at Black River: Hon. A Dixon Addresses his constituents."

²⁶⁵ "Political Meeting at Black River: Hon. A Dixon Addresses his constituents."

²⁶⁶ "Political Meeting at Black River: Hon. A Dixon Addresses his constituents."

²⁶⁷ "Political Meeting at Black River: Hon. A Dixon Addresses his constituents."

²⁶⁸ James, *Holding Aloft*, 23.

James cites Jamaica by Gisela Eisner for his statistic on the housing tax.

-
- ²⁶⁹ “Political Meeting at Black River: Hon. A Dixon Addresses his constituents.”
- ²⁷⁰ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 64.
- ²⁷¹ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 65-66.
- ²⁷² Ford and Finlay, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1906*, 333-334.
- ²⁷³ Ford and Finlay, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1906*, 333-334.
- ²⁷⁴ James, *Holding Aloft*, 24.
- ²⁷⁵ Roxburgh and Ford, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1901*, 311. It included all of the aforementioned numbers.
- ²⁷⁶ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 65-66.
- ²⁷⁷ Verene A. Sheperd, ‘The Dynamics of Afro-Jamaican –East Indian Relations in Jamaica, 1845-1945: A Preliminary Analysis’ *Caribbean Quarterly* 32 (1986):19.
- ²⁷⁸ Sheperd, “The Dynamics,” 19.
- ²⁷⁹ Cooper, *Claude McKay*, 48.
- ²⁸⁰ Cooper, *Claude McKay*, 48.
- ²⁸¹ Will, *Constitutional Change*, 65.
- ²⁸² Amy Ashwood “The Birth of the Universal Negro Improvement Association” in *Look for Me all around You: Anglophile Caribbean immigrants in the Harlem Renaissance*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005), 100.
I also read Tony Martin’s version of the meeting in his biography of Ashwood.
- ²⁸³ Ashwood, 101 and Tony Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey: Pan-Africanist, Feminist and Mrs. Marcus Garvey No.1 Or, A Tale of Two Amies* (Dover: The Majority Press, 2007), 21.
- ²⁸⁴ Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey*, 24.
- ²⁸⁵ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1895*, 92. The HOJ includes the account of the story mentioned in this paragraph.
- ²⁸⁶ “Soldiers’ Riot,” the *Kingston Gleaner* (Kingston, JA) October 18, 1894.
- ²⁸⁷ “Soldiers’ Riot.”
- ²⁸⁸ “Soldiers’ Riot.”
- ²⁸⁹ “Soldiers’ Riot.”
- ²⁹⁰ “Soldiers’ Riot.”
- ²⁹¹ “Soldiers’ Riot.”
- ²⁹² Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1895*, 92.
- ²⁹³ “Soldiers’ Riot.”

²⁹⁴ “Soldiers’ Riot.”

²⁹⁵ “Soldiers’ Riot.”

All of the information for this paragraph was gathered from this article.

²⁹⁶ “Soldiers’ Riot.”

²⁹⁷ “Soldiers’ Riot.”

²⁹⁸ Roxburgh and Ford, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1901*, 455-467.

²⁹⁹ Roxburgh and Ford, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1901*, 457.

³⁰⁰ Roxburgh and Ford, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1901*, 463.

³⁰¹ “Political Meeting at Black River: Hon. A Dixon Addresses his constituents.”

³⁰² Garvey, “The Negro’s Greatest Enemy,” in *“Look for Me All Around You,”* 70.

³⁰³ Edgar L. Erickson, “The Introduction of East Indian Coolies into the British West Indies,” *The Journal of Modern History* 6 (1934): 128-129.

³⁰⁴ Edgar L. Erickson, “East Indian Coolies,” 128-129.

³⁰⁵ Erickson, “East Indian Coolies,” 130.

³⁰⁶ Erickson, “East Indian Coolies,” 130.

³⁰⁷ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1891-92*, 47-48.

³⁰⁸ Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006), 13.

³⁰⁹ Jung, *Coolies and Cane*, 13.

³¹⁰ Jung, *Coolies and Cane*, 13.

³¹¹ Jung, *Coolies and Cane*, 13.

³¹² Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1891-92*, 47.

³¹³ Erickson, “East Indian Coolies,” 134-135.

³¹⁴ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1891-92*, 151.

³¹⁵ Erickson, “East Indian Coolies,” 133.

³¹⁶ Erickson, “East Indian Coolies,” 136.

³¹⁷ Erickson, “East Indian Coolies,” 142.

Erickson cited the quote from another source.

³¹⁸ *The Kingston Gleaner*, “Resumption of Immigration: Arrival of the ship Erne” Friday April 3, 1891 pg. 11.

-
- ³¹⁹ Jung, *Coolies and Cane*, 26.
- ³²⁰ Jung, *Coolies and Cane*, 26.
- ³²¹ Jung, *Coolies and Cane*, 27.
- ³²² Ford and Finaly, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1906*, 223.
- ³²³ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1893*, 215.
- ³²⁴ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1893*, 215.
- ³²⁵ Sheperd, "The Dynamics," 18.
- ³²⁶ Ethelred Brown, "Labor Conditions in Jamaica Prior to 1917," *The Journal of Negro History* 4 (1919): 353.
- ³²⁷ James, *Holding Aloft*, 21.
- ³²⁸ James, *Holding Aloft*, 21.
- ³²⁹ Mintz, *Sweetness*, 176.
- ³³⁰ Shperd, "The Dynamics," 23.
- ³³¹ Sheperd, "The Dynamics," 14-26.
- ³³² Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1891-92*, 296.
- ³³³ Gladwell, *Outliers*, 275.
- ³³⁴ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1895*, 41.
- ³³⁵ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1895*, 41.
- ³³⁶ Model, *West Indian Immigrants*, 12-231.
- ³³⁷ Model, *West Indian Immigrants*, 13.
- ³³⁸ Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 14.
- ³³⁹ Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora*, 21.
- ³⁴⁰ Dodson and Diouf eds., *In Motion*, 159.
- ³⁴¹ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations* 21-22.
- ³⁴² Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations* 21-22.
- ³⁴³ William H. King, letter to James S. Watson, October 23, 1922. This letter was found in the James S Watson Collection at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture (SCRBS).
- ³⁴⁴ James S. Watson's Petition for Naturalization was located in the Municipal Archives New York City.
- ³⁴⁵ Mrs. James Watson in the New York, Passenger Lists, 1820-1957 "List of Manifest of Alien Passengers for the U.S. Immigration Officer at Port of Arrival" accessed on April 3, 2015, <http://search.ancestrylibrary.com/cgi->

bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=nypl&gss=angs-
d&new=1&rank=1&msT=1&gsfn=James&gsln_x=NP_NN_NS&msadm=6&msadm_x=1&msady=1905&msad
y_x=1&msapn__ftp=New+York%2c+USA&msapn=35&msapn_PInfo=5-
%7c0%7c1652393%7c0%7c2%7c3244%7c35%7c0%7c0%7c0%7c0%7c&msedy=1905&msep_n__ftp=Kingston
%2c+Jamaica&msep_n=852433&msep_n_PInfo=5-
%7c0%7c1652393%7c0%7c5119%7c0%7c852433%7c0%7c0%7c0%7c0%7c&MSAV=0&uidh=uf3&pcat=40
&fh=0&h=4035958326&recoff=9&ml_rpos=1.

