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African American Intellectuals and the  
Integration Question in the 1900's-1930's

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## **Introduction:**

African Americans were underestimated for many centuries, but immediately after their emancipation they started looking for being not half humans but complete citizenship in the United States of America. Many cities in America especially after the First World War were witness of the rise of African Americans in many fields, intellectually, politically, economically. Harlem, New York, especially knew a flow of African American intellectuals. From the 1900's to 1930's, the country gathered hundred of skilled free Black men who fought in different ways to regain their dignity. Harlem intellectuals used a variety of means to higher the voice of their new community to the world and even to their oppressors. They wanted to prove through literature, art, music, even economy that they can be normal civilized population; they wanted the acknowledgement of whites for being a full American citizen.

My dissertation treats the ideas of the Black intellectuals of Harlem, and to investigate whether these ideas led or misled the Black people. Through three figures, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey, and through clarifying their strength and weaknesses which will enable us to find out if these figures, named leaders of their people, looked for their own glory or worked for to see the Black man developed and accepted in the white society as a full citizen. Or, if these intellectuals were supporters of the idea of integration. Can we see or expect meaningful institution modifications or would world relations be transformed. To what extend did the African American intellectual play a positive role in the political and economical life of their people. And did Black American intellectuals work together to develop the miserable conditions of their people. Was the idea of going back to Africa the solution to Black American sufferance.

My work is divided into three parts; the first part gives the historical context of the period suited with pointing out Booker T. Washington's policy, aims, and critics. The second chapter is about the aftermath period of Booker T. Washington, and treats the ideas of W.E.B. Du Bois through showing his literary responses to what happened in the 1920's. In the last chapter I was interested in

**raising the idea of going back to Africa. And after all that I conclude with whether the integration idea was one of the intentions of the leading Black Intellectuals of the time.**

**This work follows the historical descriptive analytical approach. This dissertation is based on several books that treats the same subject, or parts of my work. Some of these works, the book written by David Levering Lewis named W.E.B. Du Bois, The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919-1963. Another work written as a biography of Booker T. Washington named: Booker T. Washington Wizard of the Tuskegee by Louis R. Harlan, and other many primary sources, and secondary sources with a careful use of web cites.**

## **I- Booker T. Washington and the integration question:**

### **1-1 The Black American in the 1900's (context):**

The United States of America faced a difficult post WWI period. In the spring and summer of 1919, soldiers were going back home from Europe, they had come home to prohibition, inflation, labor unrest and fear of Bolshevism. At the close of World War I, President Woodrow Wilson ended price and profit controls. During that period prices rose very quickly. At the end of 1919 price tripled what it had been in 1916.

With the decline in production of arms, factories dismissed workers. Strikes occurred in the coal, steel, railway and textile industries. And in the Pacific Northwest, a labor movement called the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), or the Wobblies, were participating in strikes and looking forward to the establishment of one big union and the creation of a democracy led by workers. A major grievance among workers across the nations was the length of the workweek. Many were working twelve hours a day, and some were working seven days a week.

In the U.S., anarchist activities helped fuel fears and animosity toward all radicals and labor unionists - with many Americans failing to see a distinction between Marxists, anarchists and organized labor. Anarchists sent bombs in the mail. In April, 1919, a bomb arrived at the home of the mayor of Seattle. A similar package went to the home of a former senator from Georgia, which blew off the hands of his maid. Sixteen unexploded bombs were found, then eighteen more which were timed for May Day, the day of celebration for labor - one of the bombs targeted for John D. Rockefeller. On June 2, within one hour, a series of bombs went off in eight different cities, one of the bombs surprising the home of the U.S. Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer. And in newspapers were headlines about the bombings and descriptions of Bolshevik secret plans around the world and Communist attempts at revolution in Germany. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2002)

**During the same period the U.S. especially Blacks faced a new threat, the Ku Klux Klan. The KKK is a secret American militant organization. The purpose of the organization is to preserve white supremacy.**

**The first Klan was founded in 1865 by Tennessee veterans of the Confederate Army. Groups spread throughout the South. Its purpose was to restore white supremacy in the aftermath of the American Civil War. In 1915, the second Klan was founded in response to urbanization and industrialization, massive immigration from eastern and southern Europe, the Great Migration of African Americans to the North, and the migration of African Americans and whites from rural areas to Southern cities. It grew rapidly in a period of postwar social tensions, where industrialization in the North attracted numerous waves of immigrants from southern and Eastern Europe and the Great Migration of Southern blacks and whites.**

**In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the lynching of Black people in the Southern and Border States became an institutionalized method used by whites to terrorize Blacks and maintain white supremacy. In the South, in the period from 1880 to 1940, there was deep-rooted and well spread hatred and fear of the Negro which led white mobs to turn to lynch law as a means of social control. Lynching seems to have been an American invention. In *Lynch-Law*, the first scholarly investigation of lynching, written in 1905, author James E. Cutler stated that “lynching is a criminal practice which is strong to the United States.” (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2002)**

**Most of the lynchings were by hanging or shooting, or both. However, many were of a very ugly way such as burning at the stake, injuring, cutting into pieces, castration, and other brutal methods of physical torture. Lynching therefore was a cruel combination of racism and sadism, which was utilized primarily to sustain the class system in the South. Many white people believed that Negroes could only be controlled by fear. To them, lynching was seen as the most effective means of control.**

**Some suggest several background factors and underlying causes for the prevalence of lynching in rural areas by lower class whites: poverty, economic**

and social fear of the Negro, low level of education, and the isolation, the dullness of every day life and the general boredom of rural and small town life. However, the fundamental cause of lynching was fear of the Negro—the basis of racism and discrimination. Many whites, after Reconstruction and during the first four decades of the twentieth century, feared that the Negro was getting out of his place and that the white man's social status was threatened and was in need of protection. Lynching was seen as the method to defend white domination and keep the Negroes from becoming very important. Therefore, lynching was more the expression of white American fear of Black social and economic advancement than of Negro crime. W. E. B. Du Bois was correct when he stated: '...the white South feared more than Negro dishonesty, ignorance and incompetence, Negro honesty, knowledge, and efficiency.' (Encyclopedia Britannica)

### **1-2 Booker T. Washington Leaders of his people:**

The great majority of black freedmen remained in rural South, exchanged slavery for another exploitative system of sharecropping, and most of them had to mortgage their share of crops to a merchant who would furnish them the necessities until the harvest. Some even fell into involuntary servitude for debt. Just as Booker T. Washington was establishing his rule over this empire of poverty, southern whites in the 1890's began a movement to take back the rights that the Civil War and Reconstruction had established for blacks.

Southern Whites took away the voting rights of most blacks, extended segregation to virtually every walk of life, justified this by a verbal assault that denied human status and dignity to blacks, and interrupted these changes by lynching and race riots. Northern whites also adopted white supremacy, particularly by occupational and residential segregation. Washington did not give any importance for these developments, and spoke for the group of blacks who gathered strength through education, economic struggle, and black solidarity as a surer foundation for progress.

Washington had started the debate over black leadership in 1892, when he called the black clergy unfit to lead and proposed objective goals regardless to religion or spiritual matters and leadership. In 1895 he proposed his own Atlanta

Compromise with whites that, he promised, would allow blacks to progress through self-improvement and economic means. Most blacks accepted at first, and then a group of critics murmured and grew louder. By 1903 Washington faced a bitter challenge to his leadership. (Harlan, 149)

The way that his critics faced him in 1903 and the way he responded to them polarized black leadership into warring factions during a time when white aggressions were sweeping away what remained of the human rights of blacks. The deep factional division continued until Washington's death more than a decade later. Washington would continue to be the dominant figure in black America, ruling as a monarch or political boss. His fear of losing his power, however, made him concentrate on loyalty above talent, and forced him to rely heavily on white advisers and black yes-men. He used hard and cruel means against black critics, accepted too readily the promises of white men, and grasped at every straw to justify his public optimism about the success of his own methods for black progress. Some features of this behavior had appeared earlier, but events of 1903, the rebellion of the Tuskegee students, fixed and exaggerated them. (Harlan, 33)

In an elaborate metaphor comparing the race to a ship in stormy weather, Washington offered himself the role of the cool-headed captain with whom all on board must cooperate. He met every criticism of industrial education, his economic emphasis, and even his compromises with whites, saying of the latter that he practiced the charity that Christ taught and symbolized, and that he denounced as strongly as anyone the black man who cringed or debased himself in order to gain the favor of a white man. A friendly newspaper reported that the audience responded with a rapturous applause which followed every significant utterance and punctuated every paragraph. (Harlan, 33)

