

The same month, hundreds of members of the UNIA African Legion and its female auxiliary, the Black Cross Nurses, paraded through the streets of Harlem accompanied by a marching band in an impressive show of force.<sup>62</sup> Garvey, wearing a military uniform adorned with gold-braided epaulets and an immense plumed hat on his head, resembled Napoleon at a victory march. While some of Garvey's contemporaries mocked his ostentatious sartorial flair, historians have noted that the imperial uniforms and the regal-sounding titles Garvey bestowed on UNIA dignitaries aimed to reverse the era's dominant image of Black men as subordinate and submissive.<sup>63</sup>

Nevertheless, Garvey's rise drew the scorn of established African-American leaders like **W. E. B. Du Bois**, America's leading Black intellectual and head of the UNIA's rival **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)**, which he had co-founded in 1909. World War I had caused the NAACP's membership to surge, but by 1919 Garvey's UNIA was beginning to pose a serious threat to the civil rights organization.<sup>64</sup> To Du Bois, Garvey was a demagogue driven by self-interest and financial gain. Garvey, for his part, held the Harvard-educated Du Bois in equal disdain. It did not take long for Garvey to draw the suspicion of federal agents working for J. Edgar Hoover's new anti-radical division within the Justice Department. Initially, officials could not decide if Garvey was a German spy or a Bolshevik, but they agreed he was dangerous.<sup>65</sup> At the height of the Red Scare, one agent warned that Garveyism represented "a greater menace than that of the Russians, for it will be a growing black peril."<sup>66</sup>

With the encouragement of several prominent African-American leaders, including Du Bois, the Justice Department began to build a felony mail fraud case against Garvey for his aggressive promotion of the Black Star Line, a shipping company that went bankrupt under his mismanagement. Following his conviction in 1923, Garvey spent four years in federal prison before being deported in 1927. While the UNIA collapsed without Garvey's leadership, Garvey's ideals remained influential among Black leaders in the United States and globally. For example, Malcolm X, whose parents had been active UNIA members, revived Black Nationalism in the 1960s. Garvey's popularity also signaled a new political militancy among African Americans that would come to define the "New Negro



*A pro-Prohibition political cartoon from 1874. Women had long been in the vanguard of the moral campaign against alcohol.*

Movement,” which will be discussed in Section III of this resource guide.

## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS AND THE END OF THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

### The Eighteenth Amendment

At the stroke of midnight on January 17, 1920, the **Volstead Act**, which enforced a constitutional ban on the manufacture, sale, and transport of beverages with an alcohol content above 0.5 percent, took effect. In barrooms and hotels across the nation, mock funerals alternately mourned and celebrated the moment. Prohibition had begun. The **Eighteenth Amendment** marked the triumphant culmination of a century-long crusade waged by the temperance movement in the United States.