³⁴⁶ Dodson and Diouf eds., *In Motion*, 160-161.

³⁴⁷ Dodson and Diouf eds., *In Motion*, 160-161.

³⁴⁸ W.A. Domingo, "Gift of the Black Tropics" printed in Louis J. Parascandola ed. *"Look for Me All Around You: " Anglophone Caribbean Immigrants in the Harlem Renaissance* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005), 177.

³⁴⁹ William H. King, letter to James S. Watson, October 23, 1922. This letter was found in the James S Watson Collection at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture (SCRBS).

³⁵⁰ Cooper, *Claude McKay*, 60.

³⁵¹ Quoted in *Jamaica Times* on August 10, 1912. This excerpt is published in Cooper, *Claude McKay*, 61.

³⁵² Louis J. Parascandola, *"Look for Me All Around You: " Anglophone Caribbean Immigrants in the Harlem Renaissance* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005), 273.

³⁵³ McKay, *A Long Way*, 9.

³⁵⁴ McKay, *A Long Way*, 10.

³⁵⁵ McKay, *A Long Way*, 21.

³⁵⁶ McKay, *A Long Way*, 21.

³⁵⁷ McKay, *A Long Way*, 10.

³⁵⁸ James, *Holding Aloft*, 50-91.

³⁵⁹ James, *Holding Aloft*, 62.

³⁶⁰ James, *Holding Aloft*, 55.

³⁶¹ James, *Holding Aloft*, 50-91.

³⁶² James, *Holding Aloft*, 56-68.

³⁶³ James, *Holding Aloft*, 68.

³⁶⁴ Haynes, "let the Empire Perish, *African*, May 1946, p. 7. This excerpt is printed in James, 68.

³⁶⁵ Marcus Garvey, "Greatest Enemy," 52.

³⁶⁶ Garvey, "Greatest Enemy," 69-70.

³⁶⁷ Garvey, "Greatest Enemy," 70.

-
- ³⁶⁸ Garvey, "Greatest Enemy," 70.
- ³⁶⁹ Garvey, "Greatest Enemy," 70-72.
These pages include all of the personal information mentioned about Garvey.
- ³⁷⁰ James, 50.
- ³⁷¹ Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1891-92*, 25.
- ³⁷² Musson and Roxburgh, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1891-92*, 278.
- ³⁷³ Musson and Ford, *The Handbook of Jamaica, 1901*, 423.
- ³⁷⁴ Musson and Ford, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1901*, 424.
- ³⁷⁵ Musson and Ford, *The Handbook of Jamaica 1901*, 420.
- ³⁷⁶ Grant, *Negro with a Hat*, 26.
- ³⁷⁷ Model, *West Indian Immigrants*, 15.
- ³⁷⁸ Dodson and Diouf eds., *In Motion*, 166.
- ³⁷⁹ Dodson and Diouf eds., *In Motion*, 166.
- ³⁸⁰ James, *Holding Aloft*, 355.
- ³⁸¹ James, *Holding Aloft*, 355.
- ³⁸² Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants since 1882* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 53.
- ³⁸³ Daniels, *Golden Door*, 53. and Model, *West Indian Immigrants*, 15.
- ³⁸⁴ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 23.
- ³⁸⁵ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 23.
- ³⁸⁶ Patricia Sullivan, *Lift Every Voice: The NAACP and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: The New Press, 2009), 31.
- ³⁸⁷ Patricia Sullivan, *Lift Every Voice*, 31.
- ³⁸⁸ Patricia Sullivan, *Lift Every Voice*, 31.
- ³⁸⁹ James, *Holding Aloft*, 356.
This chart is an adaption of a chart in James' publication.
- ³⁹⁰ James, *Holding Aloft*, 12.
- ³⁹¹ Dodson and Diouf eds., *In Motion*, 162.
- ³⁹² Dodson and Diouf eds., *In Motion*, 162.
- ³⁹³ Jamaica Law 35 of 1893.

³⁹⁴ Dodson and Diouf eds., *In Motion*, 161. They list the countries where Caribbean emigrants travelled to labor.

³⁹⁵ James, *Holding Aloft*, 28.

James list some places on the list. But, does not mention America.

³⁹⁶ Jamaica Law 35 of 1893.

³⁹⁷ James, *Holding Aloft*, 28.

³⁹⁸ Jamaica Law 35 of 1893.

³⁹⁹ Jamaica Law 35 of 1893.

⁴⁰⁰ Parascandola, “*Look for Me All Around You*,” 288.

⁴⁰¹ Jamaica Law 35 of 1893.

All of the information for this paragraph was gathered from the actual law.

⁴⁰² Jamaica Law 35 of 1893.

⁴⁰³ Jamaica Law 16 of 1894.

All of the information for this paragraph was gathered from the actual law.

⁴⁰⁴ Jamaica Law 23 of 1902.

⁴⁰⁵ Jamaica Law 23 of 1902.

⁴⁰⁶ James, *Holding Aloft*, 29.

⁴⁰⁷ Jamaica Law 18 of 1903.

⁴⁰⁸ James, *Holding Aloft*, 29.

⁴⁰⁹ James, *Holding Aloft*, 29.

James is just one source who mentions this information.

⁴¹⁰ Jamaica Law 41 of 1924.

⁴¹¹ Jamaica Law 41 of 1924.

⁴¹² Dodson and Diouf eds., *In Motion*, 161.

⁴¹³ Dodson and Diouf eds., *In Motion*, 161.

⁴¹⁴ Watkins-Owens, *In Motion*, 16.