Washington frequently had to fight with the ghost of Frederick Douglass, the escaped slave, abolitionist orator, self-taught intellectual, Reconstruction leader, and champion of political and civil rights had died in 1895. whose life and doctrines had symbolized the preceding half-century of black experience. During that year they have seen a succession of different eras that one of Douglass's

which was a political era, and that of Washington which was a commercial one. Washington praised his doctrine of economic priority and said that it was more appropriate, and the black businessman was the logical arbiter. 'There was a call for a New Negro for a new century' Washington's stated. (Harlan, 34)

Washington was ready to forget about the past and draw his own ideal on the new age, but there was continuity of Douglass's tradition and nostalgia for his leadership. Harry C. Smith of *Cleveland Gazette* said that Douglass had been unanswerable because he told the truth, whereas Washington seemed to have the whole world to command but "teaches subordination of his own race to another." Washington's Northern white admirers believed absolutely in the statesmanship of his doctrines, and when they occasionally heard black critics characterize him otherwise, they dismissed these persons as aliens. (Harlan, 50)

Behind the mask of self-confidence, however, Washington knew that a small but growing group of people who shared the same ideas of college-bred blacks was scoring points against him. He feared this group the more because he did not understand it, did not always follow the work of its ideas. The center of this opposition was a new black weekly newspaper, the *Boston Guardian*, founded in 1901 as his personal mouthpiece by William Monroe Trotter, Washington's most relentless Boston critic. A recent Harvard graduate, Trotter built his career around the defense of black civil and political rights and the unchangeable act of criticizing particularly of Booker T. Washington but also of Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and anyone else that fell short of his expectations, including most of his friends. (Harlan, 52)

George Washington was invited to dine at the White House with the president Roosevelt; the thing that Trotter did not like. Trotter's objection to the dinner at the White House was simply that the President had invited the wrong Negro, one who 'advised his race to keep out of politics and... criticized what use they made of the franchise'. (*The Guardian of Boston*, P29). Trotter's criticism of Washington, however, extended to his too willing to obey whites, his silence before racial injustice, his advocacy of second-class education for second-class citizens, his repression of dissent, his southernness, and his personality.

Trotter developed a network of opposition to Washington, centering in the famous newspaper the *Guardian* but spreading out in Boston and elsewhere in New England. He and others organized the Boston Literary and Historical Association as a forum of racial militancy, and soon afterward the Massachusetts Racial Protective Association, which put him in touch with anti-Washington sentiment all over the state. Other black newspapers also took up the great protest against Washington's leadership, notably the *Washington Bee*, the *Chicago Conservator*, and the *Cleveland Gazette*. None of the others, however, pursued him with the continuous, obsessive passion of the *Guardian*.

The Trotterites sent forth a missionary, William H. Ferris, a recent Yale graduate who lived intermittently in Boston and New Haven. Early in 1903 he spoke at the Bethel Literary and Historical Association in the capital on "The Boston Negro's Idea of Booker Washington." Ferris aped Trotter in attacking Washington personally as well as his program, but the main burden of Ferris's criticism was that Washington's promotion of industrial education and his ridicule of the black college man was schooling the race for subordination and blunting its higher aspirations. Washington's admirer wrote "The interesting feature of the occasion, to me was the evidence of a number of people here who, from their applause, indicated a feeling of hostility to Mr. W. In studying these malcontents I felt that I could account for each of them by reason of interest in rival institutions, Howard, Atlanta, and the others under the not very elegant term of 'sore-heads' who have succeeded wonderfully in doing nothing themselves and hence have a grievance against any man who is doing something." (Calloway, 4-5.)

The annual meeting of the Afro-American Council seemed to the Trotterites the logical place to confront Washington. It was the only national meeting place of all the elements of Afro-American leadership, and its very reason for being was civil and political rights. And yet, ever since its revival in 1898 out of the ashes of the earlier Afro-American League, Washington and his followers had dominated the meetings, even though he himself was a member. Washington's adherents held most of the offices, and consequently the council resolutions were seldom the

ringing declarations of protest that the age of white supremacy should have called forth. The Afro-American Council mirrored the divided mind of the race. (Harlan, 56)

An effort to criticize Washington in the 1899 council meeting failed. In 1902 Washington's critics made a more concerted effort to take control of the council from him and his friends. One of his Boston lieutenants warned him that "the 'Guardian' folks are going to use every effort to have the Afro-American Council denounce you." (Peter, 492.) A friend in St. Paul, where the meeting was to be held, advised that "there will probably be some effort made to have some expression go forth from the Council with respect to your position as given in your speeches and lectures, it had been claimed that it is harmful and detrimental to the race." (Frederick L. McGhee to BTW, June 27, 1902.) Washington's lieutenants promised to stop the criticism, but he decided to attend the meeting himself. The Washington Bee, Washington newspaper, sourly spoke about the wizard dominance of the audience: "The 'Wizard of Tuskegee was there... His satellites were in the saddle.... They trotted and pranced as he pulled the reins and his ticket was elected and his namby-pamby policy... was incorporated into the address, which was nothing more than a pronouncement of his nibs, the boss of Negro beggars." (Washington Bee, 505n.)

To cap Washington's victory, Fortune replaced Bishop Walters as president, and the militant Ida B. Wells-Barnett was removed as secretary. Trotter said in the Guardian that "Fortune is only a 'me too' to whatever Washington aspires to do. These two men have long since formed themselves into one twain in their dealings with the Negro race, Fortune furnishing whatever brain the combination needs, and Washington the boodle." Trotter laid part of the blame for his failure at St. Paul at the unlikely door of W. E. B. Du Bois of Atlanta University. "We might have expected Prof. Du Bois to have trying to get into the band wagon of the Tuskegeean; he is no longer to be relied upon." (Harlan, 62)

### **1-3 Washington and the Rise of the NAACP:**

Representing the last generation of black leaders born in slavery in the Old South, and speaking for those blacks who had remained in the New South in an uneasy arrangement with the white southerners, Washington was able throughout his life to maintain his standing as the black boss because of the sponsorship of powerful whites, considerable support within the black community, and his skillful accommodation to the social realities of the age of segregation. Nevertheless, he faced a fresh challenge in 1909 from the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

The NAACP grew out of a great national conference on civil rights. The NAACP was a coalition of Washington's black critics in the Niagara Movement with various whites concerned with social justice and able to bring fresh resources into the battle against white supremacy. Among its members were reform-minded social workers, socialist radicals, liberal Jews, and even a few southern mavericks. W.E.B. Du Bois said in one of his statements that the NAACP represents the future and Booker T. Washington represents the past.

Oswald Garrison Villard, the initiator of the conference in 1909 that founded the NAACP, he dreamed of joining the forces of Washington, and supported W.E.B. Du Bois, the champion of civil rights. He was the only one who believed that the two men could work together. Washington was invited to the conference of 1909 but Villard explained to him that the organizers of the conference do not wish him to attend. Villard hoped that the new organization could count on Washington's sympathy and help, even if his educational affiliations caused him not to want to become closely allied with it. (Harlan, 360)

Du Bois spoke about the Tuskegean in public letters on both the educational and race leadership grounds. He had to write a letter to the Boston newspaper the *Transcript* to explain one reference the reporter garbled:

'I said to the reporter, though not in my speech that Mr. Washington was the political boss of the Negro race in America. I used this word in its legitimate and clearly accepted sense because of these facts: Mr. Washington has long and earnestly counseled his race

**to let politics alone, acquiesce temporarily in disfranchisement and pay attention chiefly to industrial development and efficiency. I do not think this a wise program, but it is a logical one and deserving of thought. In the face this, however, Mr. Washington has for the last eight years allowed himself to be made the sole referee for all political action concerning 10,000,000 Americans. Few appointments have been made without his consent, and others' political policies have been deferred to him.'** (Boston Transcript, March 19, 1910)

**Du Bois asked what had been the result of giving preferment only to 'those Negroes who agree with Mr. Washington's policy of nonresistance, giving up agitation, and acquiescence in semi-serfdom,' and concluded that it amounted to 'a substitution of monarchy for democracy among a population twice as large as that of all New England.'** (Boston Transcript, March 19, 1910) After these statements Villard and his influential New York Evening *Post* supported Du Bois's statement without even caring at the charge of 'acquiescence in semi-serfdom,' and reminded readers of the widening gap between Du Bois and Washington. While Du Bois focused on protest against wrong, Washington 'subordinates everything else o the uplifting of the Negro industrially and economically.' (Boston Transcript, March 19, 1910)

**Washington's relationship to the NAACP took a sharp turn for the worse in the fall of 1910. What had begun with mutual agreement to disagree and had progressed to indirect attack and competition for the hearts and minds of blacks became open, deep, after the 'National Negro Committee' Appeal to Europe. (NAACP, 75-78.) Washington had ended his tour of continental Europe in the fall of 1910 with a visit to London to speak at a dinner sponsored by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society. John E. Milholland publicly refused an invitation, on the ground that Washington stood for 'the inadequate education, of his Race' and did not protest against the unconstitutional denial of rights. (Milholland, 404-5.)**

## **II-William Edward Burghardt Du Bois and Marcus Garvey: Pan Africa:**

### **2-1 Race Riots and the Red Summer of 1919:**

Du Bois had the power to inspire returning soldiers, ambitious migrants and determined college men and women to stand up for their basic citizenship rights. This hope in the black soils was far more dangerous in the eyes of Congressman Byrnes, then Senator in 1931, than any prospect of American Negroes being converted in official documents or said into the congressional Report. And never was inspiration more needed as 1919 flamed out.

In the decade immediately preceding World War I, race relations seemed to reach a nadir in the United States. During the summer of 1919; racial tensions between white and black Americans erupted into a series of violent and deadly riots throughout the United States. This period, named the Red Summer by black leaders, witnessed 26 race riots in which hundreds of people, mostly African American, were killed or injured. The rioting began in early July in a small town in Texas and soon spread to nearly every major city in the United States. (Britannica Encyclopaedia, 2002)

These race riots were the product of white society's desire to maintain its superiority over Blacks and attack those least able to defend themselves. In these race riots, white mobs invaded Black neighborhoods, beat and killed large numbers of Blacks and destroyed Black property. In most instances, Blacks fought back and there were many casualties on both sides, though most of the dead were Black. Gunnar Myrdal opposed the use of the term riots to describe these interracial conflicts. He preferred to call this phenomena "a terrorization or massacre, and [considered] it a magnified, or mass, lynching." Race riots occurred in both the North and South, but were more characteristic of the North. They were primarily urban phenomena, while lynching was primarily a rural phenomenon. (Britannica Encyclopedia, 2002)

One of the most violent disturbances began in Chicago, in late July when Eugene Williams, a black teenager, was drowned by whites throwing rocks after

he swam near the white side of a segregated beach. After the police refused to arrest those who had thrown the rocks, fighting broke out. The rioting lasted five days, leaving 38 people dead and more than 500 injured. Extensive property damage, particularly to black sections of the city, left an estimated 1,000 African Americans homeless. The heightened racial tensions specifically the riots of 1919 were largely a product of the recent northern migration of Southern blacks. As blacks flocked to industrial centres beginning in 1915, they had competed with whites for jobs, housing, and union wages. (Britannica Encyclopedia, 2002)

In Washington, as was the case in Chicago riot beginning on July 27, people of color defended themselves with guns, bricks, and other makeshift weapons. Reporting on the situation in the capital, NAACP field secretary James Weldon Johnson, American author, politician, and civil right activist, was positively excited: “The Negroes saved themselves and saved Washington by their determination not to run but to fight.” (Lewis, 9) In Chicago, black and white workers and demobilized soldiers and sailors skirmished for twelve days back and forth along Wentworth Avenue, the line dividing the white, blue-color stockyard neighborhoods from those in what Chicagoans called the Blue Belt. The riot in Charleston also had been contained fairly quickly by the authorities, but there were two black fatalities, by two thousand infantry ordered up by secretary of war Newton Baker, injured more than a hundred people and killed six. (Lewis, 2)

Another notable disturbance took place in the rural area around Elaine, Ark., where black farmers were attempting to form a union. Official reports put the death toll at 30, including 25 blacks, but the count may have exceeded 100. Gun fire from black share croppers meeting in a church near Elaine, a town in the Arkansas Delta, had left a deputy sheriff dead and several white citizens wounded in the early morning of October. Having provoked the Wednesday shootout, enraged white planters and farmers chased down black men and women in the high cotton of Phillips Country in a wild seven days, until the count of the dead approached two hundred. (Lewis, 2)

Furious about changes in the press concerning the Arkansas bloodlettings, Du Bois sent a three-page letter to the editor of the *New York World*. This letter played the role of a powerful corrective when it appeared in the November 28th edition. Du Bois said that the real crime of the Philips country sharecroppers was to have the gall to hire a smart white Arkansas lawyer to help organize and incorporate a farmer's protective association in order to force landlords to open their books on prices and profits of supplies and cotton revenues. Du Bois carried on to say that the normal practice in that part of Arkansas was for a farmer to sell to the planter and wait a full year to be told 'how much his crop was worth, and what is the balance due' for the supplies the farmer bought on credit from the company store. It was slavery by another name. (Lewis, 6)

The editor and officers of the NAACP had inside information about the Arkansas organized killing, thanks to Walter Francis White, the twenty-six-year-old new assistant secretary. And because Walter White looked so white, his services to the NAACP were invaluable, but they also placed him in awful danger. Hurrying back to NAACP headquarters from Arkansas undercover work as a white reporter, White handed in a detailed report of the unbelievable barbarity.

The report was presented in the *Nation* newspaper by White entitled as 'Massacring Whites in Arkansas,' ten days after the letter of Du Bois in the *World*. Public opinion outside the Deep South began to shift to the association. The Arkansas cases became known as *Moore v. Dempsey*, the first case concerning the justice given to African-Americans in the South that came before the Court in the twentieth century, and as court costs rose in regular five-thousand-dollar increments over the next year, and two years beyond that, Du Bois made contributions to the legal defense fund the litmus test of racial loyalty.

Du Bois' response was predictable his leading essay "Progress", was a response to the situation which needed "men of no shaken courage, a voluntary of prose, and an editorial reveille" (Lewis, 9). The editor wrote also "But above all comes the New Spirit From a bewildered, almost listless, creeping sense of impotence and despair have come a new vigor, hopefulness and feeling of power."

Du Bois ended his note saying: “We are no longer depending on our friends. We are dependence on ourselves”. Impressive evidence of this new self-dependence came with the latest twist of the Arkansas saga. (Levering,9)

The *Crisis* ran an exciting replay in the December issue of a roller-coaster extradition contest between the Arkansas Attorney general and lawyers hired by the NAACP in the case of Robert Hill, alleged ringleader of the Philips Country rebels, who had fled to Topeka, Kansas. With NAACP board member and Kansas U.S senator Arthur Capper interceding with the governor, and a Shawnee Country attorney acting as Hill's lawyer, the sympathetic Kansas authorities refused to honor the extradition writ on the certain grounds that Hill's return to Arkansas would prove fatal. The dismissal of federal charges against the Arkansas farmer in early October 1920 enormously enhanced the NAACP's creditability, making it possible to raise another five thousand dollars above the eight thousand already exposed in legal fees. “Thus ends one of the most dramatic legal fights the association has ever undertaken,” Du Bois wrote, rightly predicting that it would have “a most far-reaching effect.” (Levering Lewis,10)

"The far-reaching effect would finally come in January 1923 when the U.S Supreme Court delivered an opinion, revolutionary in its civil rights implications, that the twelve sharecroppers had been denied a fair trial, thereby reversing the federal appeals court's September 1921 decision against them and remanding the case for reconsideration of the facts." (Levering Lewis, 10)

### **2-2 W.E.B Du Bois's Darkwater:**

Among *Darkwater's* ten substantial essays and fictional pieces was "The Damnation of Women," a call for the rights of women in general and to the grandeur of black women in particular. His anger against contemporary rape figuratively appeared in the pages as the author helped the Anglo-Saxon South that could be forgiven for slavery, secession, bogus aristocracy, but one thing never could not be forgiven was the South's ‘continued insult of the black womanhood.’ Du Bois spoke through ‘The Damnation of Women’ not only for full economic rights for women, but for equal rights in the production part of the society. (W.E.B. Du Bois, 95-113)

By the time Du Bois arranged and published the *Darkwater* essays for final submission after publishing it separately in the *Crisis*, and *The Independent*. In his essays, Du Bois sounded very serious because he was very close to the bloodlettings which appear clearly in the way he described the event. "Could his readers imagine the hypocrisy of the United States protesting Turkish atrocities in Armenia?" Du Bois challenged. What was Armenia or Louvain, Belgium; razed by the Hun, compared with Memphis, Waco, Washington, places where American citizens of African decent had been brutally dispatched? In several of these pieces-exceptionally so in 'The Souls of white Folk,' the retouched essay originally appearing in an August 1910 issue of the *Independent* newspaper, Du Bois once again showed himself to be the incomparable mediator of the wounded souls of black people. (Levering, 12)

Du Bois in the original form of his earlier essay, 'Souls of White Folk' mocked out of the arrogance that caused Black people's troubles. A two-hundred-year-old belief of stupendous fraudulence was well on the way to replacing Christianity, humanity, and democracy, said Du Bois, as he and other colored men and women had it drummed into their heads that "whiteness is the ownership of the earth forever and ever, Amen". (W.E.B. Du Bois, 20)