⁴¹⁵ Martin, *Amy Ashwood Garvey*, 34-36.

⁴¹⁶ James, *Holding Aloft*, 15.

⁴¹⁷ James, *Holding Aloft*, 15.

⁴¹⁸ James, *Holding Aloft*, 15-16.

-
- ⁴¹⁹ Dodson and Diouf eds., *In Motion*, 161.
- ⁴²⁰ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 22.
- ⁴²¹ Dodson and Diouf eds., *In Motion*, 161-162.
- ⁴²² Eliethia (Lee) Pretto Mendel, interview by Janet Levine, December 3, 2003, 9. This article was provided by George Tselos at Ellis Island.
- ⁴²³ Ira Berlin, *The Making*, 154.
- ⁴²⁴ Grossman, "*Land of Hope*, 3-4.
- ⁴²⁵ Wilkerson, *The Warmth*, 178.
- ⁴²⁶ Grossman, "*Land of Hope*, 14.
- ⁴²⁷ "Colored Exodus From Sunny South: Better Wages paid in Northern Sections and Southland Cotton Growers Threatened with Serious Shortage of Unskilled labor," in *Buffalo Times* (Buffalo, NY), Apr. 23, 1923. This article was found in the NAACP files on migration at the Library of Congress.
- ⁴²⁸ "Shift of Negro labor to the North Continues in the Winter," *St. Louis (St. Louis, MO)*, Feb. 9, 1923. This article was found in the NAACP files on migration at the Library of Congress.
- ⁴²⁹ "Restricting Immigration," *New York Age* (New York, NY) May 12, 1923. This article was found in the NAACP files on migration at the Library of Congress.
- ⁴³⁰ "Combatting Negro Migration," *Houston Informer* (Houston, TX) May 12, 1923. This article was found in the NAACP files on migration at the Library of Congress.
- ⁴³¹ Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 50.
- ⁴³² Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, 131.
- ⁴³³ Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 13.
- ⁴³⁴ Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 17.
- ⁴³⁵ Eliethia (Lee) Pretto Mendel, interview.
- ⁴³⁶ Berlin, *The Making*, 168.
- ⁴³⁷ Berlin, *The Making*, 168.
Berlin discussed the grim conditions on trains for migrants who travelled during the early years of the movement.
- ⁴³⁸ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 1-2.
- ⁴³⁹ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 2.
- ⁴⁴⁰ David Levering Lewis, *When Harlem was In Vogue* (New York: Penguin Books, 1979), 27.
Lewis discussed the movement from the Old Five-Points Slum to San Juan Hill and the Tenderloin.
- ⁴⁴¹ Osofsky, *Harlem*, 84-85.

⁴⁴² Lewis, *In Vogue*, 27.

⁴⁴³ James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1930), 126-127. Johnson gives information on the entire event.

⁴⁴⁴ Johnson, *Black Manhattan*, 127.

⁴⁴⁵ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 2.

She mentions that riots occurred in 1900 and 1905. Also, the below website gives details on the 1900 riot. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/1900/filmmore/reference/interview/washing_nycityriot.html.

⁴⁴⁶ Samuel J. Battle, interview by Patrolman John Kelly, February, 1960, 23. This interview was found in the Oral History Office at Columbia University.

⁴⁴⁷ Samuel J Battle, interview.

⁴⁴⁸ Johnson, *Black Manhattan*, 127-128.

⁴⁴⁹ Osofsky, *Harlem* 87-91. He discusses the development of Harlem during the turn of the 20th century.

⁴⁵⁰ Lewis, *In Vogue*, 25.

He mentions the depression.

⁴⁵¹ Lewis, *In Vogue*, 25.

⁴⁵² Lewis, *In Vogue*, 25.

⁴⁵³ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 42.

⁴⁵⁴ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 42.

⁴⁵⁵ Lewis, *In Vogue*, 26.

⁴⁵⁶ Lewis, *In Vogue*, 26.

⁴⁵⁷ Osofsky, *Harlem*, 97.

He provides the aforementioned information on Thomas's life.

⁴⁵⁸ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 42.

⁴⁵⁹ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 42.

⁴⁶⁰ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 43.

⁴⁶¹ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 40.

⁴⁶² Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*. 39-55

She examines the role of the church in spurring the movement to Harlem and in preaching about the movement.

⁴⁶³ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 40.

⁴⁶⁴ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 40.

⁴⁶⁵ "History of the Abyssinian Baptist Church," Abyssinian Baptist Church accessed on September 10, 2015.

<http://abyssinian.org/about-us/history/> (02/13/2014). This site lists a brief history on the church, which was used for this paragraph.

⁴⁶⁶ Osofsky, *Harlem*, 115.

⁴⁶⁷ Lester A. Walton, "Housing Problem is Complicated by Negro Migration," *The World* (New York City, NY), Oct. 10, 1923.

⁴⁶⁸ Walton, "Housing Problem."

⁴⁶⁹ Walton, "Housing Problem."

⁴⁷⁰ Walton, "Housing Problem."

⁴⁷¹ Lewis, *In Vogue*, 108.

⁴⁷² Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 40.

⁴⁷³ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 41.

⁴⁷⁴ Lewis, *In Vogue*, 26.

⁴⁷⁵ James, *Holding Aloft*, 50.

⁴⁷⁶ Durahn Tayloy, "The New Negro and New York politics, 1893-1933" in *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*." January 1, 2011.

⁴⁷⁷ James, *Holding Aloft*, 50.

⁴⁷⁸ "The Negro Migration" no further information available. Found in NAACP clippings on the southern migration in NAACP Collection in Manuscript Division at the Library of Congress.

⁴⁷⁹ Model, *West Indian Immigrants*, 21-22.

⁴⁸⁰ Model, *West Indian Immigrants*, 22.

⁴⁸¹ Model, *West Indian Immigrants*, 22.

⁴⁸² Model, *West Indian Immigrants*, 22.

⁴⁸³ Model, *West Indian Immigrants*, 23.

Model provides more information about this wave. She exclaimed that under certain circumstances, a permit from the U.S. Department of Labor was required for those who wanted to emigrate from the western hemisphere, and the Department of Labor favored domestic servants and nurses. Therefore, the sex ratio was slightly skewed in favor of females because they held those occupations in the islands. Model suggests that the West Indian matrifocal family structure also contributed to the larger number of Black female immigrants from the West Indies, than males. Specifically, since 1970, 45% of "prime-age" West Indian immigrants have been men and 55% have been women.