The revised "Souls of White Folk" by Du Bois seemed to scream [Merciful God! In these wild days and in the name of Civilization, Justice, and Motherhood] at what had been done to men and women of Negro descent in the United States through cruelty, barbarism, and murder, Sounding like Frederick Douglass. Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, and other Aframericans forming a long column of unforgiving reproach, Du Bois wrote that, instead of standing as a great example of the success of democracy "and the possibility of human brotherhood", his country was an awful example of its pitfalls and failures, " as far as black and brown and yellow people concerned". (W.E.B. Du Bois, 17 )

In this pulsating essay, he interpreted the failure of American racial democracy to be integral to the evolving European world order in which the Great War was primarily the struggle for the largest share in exploiting darker races. The rape of Belgium [mild in comparison to Belgian atrocities in the cargo,

he observed], the killing fields of Flanders, and the grinding of armies on the eastern front were not acceptable, as most Europeans wanted to believe, but inherent in history, culture, and institutions of the West. The Great War was neither acceptable nor insanity, he wrote: “this is Europe; this seeming Terrible is the real soul of white culture-back of all culture-stripped and visible today”. (W.E.B. Du Bois, 25)

Here Du Bois scared thousands of white readers with a prediction. Terrible as the Great War had been, it was nothing compared to the impending holocaust of the races-“ that fight for freedom which black and brown and yellow men must and will make unless their oppression and humiliation and insult at the hands of the white World cease. The Dark World is going to submit to its present treatment just as long as it must and not one moment longer”. (W.E.B. Du Bois, 27)

Du Bois's ‘The African Roots of the War’ ‘The Hands of Ethiopia’ and ‘The Souls of White Folk’ essays incorporated together as much as possible to give a great critique of the global capitalism. The internal contradictions of capitalism-that gathers extremes of wealth and poverty which had created such influential treatises as those of English economist John Hobson and French politician Jules Ferry, decades before Lenin's just-published thesis arguing that capitalism continued to thrive by exporting the exploitation of labor to Asia and Africa. What distinguished Du Bois's analysis in “The Hands of Ethiopia” and “The souls of White Folk” were not the somewhat derivative economic interpretation, but its argument in exposing the paramount factor of racism in selling imperial expansion to the white working classes. But the justification for injustice, the rationale for capacity that made the collusion of classes politically and intellectually viable was, Du Bois insisted, the separation of color-the ideology of white supremacy: “There must the necessary despising and hatreds of these savage half-men, this unclean canaille of the world- these dogs of men. All through the world this gospel is preaching. It has its literature; it has its priests, its secret propaganda and above all- it pays! ”. (W.E.B. Du Bois, 32-46)

Admitting that the European cultural achievements are superior to any culture that arose in Asia or Africa, Du Bois thought that this was not true and that the Europeans are not the reason for these achievements. 'European has never produced and never will in our day bring forth a single human who cannot be matched or over-matched in every line of human endeavor by Asia and Africa.' His list of non European world-beaters-Jesus, Mohammed, Askia, Confucius, and Buddha-sufficed to prove the point. The real reasons for Europe's hegemony lay 'quite outside and beyond Europe.' But alas, education meant European education for subject peoples of color-'deliberately educated ignorance,' Du Bois scolded. More than half of the humanity- people of color, workers-had no active role in constructing the education of the masses of people. (W.E.B. Du Bois, 36)

"The Souls of White Folks," "The Damnation of Women," and "The Immortal Child," along with much else in *Darkwater*, made the argument for the broadest public education, for expansion of the general culture to include the lives and works of the excluded and oppressed. The objective was to make all intelligent by exposing them to what a generation in the last decades of the twentieth century would know as multiculturalism, the better, Du Bois said, to discover talents and genius.(W.E.B. Du Bois, 32, 119)

If 'The Souls of Black Folk' achieved its singular impact through Du Bois's great skills of gathering facts of the personal and universal in such a way that helps to illustrate and give symbolic value of the other, much of *Darkwater* was a 'cri du coeur' in which the author's personal bitterness and anger appeared through the text. In one of several entries serving to bridge the main essays in the collection, 'The Riddle of the Sphinx,' originally published in the *Crisis* for November 1914 as 'The Burden of Black Women,' Du Bois was carried away by his anger against white racism into being likely to kill.

The final version of 'The Souls of White Folk' contained sentences full of anguish, where Du Bois spoke to his own fate as an intellectual and a black man. Few knew better from long experience the efficaciousness with which American Negroes of conscience and courage were marginalized in a nation as guilt-ridden

about race relations as it was ill-disposed to face up to them. 'They deny my right to live and to call me misbirth. I know, too well, that the curse of God lies heavy upon you. Why? That is not for me to say, but be brave' Du Bois said. But his white readers knew in their hearts that he and others living behind the veil of race possessed special powers of insight. (Levering, 14)

The collection of essays, fiction, and poetry was somewhat more varied and occasionally less assault than the angry reactions of many white reviewers and readers suggested. In "The Shadow of Years," Du Bois told his saga of the Black Burghardts of the Berkshires and of growing up "by a golden river" in Great Barrington, of the lordly Du Bois's and his austere paternal grandfather, and finally, of "the age of miracles" at Fisk, Harvard, and Berlin. It was here that Du Bois shared his personal confession, musing that in those ten years of great spiritual in Atlanta he had found himself. Du Bois wrote that he had grown more human developing those few holy friendships that would sustain him in the tests ahead. (WEB Du Bois, 3-14)

The author celebrated his own genius in an a snobbish way in this memoir in order to underscore to his white reading public the wasted lives of countless other gifted boys and girls of color who found the escape to education shut. Du Bois's evangelical faith in the transformative power of education was at open throttle in "The Immortal Child," a sometimes lyrical evocation of short, extraordinary career of his friend, the Afro-English composer Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, and a plea for progressive education of the. The aim of education was to identify talent, nurture curiosity, and promote social democracy, and to do so early and generously, he insisted. Du Bois aphorized splendidly, "In the treatment of the child the world foreshadows its own future and faith." (W.E.B. Du Bois, 114-128)

Two of the longer creative pieces, the allegorical "Jesus Christ in Texas" and the satirical "Comet" were lively written short stories whose ethical and social messages that could be readily interpreted by the reader. When Du Bois tried his hand at fiction, the usual result was history or sociology dressed up with dialogue and female protagonists, but Jesus mixed with humor, irony, and Gothic absurdity to make a parable in which a Texas town becomes Gethsemane and a

black Jesus figure is narrowly saved a lynch mob's noose. In 'The Comet,' a valued black bank messenger emerges from a deep beneath the city to discover that he and the beautiful daughter of a white millionaire are the only people alive after poisonous gases from a comet's tail which had exterminated the population of Manhattan, Harlem included. 'The story toyed tantalizingly with sex across the color line. Suddenly, rupture is pierced by the honk of an automobile horn as millionaire father and Galahad fiancée arrive from the uncontaminated suburbs.' 'I've always liked your people. I you ever want a job, call on me,' says the father as he hurries his daughter away from desecration into safety. (W.E.B. Du Bois, 149-116)

Moving from fiction to social commentary in "The Servant in the House," Du Bois recapitulated the fierce struggle out of slavery by black labor, taking as departure point his own experience waiting tables at a Minnesota resort on Lake Minnetonka the summer after graduating from Fisk University. There had no possibility for black men and women to move up significantly in the world of work. In America during that period, Negroes were seen as servants, and servants were seen as Negroes. Unless there was the intervention by a poisonous comet, Du Bois seemed to be saying, organized labor would hold the door shut to factory and trade in their fellow's faces to keep 300,000 dark-skinned citizens from ever earning equal pay with whites. But if the white unions decided on this as their tragedy, they were likely to find ultimate cost higher than they could afford, Du Bois prophesied in the related essay "Of Work and Wealth," as he had in a key editorial in *The Crisis* for September 1919. He warned that black labor possessed the negative power either to force itself into unions or, if necessary, to destroy them through its willingness to play the blackleg. It was a warning which was ignored by the American Federation of Labor for almost two decades. (Levering, 25)

Du Bois gathered every review here and abroad of *Darkwater* and he pasted them onto the pages of the 1909<sup>th</sup> annual report of the New Jersey Board of Assessors that remained in his personal library until he died. Unfriendly reviews appeared without exception none of the critics panned the literary quality of any

of the entries. If none of it was literary with a very low quality, some of the pieces suffered either from being time-bound by their Late Victorian style or from melodramatic pressure of their author, or from both. ('The Princess of the Hither Isles,' taken from the October 1913 *Crisis*, was an allegorical piece full of energy that delivered a timely message. Here, Du Bois joined the thesis of his forthcoming book *The Gift of Black Folk* (a folk possessed of intuition, compassion, artistic ability) with his emphasize condemnation of a social order in which people of color and women of whatever color were ruled by a class of white men.

Du Bois became strongly determined at just those things upon which many people are careful to shut their eyes. Hence such people will wish that his book had not been written. Actually it is a book so skillfully put together, so passionately felt, so lyrically expressed, that it will be read widely. Its themes are many: black women as mothers, as workers, as victims of masters; children as discoverers of the white man's antipathies, checked in the opportunity to grow and develop; workers pushed aside, made them feel that they think stupidly, trodden under by the civilization of East St. Louis; a denied representation in the government; travelers stopped by the Jim Crow car; soldiers rejected by their white compatriots -- these are samples. The autobiographical reference is frequent. Thus and so it feels to be a Negro and asks how long will the white man's conscience sanction depreciation of the black? (W.E.B. Du Bois, 120-123)

But the book is more than an appeal for justice. A chapter on politics, for example, is a reasoned statement of the right role of majorities and minorities in any society, and makes a skilful use of the argument for suffrage for women. At a good many points, in the matter of education, both races were asked the same thing.

Behind the European war was the white man's fierce desire for control of the colored races, yellow and brown as well as black. Since the colored races include two-thirds of the world's population; Du Bois declared and required faith in the colored skin. This faith he seeks to justify putting Christ and the entire Asiatic in the same group with the Negroes -- a lumping together of dissimilar which is

surely *not* to be justified. A different chapter speaks on the possibilities of education. It begins with the life-story of Coleridge-Taylor, whose heredity was as largely white as it was Negro. At such points as these the skeptical or hostile reader (for whom of necessity the book is written) will wish for greater objectivity.

With Du Bois' recommendation that Africa be developed by and for Africans and not through such exploitation of races as several European governments have done, many persons would have full sympathy. If the institutions of the civilization that grew up in such circumstances should turn out to be impressively different from those made by white men, there could be no occasion for surprise, and perhaps there would be occasion for congratulation. It is believed that Dr. Du Bois has overstressed in his book the points of identity, not only of the colored races, but of the white and black races especially; yet it is equally sure that white men have overstressed the points of divergence. The signal service of this book is that it quite magnificently points out the white man's error and makes clear as day the fact that the "race question" is, at least to a great extent, a question of social environment. A book as genuine as *Darkwater* is a book to respect. It leaves perplexing questions unanswered. (Levering, 21)

As much of the serious white readership in America and Britain debated his book, Du Bois must have been conscious of two relatively recent developments in what was an intensely proud and grateful Negro reception: it was both more broadly based than ever and more critical. As he had the good sense seldom to comment on bad reviews, whatever anger he may have felt is unknowable. But he could well have taken some satisfaction from the fact that he, the widely acknowledged leader of his people, was being criticized by other activists and intellectuals of his race: satisfaction in seeing it as a measure of how much liberation and sophistication had come about in black America since the era of Booker Washington when he, Du Bois, and a handful of others had defied the Tuskegee Machine and dissent had usually been professionally fatal. In closing, the new editor of *The Negro World* pronounced a severe judgment that many who thought they knew Du Bois fully shared, that the editor of the *Crisis* looked down

upon the masses and their infirmities from the heights of his own greatness. (Levering, 21)

For *Darkwater's* language, in its many sections, could sound the emotional depths of a whole people, as in the imagined dialogue about racial paranoia between two educated people, one black the other white. In "Of Beauty and Death" the editor says: " 'This is my life. It makes me idiotic. It gives me artificial problems,' " the colored man confesses. " 'Do you mean to sit there and tell me that this is what happens to you each day?' 'Certainly not, I answered low.' " Then, after the man of color qualifies his denial, an exchange ensues that could as easily have taken place during the Civil Rights era of the sixties:

"But you just said"

"They do happen. Not all each day surely not. But now and then now Seldom, now sudden; now after a week, now in a chain of awful Minutes; not everywhere, but anywhere in Boston, in Atlanta. That's The hell of it. Imagine spending your life looking for insults or for Hiding places from them shrinking (instinctively and desperate Bolstering of courage) from blows that are not always but ever; not Each day, but each week, each month, each year." (Levering, 23)

The achievement of *Darkwater* was that it provided the New Negro with a text book uncannily suited to his\her new needs, a manual in which past, present and clever at understanding and making judgments prescription even as the author, in his role as seer, was still trying to find a formula of progress and empowerment that combined in the right proportion unity based on color with economic democracy based on class. (Levering, 23)

### **2-3-Pan African Congress:**

The Pan African idea found in Du Bois the intellectual behavior and organized audacity helped to advance beyond the literary to become an organized movement whose cultural, political, and economic potential would assume, in the long term, worldwide significance. Marcus Garvey was more capable of articulating the idea of Going back to Africa and mobilizing others in its service. The editor had remained his readers in the March issue that 'Seven hundred and

fifty years before Christ the Negroes were rulers of Ethiopia and conquer of Egypt... supremacy brought no continental unity.' After that came the rise and fall of Kingdoms in the Sudan, followed by the confusion of the slave trade. (Voices of Harlem Renaissance, Special Collections, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.)

Du Bois claimed that the absolute equality of races is the founding stone of the world peace and human advancement. This was his visionary passion for justice and encouragement for development in Great Barrington and present in every book from the suppression of the African slave trade onward. Du Bois did not want to particularize and delivered the same solution to Arkansan bloodlettings against blacks, and the South African land acts and systematic brutality of cartels in Belgian Congo. He expected that perhaps in a decade or a century they would bring about a world organization of black people in order to present a united front to European aggressions. But in the 1900's it was a great achievement to sit down hand in hand with colored groups and across the council table to learn of each other, their conditions and aspirations. (Levering, 47)

Du Bois attended the three sessions in London, Brussels, and Paris. Many came either they needed to believe in Du Bois's vision, or as intellectuals such as famous tenor Roland Hayes, the research librarian Ruth Anna Fisher, Mrs. Carey, and others were part of a genuinely interested American 'contingent' attending the London meeting. (Le Matin, September 6, 1921).

When Du Bois arrived to Europe, he attempted to convince Ramsey MacDonald of the rightness of formal Labor Party that promised to ratify the most extreme conditions when it came to power but they received only vague evasions. Garvey's 'Back to Africa Movement' and he was ready to give the Colonial Office's almost comic overreaction and considered Du Bois as the high level Labor parley. Du Bois also criticized Garvey and said in one of his interviews that although they shared the same Jamaican aspiration Garvey's methods lacked plain sense and that his finances could not be relied on. (Levering, 43)

**Calling on European regimes to recognize civilized men as civilized despite their race or color. The Resolution from the manifesto called for a self governing Africa. If ever the three manifesto enunciations were taken seriously, they would be extremely destabilizing for the new world order of Europe hegemony under the League of Nations. After the Paris session, Du Bois planned to spend several days in Geneva lobbying to implement Resolution VIII: establishment of an international section in the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, ‘charged with the protection of native labor.’ (Levering, 44)**

**To conclude his paragraph he said that the world must face two eventualities. Africa must either be completely understood by Europe on the basis of absolutely equal political, civil, and social privileges for its black and white citizens or Europe must allow the rise of self governing African states based on popular education, industry, and freedom of trade. ‘Out of the depths we have cried unto the deaf and dumb masters of the world. Out of the depths we cry our own sleeping souls. The answer is written in the stars’ Du Bois ended.**

**Du Bois was more than a personal force, he symbolized the New Negro. He did not tower as an isolated figure above his fellows; he was simply first among equals among the men and women of fame attending the congress. As Du Bois and the others had to know is that the construction of King Leopold II’s new Brussels depended upon the continuous exploitation of people and minerals of the Congo. The better to develop and obscure the practices at the foundation of the little country’s enormous wealth, the Belgian government worked together secretly with the cartel to prevent the Congo from becoming opened on the world. (Levering, 44)**

**The second session of the Congress opened in an enormous Beaux-Arts structure in the sprawling Parc du Cinquantaire east of the city. Many thought that the Congress was about to end in a rather disgraceful affair after Diagne's implacable opposition completely polarized the delegates. The severe sentence in *To the World* about Belgium's hesitation to allow the Congolese any participation in government followed by the charge that ‘her colonial policy is still mainly dominated by the banks and great corporations’ surprised the assembly.**

**Resolution VI calling for the restoration of the ‘ancient common ownership’ of African lands moved the hall into noisiness. Diagne behaved as though he might have personal investments at risk in Central Africa. (Du Bois, ‘A second Journey to pan-Africa’)**

**Du Bois invoked the ideals of the Enlightenment and the promises of the League of Nations in defense of universal rights that he suggested as inviolable, regardless of a society's cultural or technological level of evolution. ‘The doctrine of racial equality does not interfere with human liberty, rather, it fulfils it.’ Du Bois ended to loud applause. Under his leadership the Americans showed themselves to be real masters of the situation. In an eleventh-hour compromise on Friday, September 2, 1921, the Congress accepted Diagne's watered-down motion and voted to submit the London resolutions for definitive approval, amendment, or rejection at the last round of meetings in Paris. (Levering, 45)**