⁴⁸⁴ Claude McKay, "Claude McKay Describes His Own Life: A Negro Poet," *Pearson's Magazine*, September 1918, 275.

⁴⁸⁵ McKay, "Claude McKay Describes His Own Life," 275.

⁴⁸⁶ McKay, "Claude McKay Describes His Own Life," 275.

-
- ⁴⁸⁷ McKay, "Claude McKay Describes His Own Life," 275.
- ⁴⁸⁸ McKay, "Claude McKay Describes His Own Life," 275.
- ⁴⁸⁹ *Academy of American Poets*, accessed November 8, 2015, <https://www.poets.org/poetsorg/poem/if-we-must-die>.
- ⁴⁹⁰ Carbado, "Racial Naturalization," 636.
- ⁴⁹¹ McKay, "Claude McKay Describes His Own Life," 275.
- ⁴⁹² McKay, "Claude McKay Describes His Own Life," 275.
- ⁴⁹³ McKay, "Claude McKay Describes His Own Life," 275.
- ⁴⁹⁴ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 92-111.
- ⁴⁹⁵ UCLA African Studies Center, *Marcus Garvey Papers, American Series Introduction: Volume 1: 1826—August 1919*. Accessed August 7, 2015, <http://www.international.ucla.edu/africa/mgpp/intro01>.
- ⁴⁹⁶ UCLA African Studies Center, *American Series Introduction: Retreat From Radicalism*. Accessed September 29, 2015, <http://www.international.ucla.edu/africa/mgpp/intro01>.
- ⁴⁹⁷ "Republicans in Revolt over Judge Parkers Nomination," 2.
This essay was found in the N.A.A.C.P. Collection from the Manuscript Division at the Library of Congress. The author of the document is not listed.
- ⁴⁹⁸ "Republicans in Revolt over Judge Parkers Nomination," 2.
- ⁴⁹⁹ "Republicans in Revolt over Judge Parkers Nomination," 2.
- ⁵⁰⁰ "Republicans in Revolt over Judge Parkers Nomination," 1.
- ⁵⁰¹ "Republicans in Revolt over Judge Parkers Nomination," 2.
- ⁵⁰² "The Judiciary," *The Fraternal Review*, 9 no.11 (1930): 2.
- ⁵⁰³ "The Judiciary," 2.
- ⁵⁰⁴ "The Judiciary," 2.
- ⁵⁰⁵ Martin, *Amy Ashwood, Garvey*, 38.
- ⁵⁰⁶ "Mr. Justice Watson," This article was found in the James S. Watson Collection at the SCRBC.
- ⁵⁰⁷ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 79.
- ⁵⁰⁸ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 79.
- ⁵⁰⁹ This information was gathered from a Watson campaign flyer. The flyer was located in the James S. Watson Collection at the SCRBC.
- ⁵¹⁰ "Mr. Justice Watson."

⁵¹¹ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, pg. 75-76.

⁵¹² Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 76.

⁵¹³ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 76.

⁵¹⁴ “Lively Bench Fight Due Among Negroes,” *New York Times* (New York City, NY) June 30, 1930. This article was found in the James S. Watson Collection at the SCRBC.

⁵¹⁵ “Lively Bench Fight Due Among Negroes.”

⁵¹⁶ “Lively Bench Fight Due Among Negroes.”

⁵¹⁷ “Lively Bench Fight Due Among Negroes.”

⁵¹⁸ “Judicial Measurement,” *The New York State Contender* 2, no. 1 (1930): 8. This article was found in the James S. Watson Collection at the SCRBC.

⁵¹⁹ “Judge Watson Talk’s.” This article was found in the James S. Watson Collection at the SCRBC.

⁵¹⁹ “Lively Bench Fight Due Among Negroes.”

⁵²⁰ “Judge Watson Talk’s.”

⁵²¹ “Judge Watson Talk’s.”

⁵²² “Lively Bench Fight Due Among Negroes.”

⁵²³ “Lively Bench Fight Due Among Negroes.”

⁵²⁴ “The Judiciary,” 2.

⁵²⁵ “Lively Bench Fight Due Among Negroes.”

⁵²⁶ “Mr. Justice Watson.”

⁵²⁷ “Judicial Measurement,” 8.

⁵²⁸ The Non- Partisan Committee for the Election of Charles E. Toney and James S. Watson as Justices of the Municipal Court, 10th Judicial District, “An Appeal for Progress.” This flyer was found in the James S. Watson Papers at the SCRBC.

⁵²⁹ The Non- Partisan Committee for the Election of Charles E. Toney and James S. Watson as Justices of the Municipal Court, 10th Judicial District, “An Appeal for Progress.”

⁵³⁰ The Non- Partisan Committee for the Election of Charles E. Toney and James S. Watson as Justices of the Municipal Court, 10th Judicial District, “An Appeal for Progress.”

⁵³¹ “The Judiciary,” 3.

⁵³² “The Judiciary,” 3.

⁵³³ “The Judiciary,” 3.

⁵³⁴ Saul Young, "Witchcraft or Wisdom: Observations of the political scene," *Club World* (New York City, NY). This article was found in the James S. Watson Collection at SCRBC. It did not include a date. 12-14.

⁵³⁵ Young, "Witchcraft or Wisdom," 12.

⁵³⁶ Young, "Witchcraft or Wisdom," 13.

⁵³⁷ "Disloyalty To His Race: Young Rivers Unworthy of Suffrage of Colored Voters," *The Fraternal Review*, 9 no.11 (1930).

⁵³⁸ "Disloyalty To His Race: Young Rivers Unworthy of Suffrage of Colored Voters."

⁵³⁹ "Disloyalty To His Race: Young Rivers Unworthy of Suffrage of Colored Voters."

⁵⁴⁰ "Disloyalty To His Race: Young Rivers Unworthy of Suffrage of Colored Voters."

⁵⁴¹ "The Judiciary," 2.

⁵⁴² "The Judiciary," 2.

⁵⁴³ "The Judiciary," 2.

⁵⁴⁴ "The Judiciary," 2.

⁵⁴⁵ "The Judiciary," 3.

⁵⁴⁶ "The Judiciary," 3.

⁵⁴⁷ "Democrats Favored in Tenth Judiciary Fight as Campaign Advances," *the New York Contender* (New York City, NY), Oct 24, 1930.

⁵⁴⁸ "Roosevelt Wins in Westchester," *The New York Times* (New York City, NY), Nov. 5, 1930.