**The contest with Blaise Diagne, Panda, and the other European ultras among the Africans was essentially a replay of the leadership contest of the decade before World War I between Booker Washington's machine and Du Bois's Talented Tenth. Yet, if conservative francophone were performing the same dutiful function of making the European governorship in Africa legal that the Bookerites had helped on spreading racial segregation in the United States, that reality was somewhat obscured for Du Bois and many other American Negroes.**

**‘How fine to be a black Frenchman in 1919,’ Du Bois had limned in an editorial bitterly contrasting the Third Republic's gratitude to her African troops with the treatment meted out to black soldiers by America. Africans sat in legislative assemblies in Paris and Lisbon; they held teaching posts at universities; they advanced in the army and civil services; intermarriage of Africans and Europeans occasioned little if any public controversy; France's highest literary distinction, the prix Goncourt, would go in 1921 to Rene Maran, a novelist from Martinique. Paris had been synonymous to a generation or more of African Negro expatriates. Small wonder, then, that when they compared the mystique of French civilization to the reality of Jim Crow America<sup>102</sup>, American**

men and women of color sometimes showed considerable acceptance. (Levering, 47))

After opening remarks in which Diagne denounced Garveyism as a mad idea and communism as an insidious temptation, the day was taken up with promises of loyalty to France. 'It seemed absurd to have the floor given repeatedly to speakers who lived on the honor of being a black Frenchman' an exasperated Fauset complained. Henry Ossawa Tanner, the American Negro painter who was a permanent Paris resident and a Du Bois enthusiast, may have been similarly disconcerted. As the speeches continued with Diagne and fellow assimilé Gratien Candace presiding, while Logan and the Haitian diplomat Dantes Belle-garde tirelessly translated back and forth, the bomb defused in Brussels began to tick again loudly. Even Isaac Beton drew away from his fellow assimilés, confiding his distress to Fauset and passing along useful intelligence. (Levering, 48)

As the Congress drew to its close on Monday, the transparent Francophone attempt to focus discussion on lynching and civil rights abuses in the United States passed by solid opposition. It was reported that 'The question of the status of the Negro in modern society is no longer a domestic problem of the United States, or a parochial problem of Jamaica, or a colonial problem. It is rather a great world-wide problem to be viewed and considered as a whole.' Du Bois would not allow any compromise of the principles of absolute racial equality and eventual rule of Africa by Africans and not Africa ruled with the consent of Africans, as the 1919 Congress had demanded. He insisted on retaining the general criticisms of European colonial regimes and on keeping the mandate to present grievances to the League of Nations. A clear majority shifted behind Du Bois; finally forcing the Franco phones to accept the London resolutions as the platform of the Congress and of the new, permanent Pan-African Association to be headquartered in Paris. But Diagne, refusing to give the entire contest to Du Bois, succeeded in excluding from the final document a paragraph about capitalism deemed to be harmfully socialist. 'But the rest of the demands that yearning, groping audience accepted with their souls,' Fauset rejoiced in distinctly Du Boisian accents. (Levering, 50)

## **2-4 Du Bois and Garvey:**

After the Pan-African Congress ended in the way that Du Bois wished, his ideas and standing as the leader of his people were confronted after he heard about the new ideas that the young Jamaican, Marcus Garvey, brought. The young Jamaican had been in New York for only a month, the departure point for a speaking tour of the country. His plan was to raise money to establish a vocational institute in Jamaica based on the Tuskegee model. Garvey counted a lot on the help of Booker T. Washington, but alas he died on 1915. Tuskegee's new leader, Robert Russa Moton, showed less enthusiasm. (Tony Marin, 1976) Garvey was surprised when he visited the NAACP office especially when he saw the big number of whites working hand in hand with blacks. Du Bois proceeded cautiously in his dealing with Garvey until the battle of editorials led to all-out war during 1923. As Garvey himself had not been sure of what his long-term plans were, whether to return in Jamaica or attempt to build a racial-uplift organization in the United States, Du Bois, curious and somewhat confused, waited and watched. Later on Garvey had finally decided to save enough money through working as a printer in New York to begin traveling and speaking in summer 1916. His lectures cross the country opened his eyes to the possibility of making a movement based on race. He considered the black people in the United States of America as the most progressive and most important unit in the expansion chain moved from Ethiopia. Garvey added that white racism was the reason that forced black people to build their own segregated institutions and to develop a race consciousness that could in time win respect from their oppressors. This was to be a fundamental construct of what became Garveyism. (Tony Martin, 1976)

After a curious visit to Europe to see how blacks were treated in Europe, Garvey was terribly shaken and shocked after what he saw and heard. When he came back home, he decided to form an organization named the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League' an association that would embrace the purpose of all black humanity.' (Garvey, 74.)

But embracing the ‘purpose of all black humanity’ was more than a notion. After Garvey’s visit to Jamaica, he and his Universal Negro Improvement Association had made almost no impact. When he came back to New York, Garvey felt that he had found a place on which to stand and move the earth, a race that he could lead, and a people to whom he could be Moses. Garvey got his opportunity in an inaugural meeting of the Liberty League of Colored Americans, a racial-up lift movement founded by Hurbert Henry Harrison.

On July 31, 1918, a certificate of incorporation for the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League was recorded by the commissioner of deeds for the city of New York. To be headed by a Potentate of Negro blood and race, the actual working head of the UNIA was invested in the President-General and Administrator later, Provisional President-General of Africa, an office reserved by Garvey for Garvey. Article v of the Constitution and Book of Laws stated clearly that ‘he shall be responsible of the potentate for the entire working and carrying out of all commands.’ Two years later, Du Bois would be dumbstruck to find himself summoned by Garvey to run for the honorific position of Supreme Potentate. As the new UNIA took shape over the summer and fall of 1918, it became a magnet for discontented and radical elements criticized especially by the NAACP's policy on American entry into the war. (Levering, 55)

‘Close Ranks,’ Du Bois’s editorial essay in the July 1918 *Crisis*, split black leadership into two very different antagonists. For some, the appeal to make perfect sense for Robert Abbot, publisher of the Chicago Defender. ‘forget our special grievances and close our ranks shoulder to shoulder with our white fellow citizens and the allied nations’ Deferring goals for full rights of citizenship until the War for Democracy was won; they signed off on a Jim Crow army officer corps and rallied to the flag, if not to the NAACP itself. Others such as Trotter, Ida Wells-Barnett broke ranks with their talented tenth peers treated Du Bois as a betrayer. (Crisis, 100-101)

To Deep South newcomers, Du Bois, Joel Spingarn, James Weldon Johnson, and the rest of NAACP cadre were outdated racial militants, well-meaning old

fashioned ideas at best. Du Bois was insulted in the so called the people's Educational Forum, by a young West Indian Socialist Richard B. Moore. Moore challenged the editor's opinion that black labor should keep its distance from both white labor and white capital. Du Bois did not care much and answered in a satirical way that he thought that if you live longer you become experienced not out of fashioned opinions.

The irruption of self-proclaimed 'New Negro' publications –*The voice, the messenger, the Emancipator, the challenge, the Crusader, the Negro World*- were as encouraging signs of an emergent complex of diverse American Negro opinions, useful, certainly, but subordinate if not marginal factors in the formulation of racial policy. Du Bois thoughtfully downplay their relevancy in '*The Class Struggle*,' an essay in the June 1921 issue of the *Crisis*. Still, he couldn't ignore that Garvey's appeal was widening. The editor had risked his reputation appealing to his people to fight in a foreign war on the proposition that they would win their long-denied civil rights when peace came. Garvey replied and had said from the stage of the Palace Casino that Wilson's war was a white man's disaster and it has nothing to do with black people. Du Bois wanted America to honor the claims of its African citizens in his *Crisis* editorial 'We Return Fighting'. (*The Crisis*, 55-58)

Unlike the previous contest that was between Washington and Du Bois, which had often been more about the uses and abuses of powerful white philanthropists and that the emergent Du Bois-Garvey struggle would shake the race from bottom to top. For thousands of years, the Negro has been the unaccepted person of the world, but no longer. The President-General talked in the pages of the *New Negro World* as he announced the convening of a 'great convention' for the month of August. Today the New Negro was determined to play his part in the 'reorganization of world affairs.' 'All Negroes who are interested in themselves, in their race and in future generations will travel their way to New York City to form a part of this great convention assembled.' As the summer of 1919 closed, the institutional stakes became much clearer and the personal vulnerabilities far greater. (*New Negro* publication)