⁵⁴⁹ "Mr. Justice Watson,"

⁵⁵⁰ "Judge Watson, Civil Service Head, Dies," This article was found in the James S. Watson Collection at SCRBC.

⁵⁵¹ "Humorous Passages to Lighten Labours; Judge Watson Jamaican Born Having Breathing Spell from N.Y. Bench." *Jamaica Times*, Aug 15, 1931.

⁵⁵² "Humorous Passages to Lighten Labours."

⁵⁵³ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 83.

⁵⁵⁴ James Fleming, "Britain's Queen And US Officials Honor Watson,"

⁵⁵⁵ "Family is Inspiration of James S. Watson, Who Gains in the Tenth Judiciary Battle," *New York Defender* (New York City, NY), Oct. 17, 1930. This article was found in the James S. Watson Collection at the SCRBC.

⁵⁵⁶ "Judge Watson, Civil Service Head, Dies."

⁵⁵⁷ "Children of James Samuel Watson," The birthday for each of Watson's kids were written on a sheet of paper. The paper was found in the James S. Watson Collection at the SCRBC.

-
- ⁵⁵⁸ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 79.
- ⁵⁵⁹ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 79.
- ⁵⁶⁰ Charles A. Taussig, Letter to James S. Watson, July 31, 1930. This letter was found in the James S. Watson Collection at the SCRBC.
- ⁵⁶¹ Martin L. H. Barclay, Letter to James S. Watson, April 21, 1931. This letter was found in the James S. Watson Collection at the SCRBC.
- ⁵⁶² Granville I. Jordan, "What Makes an Election Great," November 1930. This sign was found in the James S. Watson Collection at the SCRBC.
- ⁵⁶³ "Judge Watson Sees Bright Future Here," *Harlem Home Journal*, Dec 31, 1931.
- ⁵⁶⁴ Charles Marks, Letter to James S. Watson, September 26, 1930. This letter was found in the James S. Watson Collection at the SCRBC.
- ⁵⁶⁵ John E. Stevens, Esq, Letter to Voters from, Oct. 23, 1930.
- ⁵⁶⁶ "Family is inspiration of James S. Watson."
- ⁵⁶⁷ Vere E. Johns, "Let Us Be Friends," *The New York Age* (New York City, NY), Jan. 14. This article was found in the James S. Watson Collection at the SCRBC.
- ⁵⁶⁸ Johns, "Let Us Be Friends."
- ⁵⁶⁹ Johns, "Let Us Be Friends."
- ⁵⁷⁰ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 83.
- ⁵⁷¹ Claude McKay, *A Long Way From Home*, 11-12.
- ⁵⁷² Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 80.
- ⁵⁷³ Parascandola, "Look For Me All Around You," 6.
- ⁵⁷⁴ Parascandola, "Look For Me All Around You," 6.
- ⁵⁷⁵ Parascandola, "Look For Me All Around You," 6.
- ⁵⁷⁶ James, *Holding Aloft*, 362.
- ⁵⁷⁷ James, *Holding Aloft*, 362.
- ⁵⁷⁸ James, *Holding Aloft*, 362.
- ⁵⁷⁹ James, *Holding Aloft*, 362.
- ⁵⁸⁰ James, *Holding Aloft*, 362.
- ⁵⁸¹ Osofsky, *The Making of a Ghetto*, 133.
- ⁵⁸² Osofsky, *The Making of a Ghetto*, 133.

-
- ⁵⁸³ Osofsky, *The Making of a Ghetto*, 133.
- ⁵⁸⁴ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relations*, 128.
- ⁵⁸⁵ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Relation*, 129.
- ⁵⁸⁶ Parascandola, *Look For Me All Around You*, 15.
- ⁵⁸⁷ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Realtions*, 129.
- ⁵⁸⁸ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Realtions*, 129.
- ⁵⁸⁹ Watkins-Owens, *Blood Realtions*, 129.
- ⁵⁹⁰ McKay, "Claude McKay Describes his own Life."
- ⁵⁹¹ Poetry Nook, accessed on Nov 12, 2015.
<http://www.poetrynook.com/poem/elevator-boy>.
- ⁵⁹² The Industrial Department of the New York Urban League, "Twenty-Four Hundred Negro Families in Harlem," (case study, New York City, 1927), 23.
- ⁵⁹³ The Industrial Department of the New York Urban League, "Twenty-Four Hundred Negro Families in Harlem," 23.
- ⁵⁹⁴ The Industrial Department of the New York Urban League, "Twenty-Four Hundred Negro Families in Harlem," 24.
- ⁵⁹⁵ The Industrial Department of the New York Urban League, "Twenty-Four Hundred Negro Families in Harlem," 24.
- ⁵⁹⁶ The Industrial Department of the New York Urban League, "Twenty-Four Hundred Negro Families in Harlem," 24.
- ⁵⁹⁷ The Industrial Department of the New York Urban League, "Twenty-Four Hundred Negro Families in Harlem," 20.
- ⁵⁹⁸ The Industrial Department of the New York Urban League, "Twenty-Four Hundred Negro Families in Harlem," 21.
- ⁵⁹⁹ The Industrial Department of the New York Urban League, "Twenty-Four Hundred Negro Families in Harlem," 21.
- ⁶⁰⁰ The Industrial Department of the New York Urban League, "Twenty-Four Hundred Negro Families in Harlem," 21.
- ⁶⁰¹ The Industrial Department of the New York Urban League, "Twenty-Four Hundred Negro Families in Harlem," 21-22.
- ⁶⁰² UCLA African Studies Center's, Marcus Garvey Papers, American Series Introduction: Volume 1: 1826—August 1919
<http://www.international.ucla.edu/africa/mgpp/intro01>.
- ⁶⁰³ James, *Holding Aloft*, 134-135.