Garvey formed the Black Star Line in Delaware on July 27, 1919, announcing that the UNIA would operate ships to trade to all parts of the world. The corporation will offer employment to thousands of thousands of our men and women. Like the Negro World, which took its inspiration from the Irish World, this unfinished structure at 120-140 West 138<sup>th</sup> Street took its name from Liberty Hall in Dublin, reflections of Garvey's fascination with the struggle for Irish independence. Du Bois, too, praised Irish resistance, but he remained readers of the irony that no people had more willingly killed niggers from Kingston to Delhi and from Kumasi to Fuji than the Irish, who had provided the backbone for the AFL's policies excluding Negro workers. Garvey's old Canadian ship Yarmouth at 135<sup>th</sup> Street pier on September 14, 1919, was received by five thousand cheering Harlemites as one of the greatest events in the modern history of the Negro race. (Amy Jacques Garvey, 3-4)

Du Bois started digging after the Black Star Line. Moving cautiously, one of the first things he did was warn Uncle James Burghardt in Great Barrington not to invest any money in the Black Star Line: The District Attorney of New York Country has pronounced its methods as fraudulent. Du Bois made sharp critics about Garvey. The loud sharp critics of Garvey in the *Chicago Defender*, black America's leading newspaper said that the Black Star Line was a fraudulent operation. Still moving cautiously, however, the September 1920 *Crisis* acknowledged for the first time, in 'The Rise of the West Indian,' this 'new ally in the fight for black democracy.' Rising up against the historic hegemony of Europeans and mulattoes, the peasant masses of the Caribbean were becoming a force throughout the Western Hemisphere, noted the article, and underscored the electric impact of the new cry of 'Africa for the Africans.' (Levering, 59)

The watchword now for the Garveyites was now "race first," which meant building the New Jerusalem on the model of the National Negro Business League rather than the New Economic Policy. Garvey made a hard turn to the political right, telling his followers, 'we are not going to waste time over the white man's politics. All the time we have to waste is with pro-Negro politics.' A great number

of followers certainly understood Garvey's appeal to ethnic pride better than they would have the economics of Marx and Lenin. As in Darkwater Garvey spoke about the role played by the Black race in science, religion, economy. (Martin, 34-37)

In July 1920 the UNIA financial report and the only one available in public, indicated neither profit nor loss. By the close of 1920, Du Bois also knew the real story behind the Yarmouth's voyage to Cuba and the West Indies, the first of three trips to the Caribbean. On a cold, clear October 31, 1919, six thousand members of the UNIA, the red, green, and black official colors streaming above their heads, had marched, bursting with pride, to 135<sup>th</sup> Street pier for the Yarmouth's rechristening as the S. S. Frederick Douglass. (Levering, 61)

Ignoring Captain Joshua Cockburn's protests of mechanical unreadiness, Garvey had signed a full-liability contract with the Green River Distillery Company to transport liquor on the eve of the January 1920 federal enforcement of the prohibition amendment. The ship eventually met difficulties in the middle of the sea which pushed sailors to through a part of the cargo overboard to steady the ship. The other part of the cargo was stolen by gangsters. Du Bois sadly observed of Garvey that his great difficulty was that he had absolutely no business sense, no flair for real organization and his general objects were so shot through with bombast and exaggeration that it was difficult to pin them down for examination.(Levering, 61-66)

As 1921 ended, Du Bois and Talented Tenth leadership found themselves repeatedly ridiculed and denounced. Having managed to reenter the country just in time for a second international conclave after a running battle with U.S. immigration authorities, Garvey began the steady assault upon the editor's reputation and character that would rapidly become worse, i.e., into unconditional warfare. Missing no occasion now to proclaim that the only authentic value shared by blacks and whites was their determination to remain apart and in parallel and mutually indifferent cultural and political commonwealths. Garvey's real message was an ulterior one aimed at propitiating the American white power structure.

Whether it was the integrationism of the NAACP, the socialism of the Messenger group, or the communism of the Crusader circle, he pleased his full showmanship powers to broadcast the very big difference dividing his own ideology from theirs. In his determination to present a conservative face to mainstream America, Garvey fought with and finally expelled Briggs Crusader group, one of the, most able, articulate supporters of the UNIA, at the close of the 1921 international convention. The timing of these expulsions seems very likely to have been accelerated by the aggressiveness of the Crusader group and the Blood Brotherhood who made a bid for UNIA support of the new Communist Worker Party. Briggs, Harrison, and Moore, Campbell, Huiswood, and Hall, and perhaps a score more had succeeded in winning a place on the program for Rose Pastor Stokes at the second convention.

Yet Garvey must have sensed that he was running out of time. Du Bois was certain of it; consequently, the tone of *The Crisis* turned sharper. *The Crisis* had challenged many months earlier ‘Let the followers of Mr. Garvey insist that he get down to bed-rock business.’ The journal said that it was high time for severe economies, published audits, and the prevention of this inspired wild man from speaking in order to ‘preserve his wide power and influence.’ Salary checks had begun bouncing like tennis balls at the hugely overstuffed UNIA headquarters, an embarrassment serious enough to persuade the entire executive council to vote a unanimous 40 to 50 percent reduction in their own salaries in early January 1921. By the beginning of 1922, the denounced civil rights leaders had become extremely concerned about the domino effect of Garvey's collapse.

Whenever Du Bois wrote or spoke of Garvey there was always the unmistakable hint of tolerant, well-bred preceptor's exasperation when forced to deal with a gifted, uninstructured in the vicarious and solemn symbolism of responsible black leadership. What possible value could there be in talk of pride of race without responsible, efficient racial conduct, he would have had the Jamaican answer. Garvey's charge was so much nonsense that Du Bois and other American Negro leaders were jealous of his success. They were simply afraid of Garvey's failure, ‘for his failure would be theirs.’ No doubt it was the expectation

of that failure that explained why 'Pan-Africa,' a tour d'horizon in the *March Crisis*, had omitted all mention of the Provisional President-General and his organization.

The exodus of well-known West Indian radicals from the UNIA, their informed and somewhat principled denunciations, and the willingness of Briggs and Domingo to help the mail-fraud investigations of federal examiners, were serious blows to Garvey's movement. Domingo's piece on Garvey in October 1921 *Crusader*, reproached his former friend's dictatorial methods, detailed the mismanagement of tens of thousands of dollars, and defended the pan-African effort of Du Bois. One of Garvey's most trusted American associates and a member of the executive council, Reverend J. D. Brooks, had been arrested on charges of grand theft at the end of November 1921. Months earlier, the crew of the expired *Kanawha* had been brought home courtesy of the United States Government. The excursion boat, *Shadyside*, after a few trips up the Hudson in summer 1920, now lay capsized on the beach near 175<sup>th</sup> street.

In Washington, President Hoover was unhappy as he followed the eleventh-hour maneuverings of Garvey's attorney, Henry Lincoln Johnson, who apparently hoped to persuade Postmaster General Hays to drop mail-fraud charges for a \$201,000 consideration. There was to be a deal. Garvey was arrested on January 12, 1922, and released on \$2,500 bail. Always choosing the bold stroke over retrenchment and repair, three weeks before his arrest, Garvey had instructed his agents to place a down payment with the U.S Shipping Board to buy the largest Black Star Line ship yet, the S.S. Orion for the projected UNIA trade with Africa and Liberian resettlement.

On February 15, the sanction that Du Bois had predicted, that Briggs, by providing the authorities with evidence, had greatly facilitated, and that Hoover had patiently supervised, struck the UNIA broadside. Garvey and three officials of the Black Star Line, Elie Garcia, George Tobias, and Orlando Thompson, were indicted on twelve counts of fraudulent use of the mails. Released on bail, their trials were postponed until the government's investigation was completed. The shipping Board now cancelled the Orion contract and returned the Black Star

Line's money. By now, Du Bois knew enough about the shaky finances of Garvey's multiple operations to be certain that the UNIA edifice was bound to collapse in noisy, humiliating failure.

Meanwhile, Du Bois had done a good deal more than continue to accumulate evidence of unworthiness of the Provisional President-General. He had taken steps to prevent the UNIA's most ambitious undertaking the Liberian construction and resettlement scheme. Who but Du Bois\_mind and voice of his race\_ could have a greater categorical imperative to act with quiet, principled resolve to limit the terrible damage caused by these fiascoes of a fraudulent Moses? It is his vision of Africa as a continent evolving from underdevelopment and exploitation by way of education and civic experience into prosperous self-rule that had animated the pan-African ideology for more than twenty years. Du Bois presented a program in which he would lead forces of Europe, gradually, then ever more rapidly, to concert black skills, high purposes, and resources to bring an end to imperialism and racism not only because it was the right thing to do, but, in the end, the only sane thing to be done. Garvey threatened the continuity of these efforts that amounted to little, 'Africa for the Africans,' an exiting slogan in place of a sensible program. Du Bois had written and spoke of Africa for the Africans, but he had never meant by this that Africa 'should be administered by West Indians or American Negroes,' he wrote, highly annoyed.