⁶⁰⁴ Langston Hughes, “I, too.” Academy of American Poets. Accessed on November 18, 2015.
<https://www.poets.org/poetsorg/poem/i-too>.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The National Archives

INS Records

Passenger arrival records (New York, New York and Baltimore, Maryland), 1882-1957

Petitions for Naturalizations in New York City, The Eastern District, 1890-1930

Petitions for Naturalization in New York City, The Southern District, 1890-1930

Department of The National Archives of the United States, New York City

Manifest of the of alien passengers for the United States between 1890-1930

The Library of Congress (LOC)

African American pamphlets, 1822-1909

Booker T. Washington Collection

Carter G. Woodson Collection

Music Division Holdings

NAACP Papers

James Weldon Johnson

Langston Hughes papers

W.E.B. Du Bois

National Urban League Papers

The Crisis

W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (online)

The Niagara Movement Papers

LOC Microfilm

Black Workers in the Era of the Great Migration, 1916-19229

UCLA African Studies Center

The Marcus Garvey and The Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers

Columbia University Oral History

Samuel J Battle

Ellis Island Oral History

Eliethia (Lee) Pretto Endel

Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture (SCRBC)

American West Indian Ladies Aide Society

Abyssinian Baptist Church Oral History Project

John Edward Bruce papers

James Watson Papers

Frank Crosswaither Papers

UNIA Records of the Central Division 1918-1959

The Frederick Douglass Papers (published)

Census

Statistics of Women at Work: Based On Unpublished Information Derived from the Schedules of the Twelfth Census:1900 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1907)

Special Census Report on the Occupations of the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890. (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906)

Newspapers, Journals, and Magazines

Amsterdam News

Baltimore Afro-American

Buffalo Times

Crisis

Crusader Magazine

Daily Gleaner -Kingston Gleaner-Jamaica Gleaner

Harlem Liberator

Houston Informer

Jamaica Times

Montgomery Advertiser

New York Sun

Pearson's Magazine

The Fraternal Review

The Jamaica Times

The Negro World

The New York State Contender

The New York Times

The Washington Bee

West Indian American

Government Publications

Ford, A. A. and Finlay, Jos C. *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1906 Comprising of Historical, Statistical and General Information Concerning the Island*. London: Government Printing Office, 1906.

Musson, S. P. and Roxburgh, T. Laurence. *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1891-92: Comprising Historical, Statistical and Other Information Concerning the Island*. Kingston: Government Printing Establishment, 1891.

Musson, S. P. and Roxburgh, T. Laurence. *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1893: Published by Authority, Comprising Historical, Statistical, and General Information Concerning the Island*. Kingston: Government Printing Office. 1893.

Musson, S. P. and Roxburgh, T. Laurence. *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1895 Published by Authority, Comprising Historical, Statistical, and General Information Concerning the Island*. Kingston: Government Printing Office, 1895.

Roxburgh, T.L. and Ford, Jos. C. *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1901, Comprising Historical, Statistical, and General Information Concerning the Island*. Kingston: Government Printing Office, 1901.

Ford, A. A. and Finlay, Jos C. *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1906 Comprising of Historical, Statistical and General Information Concerning the Island*. London: Government Printing Office, 1906.

Articles

- Abbott, Carl. "Dimensions of Regional Change in Washington, D.C." *The American Historical Review*, 95: (1990).
- Brown, Elsa Barkley. "African American Political Life in the transition from slavery to freedom" in *African American Religious Thought: An Anthology*.
Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003.
- Carbado, Devon. "Racial Naturalization" *American Quarterly* 57.3 (2005).
- Cassidy, Cherly M. "Pro Rege, Lege and Grege: Newspaper Accounts of the Jamaica Insurrection and Its After math." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 25 (1992).
- Delgado-Tall, Sonia. "The New Negro Movement and the African Heritage in Pan-Africanist Perspective." *Journal of Black Studies*. Vol.31, No.3 (Jan., 2001).
- Delle, James A. "The Landscapes of Class Negotiation on Coffee Plantations in the Blue Mountains of Jamaica" 1790-1850. *Historical Archeology* 33 (1999).
- "Disloyalty to His Race." *The Fraternal Review*," 9 no.11 (1930): 1.
- "Democrats Favored in Tenth Judiciary Fight as Campaign Advances." *the New York Contender*. (New York City, NY), Oct 24, 1930.
- Early, Gerald. "Three Notes Toward a Cultural Definition of the Harlem Renaissance." *Callaloo* Vol. 14, No. 1 (Winter, 1991).
- Erickson, Edgar L. "The Introduction of East Indian Coolies into the British West Indies." *The Journal of Modern History* 6 (1934).
- "Family is Inspiration of James S. Watson, Who Gains in the Tenth Judiciary Battle." *New York Defender*. (New York City, NY), Oct. 17, 1930.
- Guterl, Matthew Pratt. "The New Race Consciousness: Race, Nation, and Empire in American Culture, 1910-1925." *Journal of World History*. Vol. 10, No.2 (Fall, 1999).
- Holder, Calvin. "The Rise of the West Indian Politician in New York." *Afro-American in New York Life and History*, vol. 4, no.1 (January 1980).
- Holmes, Eugene C. "Alaine Locke and the New Negro Movement." *Negro American Literature Forum* Vol. 2, No. 3 (Autumn, 1968).
- "Humorous Passages To Lighten Labours," *Jamaica Times* (Kingston, JM), Aug. 15, 1931.

-
- Johns, Vere E. "Let Us Be Friends." *The New York Age* (New York City, NY), Jan. 14.
- Johnson Ronald M. "Black and White Apart: The Community Center in the District of Columbia, 1915-1930" Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C." Vol52 1989.
- "Judicial Measurement." *New York State Contender* (New York City, New York), Oct. 10, 1930.
- "Judge Watson Sees Bright Future Here." *Harlem Home Journal*. Dec 31, 1931.
- Korobkin, Russell. "The Politics of Disfranchisement in Georgia" Georgia Historical Society 74, no. 1 (1990).
- Krasner, David. " Migration, Fragmentation, and Identity: Zora Neale Hurston's Color Struck and the Geography of the Harlem Renaissance." *Theater Journal*, Vol.53, No. 4 (Dec., 2001).
- Litwack, Leon. "Jim Crow Blues, " Magazine of History, Vol. 18, No. 2, Jim Crow (Jan., 2004), 7-11.
- "Lively Bench Fight Due Amongst Negroes." *New York Times* (New York, NY), June 30, 1930.
- Mabry, William Alexander "Disfranchisement of the Negro in Mississippi" in The Journal of Southern History Vol. 4 No. 3., 318-333.
- McKay, Claude, "Claude McKay Describes His Own Life: A Negro Poet." *Pearson's Magazine*, September 1918.
- "Roosevelt Wins in Westchester." *The New York Times* (New York City, NY) Nov. 5, 1930.
- Shammas, Carol. "Re-Assessing the Married Women's Property Acts" in *Journal of Women's History* Vol. 6 1994.
- Sheperd, Verene A. The Dynamics of Afro-Jamaican –East Indian Relations in Jamaica, 1845-1945: A Preliminary Analysis. *Caribbean Quarterly* 32 (1986).
- Schneider, Dorothee. "Naturalization and the United States Citizenship in Two Periods." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 21(2001):50-82.
- Singleton, Gregory Holmes. " Birth, Rebirth and the "New Negro" of the 1920s." *Phylon* (1960-), Vol.43, No.1 (1st Qtr., 1982).

Tindall, George B. "The Campaign for Disfranchisement of Negroes in South Carolina." *The Journal of Southern History* 15 (1949).

Tolnay, Stewart E. "The African American 'Great Migration' and Beyond." *Annual Review of Sociology* 29 (2003).

"The Judiciary." *Fraternal Review*, 9 no.11, (1930).

Trotter Jr., Joe William. "The Great Migration." *OAH Magazine of History*, Vol.17, No.1, World War 1 (Oct., 2002).

Young, Saul. "Witchcraft or Wisdom: Observations of the Political Scene." *The Club World*. 12-14.

Books

Ali, Omar. *In the Lion's Mouth: Black Populism in the New South, 1886-1900*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010.

Anderson, Jervis. *This Was Harlem: A Cultural Portrait* New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1982.

Arnesen, Eric. *Black Protest and the Great Migration: a Brief History with Documents*. Bedford: St. Martins, 2002.

Berry, Faith. *Langston Hughes: Before and Beyond Harlem* Westport: Lawrence Hill, 1983.

Berlin, Ira. *The Making of African America: The Four Great Migrations*. New York City: penguin, 2010.

Bosniak, Linda, *The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Bracey Jr., John H. , August Meier, and Elliott Rudwick, eds. *Black Nationalism in America*. Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970.

Bryce-Laporte, Roy, and Delores Mortimer, eds. *Caribbean Immigrants to the United States*, 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1983.

Chamberlain, May, ed. *Caribbean Migration: Globalised Identities*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Chisholm, Shirley. *Unbought and Unbossed*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1970.

Cooper, Wayne. *Claude McKay, Rebel Sojourner in the Harlem Renaissance: A*

-
- Biography*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1987.
- Cruse, Harold. *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*. New York: Morrow, 1967.
- Cronon, Edmund David. *Black Moses: The story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1955.
- Daniels, Roger. *A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. New York: Perennial, 2002.
- Daniels, Roger. *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004.
- Dodson, Howard and Diouf, Sylviane A. eds., *In Motion: The African American Migration Experience*. Washington D.C.: National Geographic, 2004.
- Essien-Udom. *Black Nationalism: A Search for Identity in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1962.
- Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*. New York: New York: Harper's Collins, 1988.
- Foner, Eric. *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders During Reconstruction, Revised Edition*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993.
- Foner, Nancy. *In a New Land: A Comparative View of Immigration*. New York: New York University Press, 2005.
- Foner, Nancy. *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001.
- Foner, Nancy. *Jamaican Migrants: A Comparative Analysis of New York and London*. New York: New York University Press, 1983.
- Garvey, Amy Jacques. *Garvey and Garveyism*. New York: Octagon Books, 1970.
- Gilmore, Glenda Elizabeth. *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- Gmelech, George. *Double Passage: The Lives of Caribbean Migrants Abroad and Back Home*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992.

-
- Grant, Colin. *Negro With a Hat: The Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2008.
- Gregory, James N. *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America*. Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2005.
- Grossman, James. *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Gladwell, Malcolm. *Outliers: The Story of Success*. New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2008.
- Harlan, Louis R. *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Harlan Louis R. *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915* New York, NY Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Harlan, Louis R. ed. *The Booker T. Washington Papers*. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1972-89.
- Henri, Florette. *Bitter Victory: A History of Black Soldier's in World War I*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1970.
- Henri, Florette. *Black Migration: Movement North, 1900-1920*. Garden City: Anchor Press, 1975.
- Hurt, R. Douglas ed. *African American Life in the Rural South*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003.
- Hunter, 21. *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Harvard University Press, 1997).
- James, Winston, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth Century America*. New York: Verso, 1998.
- Johnson, James Weldon. *Along this Way*. 1933 reprint. New York: Penguin, 1990.
- Jung, Moon-Ho. *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006.
- Kasinitz, Phillip. *Caribbean New York: Black Immigrants and the Politics of Race*. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Kelley, Robin D. G. and Sidney J. Lemelle (Ed.). (1995). *Imagining Home: Class, Culture, and Nationalism in the African Diaspora*. London: VersoBooks.

Lewis, David L. *When Harlem Was In Vogue*. New York: Penguin Books, 1979.

Lewis, David L. *W.E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868-1919*. New York: H. Holt, 1993.

Logan, Rayford. *The Betrayal of the Negro from Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson/The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir*. New York: Collier Books, 1965.

Lemann, Nicholas. *The Promise Land: The Great Black Migration and How it Changed America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991.

Lewis, David. *When Harlem Was in Vogue*. New York: Knopf, 1981.

Levy, Eugene. *James Weldon Johnson, Black Leader, Black Voice*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1973.

Litwack, Leon. *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow*. New York: Knopf, 1998.

Martin, Tony. *Amy Ashwood Garvey: Pan-Africansit, Feminist and Mrs. Marcus Garvey No. 1 Or, A tale of Two Amies*. Dover: Majority Press, 2007.

Martin, Tony. *Literary Garveyism: Garvey, Black Arts, and the Harlem Renaissance*. Dover: Majority Press, 1983.

Martin, Tony. *Race First: the Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976.

McKay, Claude. *A Long Way From Home*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970.

Meier, August. *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1913.

Mitchell, J. Paul. ed. *Race Riots in Black and White*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970.

Mintz, Sidney W. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin Books, 1985.

Model, Suzanne. *West Indian Immigrants: A Black Success Story?*. New York: Russlll

Sage Foundation, 1992.

Moses, Wilson Jeremiah. *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925*. Hamden: Archon Books, 1978.

Norrell, Robert J. *Up from History: The Life of Booker T. Washington*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009.

Osofsky, Gilbert. *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto*. Chicago: Harper Collins, 1963.

Palmer, Ransford, ed. *In Search of a Better Life: Perspectives on Migration from the Caribbean*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990.

Palmer, Ransford W. *Pilgrims from the Sun: West Indian Migration to America*. New York: Twayne Publisher's, 1995.

Parascondla, Louis J., *Look for me all around You: Anglophone Caribbean Immigrants and the Harlem Renaissance*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005.

Rampersad, Arnold. *The Life of Langston Hughes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986-88; 2 vols.

Reid, Ira. *The Negro Immigrant: His Background, Characteristics and Social Adjustment, 1899-1937*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939.

Soluri, John. *Banana Cultures: Agriculture, Consumption & Environmental Change in Honduras & the United States*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.

Terrell, Mary Church. *A Colored Women in a White World*. Washington: Ransdell, 1940.

Trotter Jr., Joe William. ed. *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.

Walter, John C. *The Harlem Fox: J. Raymond Jones and Tammany, 1920-1970*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989.

Washington, Booker T. *Up From Slavery*. New York: Dover Publications, 1995

Waters, Mary C. *Black Identities: West Indian Migration Dreams and Realities*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Watkins-Owens, Irma. *Blood Relations: Caribbean Immigrants and the Harlem Community, 1900-1930*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Will, H. A., *Constitutional Change in the British West Indies, 1880-1903: With Special*

Reference to Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

Wilkerson, Isabel. *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration.* New York City: Vintage Books, 2010.

Woodward, C. Vann. *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951.

Woodward, C. Vann, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1955.

Study

The Industrial Department of the New York Urban League. "Twenty-Four Hundred Negro Families in Harlem." (case study, New York City, 1927), 1-33.

Websites

Academy of American Poets. Accessed November 8, 2015.
<https://www.poets.org/poetsorg/poem/if-we-must-die>.

Ancestry. <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com/>

Abyssinian Baptist Church. "History of the Abyssinian Baptist Church,"
accessed on September 10, 2015. <http://abyssinian.org/about-us/history/>

Ancestry. "Mrs. James Waltson in the New York, Passenger Lists, 1820-1957 "List of Manifest of Alien Passengers for the U.S. Immigration Officer at Port of Arrival" accessed on April 7, 2015, http://search.ancestrylibrary.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=nypl&gss=angs-d&new=1&rank=1&msT=1&gsfn=James&gsln_x=NP_NN_NS&msadm=6&msadm_x=1&msady=1905&msady_x=1&msapn__ftp=New+York%2c+USA&msapn=35&msapn_PInfo=5%7c0%7c1652393%7c0%7c2%7c3244%7c35%7c0%7c0%7c0%7c0%7c&msedy=1905&msepn__ftp=Kingston%2c+Jamaica&msepn=852433&msepn_PInfo=5%7c0%7c1652393%7c0%7c5119%7c0%7c852433%7c0%7c0%7c0%7c0%7c&MSAV=0&uidh=

History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives. "Bruce, Blanche Kelso." accessed December 19, 2014,
<http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/20291?ret=True>.

History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives. "Elections." accessed on December 26, 2014 <http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Historical-Essays/Temporary-Farewell/Elections/>.

History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives. "Cheatham, Henry Plumber." accessed on January 15, 2015
<http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/10878?ret=True>.

History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives. "Hyman, John Adams." accessed December 19, 2014,
<http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/20291?ret=True>.

History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives. "Langston, John Mercer." accessed on August 2, 2015
<http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/16682?ret=True>.

History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives. "Long, Jefferson Franklin." accessed December 19, 2014,
<http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/20291?ret=True>.

History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives. "Miller, Thomas Ezekial." accessed on December 26, 2014
<http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/18276?ret=True>.

History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives. "Murray, George Washington." accessed on January 15, 2015
<http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/18709?ret=True>.

History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives. "Rayne, Joseph Hayne." accessed December 19, 2014,
<http://hsenate.history.house.gov/People/Detail/20291?ret=True>.

History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives. "Revels, Hiram Rodes." accessed December 19, 2014,
<http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/20291?ret=True>.

History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives. "The Negroes Temporary Farewell: Jim Crow and the Temporary Exclusion of African Americans in Congress." accessed on December 25, 2014
<http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Historical-Essays/Temporary-Farewell/Introduction/>.

Langston Hughes, "I, too," Academy of American Poets. Accessed on November 18, 2015.
<https://www.poets.org/poetsorg/poem/i-too>.

Gleaner. "Geography and History of Jamaica." accessed on August 30, 2015
<http://www.discoverjamaica.com/gleaner/discover/geography/history5.htm>

-
- Gleaner. "Jamaica History 5." accessed on September 1, 2015.
<http://www.discoverjamaica.com/gleaner/discover/geography/history5.htm>
- History, Art and Archives: United States House of Representatives. "White, George Henry." accessed on December 24th, 2014
<http://history.house.gov/People/Detail/23657?ret=True>.
- Library of Congress. Accessed on December 10, 2013.
<http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/14thamendment.html>.
- Our Documents. Accessed on December 10, 2013.
gov <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=40>.
- Our Documents. "19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution." accessed on December 19, 2014, www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=63.
- Poetry Nook. accessed on Nov 12, 2015.
<http://www.poetrynook.com/poem/elevator-boy>.
- The British Empire. <http://www.anglik.net/empire.htm>. (Accessed on August 21 2015)
- The United States Senate. "Senate History." accessed on December 19, 2014.
http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/minute/First_African_American_Senator.htm.
- The National Association of Colored Women's Club. "The National Association for Colored Women's Clubs" accessed on August 29, 2015 <http://www.nacwc.org>
- The University of North Carolina. "Editorial that Shook the State." accessed on December 26, 2014 <http://exhibits.lib.unc.edu/exhibits/show/1898/item/2278>
- The University of North Carolina. "The 1898 Election in North Carolina." accessed on December 26, 2014 <http://exhibits.lib.unc.edu/exhibits/show/1898/history>
- UCLA African Studies Center's. Marcus Garvey Papers, American Series Introduction: Volume 1: 1826— August 1919. accessed August 7, 2015.
<http://www.international.ucla.edu/africa/mgpp/intro01>
- UCLA African Studies Center, *American Series Introduction: Retreat From Radicalism*. accessed September 29, 2015, <http://www.international.ucla.edu/africa/mgpp/intro01>.
- University of Michigan. "Race, Voting Rights, and Segregation Direct Disenfranchisement: Techniques of Direct Disenfranchisement, 1880-1965."

accessed on December 25, 2014

<http://www.umich.edu/~lawrace/disenfranchise1.htm>.

U.S. National Archives and Record Administration. Accessed on December 10 2013.

<http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1998/summer/women-and-naturalization-1.html>.

“1902 Constitution of Virginia” accessed on December 30, 2014

<http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/afam/politics/home.html>.