Du Bois saw things differently; he decided that the moment was finally right to inform his readers of the danger posed by the Garvey movement. Du Bois admonished in a *Crisis* editorial essay that the race was reaching a new level of maturity, one in their new awakening, their self-criticism, or impatience and passion; they must expect the Demagogue among Negroes more and more. He will come to lead, inflame, lie and steal. He will gather large followings and then burst and disappear. For all the half heartbreak of the past, the Negro experience had been characterized by a solidarity bred of common social oppression and serfdom. Thanks to their long oppression by whites, blacks had survived and struggled in a democracy of deprivation. Racism had saved people of color from

internal class conflict by leaving them with smaller inequalities in wealth and education than most groups of twelve millions. But this mixed blessing was ending as, slowly; inevitably, people of color in America became differentiated by education and affluence.

Here was the gravest danger, the setting of one class against another. Although Du Bois made no reference to Booker Washington, his readers would have sensed his presence. The war with the Tuskegee Machine had been fought primarily over ideas and personalities, with only the most muted class. Class had not been irrelevant, certainly. Du Bois spoke for and mobilized those whose socioeconomic profile was mainly northern, urban, college-educated professional, and light-skinned. Washington spoke for farmers, domestics, and trades people located principally in the South, but fairly broadly dispersed geographically; although his real priorities centered on the urban, college-educated, well-connected, and business-engaged wherever he found them. In simplest terms, Washington and Du Bois had completed for and split the allegiances of the same class formation.

Since the climax of Du Bois\_Washington controversy, however, the sounds of class conflict had to be heard. Du Bois acknowledged: 'the ties between our privileged and our exploited, our educated and ignorant, our rich and poor, our light and dark, are not what they should be'. The Demagogue finds 'the cleft between our incipient social classes,' and with Garvey unmistakable accused, Du Bois underscored how the Demagogue exploits the 'kernel of truth' about class in order to destabilize legitimate leadership. 'It is here that the New Negro Demagogue thrives and yells and steals. 'They are ashamed of their race'; 'they are exploiting us'; they are copying the white man's color line' \_ he shouted, as he skillfully fills his own pockets and waters the pennies of the poor.' Du Bois had warned in the two-part Marcus Garvey appearing in December-January 1921 that the native leadership class of Negroes would punish anyone who attempts to play off one group of colored people against another, by which he clearly meant, without saying so explicitly, that any challenge from outsiders to the paramount authority of the Talented tenth would be fiercely repelled.

If Garvey could claim that mulattoes and Ivy League were overrepresented in the top tier of civil rights leadership, he and his circle could find themselves at least as weak to bring vilified as strangers who understood little about American history, culture, and race relations, and who misunderstood almost everything about black people of achievement in the United States. As Garvey knew from the insulting references in the Baltimore *Afro-American*, the Chicago *Defender*, the *Messenger*, and much of the domestic black press, his being a West Indian subject of the British Empire had become a convenient substitute for reasonable criticism of himself and his movement. Du Bois's collusion in the anti-West Indian counterattack gathering momentum in the spring of 1923 was somewhat masked and ambiguous. When Domingo, one of Garvey's bitterest critics, asked for Du Bois's view of the xenophobic turn taken by *The Messenger*, Du Bois replied that the only issue was the 'opinion of the man and not the man himself or his birthplace.'

Machinations with white racists became more and more worrying as news and rumor spread that Garvey had gone from a Ku Klux Klan rendezvous to meeting with archracist Theodore Bilbo, Mississippi's senior senator, and courtly John Powell, head of the Anglo-Saxon League of America; that he spoke at a rally of racists in North Carolina. Garvey had explained himself, typically, with twisted ways. "Between the Ku Klux Klan and the Moorfield Storey NAACP, give me the Klan for their honesty of purpose toward the Negro," he boomed. He was fed up with integrationist hypocrisy and black dependence on incompetent whites and the whole Dyer antilynching campaign of the civil rights establishment.

Taking the UNIA out of the civil rights collaboration, he claimed that while on a speaking tour of Missouri he had been unable to get a soda 'served even by a dirty Greek who kept his so-called white soda fountain in a Negro section' of Congressman Dyer's St. Louis district. Speaking in Youngstown, Ohio, in the fall of 1923 Garvey appealed to 'The soul of White America'<sup>50</sup> to help him achieve the only feasible solution to the race problem—which was 'to provide an outlet for Negro energy, ambition, and passion, away from the attraction of white opportunity and to surround the race with opportunities of its own.' If it took an

understanding with the Klan to help make it possible for black people to survive and thrive separately, equally, and totally apart from white people in the Americas and on the African continent, then Garvey was up to the challenge. The days of 'subtle and underhand propaganda fostered by a few men of color in America, the West Indies, and Africa to destroy the pride of the Negro race by building up what is commonly known as a 'blue vein' aristocracy' were finished.

By the time 'back to Africa', Du Bois's liquidating retrospective of the Garvey Movement, appeared in the February 1923 issue of *Century* magazine. The Provisional President-General of Africa had destroyed the UNIA hierarchy, expelled most of his closest associates except Henrietta Vinton Davis, dissolved the Black Star Line, declared his admiration for Italy's new dictator, Benito Mussolini, and conspired in Eason's assassination to prevent his appearing as a witness in the upcoming fraud trial.

Two grave temptations had challenged the present generation of Negroes. First had come Washington's which said 'Let politics alone, keep your place, work hard, and do not complain,' and which meant, insisted Du Bois, 'perpetual color caste for colored folk by their own cooperation and consent.' The present challenge of the race was to survive Garvey's lesser temptation, which said, 'Give up! Surrender! The struggle is useless; go back to Africa and fight the white world.' The hope of the future lay in disciplined work and unflagging courage in owning property and earning education, in the well-kept homes of families living on 138<sup>th</sup> Street in Harlem's swank Strivers' Row. This was the future in which all members of the Wizard's National Negro Business League would have taken out life memberships in the NAACP.

Garvey's rage against Du Bois and his kind became even more scurrilous in the months ahead. His trial running through four weeks from May 18 to June 21, he saw as persecution engineered by the NAACP, U.S. The judge Julian Mack, one of the most incisive minds ever to edit the *Harvard Law Review* and second only to Louis Brandeis in American Zionist movement, was widely reputed to be both a co founder and active member of the NAACP. The jurist's official connection to the association remains somewhat cloudy, although Du Bois, when

asked about it later by the Virginia newspaper publisher P.B Young, replied that Mack was probably a contributor or supporter. In any case, Judge Mack refused to step down, a decision he may have regretted after Garvey, smoldering under his breath about Jews and near white Negroes, dismissed his first attorney after the second day and assumed his own defense. 'If Garvey conducted his business as he did his trial,' opined the Pittsburgh *Courier*, 'there is little wonder it failed.' 'The result is that he can talk big, but cannot do big.' The price of failure in Mack's court was a verdict of guilty and a sentence of five years in federal prison and a thousand-dollar fine. A more baleful consequence of the trial was Garvey's embrace of anti-Semitism. Until then, what he had had to say about Jews, although gauche and misinformed, was usually meant to be complimentary, as when he marveled at their power both to start and end World War I. Behind Mack's NAACP membership and presidency of the American Jewish Congress Garvey divined sinister, clandestine forces bent upon destroying black people's best hope of advancement. From this curious moment onward into the late twentieth century, black Zionism would carry a distinct malodor of ideological anti-Semitism.

For Du Bois, Garvey's conviction was a self-inflicted tragedy. But even with that miscalculation and the mail fraud conviction, Du Bois fully expected Garvey to display his finest acting and propaganda skills while his appeal worked its way through the courts. There was still something 'attractive and understandable in his personality and his program,' Du Bois conceded. The trial and denial of bail, as well as fears of insurgency within the leadership, forced Garvey to cancel the third International Convention scheduled for August September, but he fired Ferris, Davis, Marke, and the rest of his inner circle a few days after his trial ended to stop any misapprehensions about his authority. Confined in the Tombs Prison until September 10, when the court finally approved his petition for bail, he put the time to excellent use by writing a short, self absolving autobiography blaming his troubles on 'very light colored negroes in America and the West Indies,' as well as thieves and incompetents in his organizations. If Du Bois had ever had a seconds' doubt about his role in toppling Garvey, it must have

vanished as he read the autobiographical 'The Negroe's Greatest Enemy' in the New York World for August 5, 1923. Reiterating a belief 'in the purity of both races,' the essay predicted a terrible clash and race war in another 50 or 100 years.

### **III- Crisis of African American Intellectuals:**

The ideas of one particular class of Negroes on questions as race, color, politics, economics, art, or interracial relations are pretty superficial. These ideas are expressed in many different ways but, because of the fact that American Negro exists under the dominating persuasion of the Great American Ideal, the philosophy of these Negroes has not been allowed to get the acceptance as an ethnic conception of reality. Nonetheless, this stratum persists in its own way of what might be called the Afro-American ethnic group consciousness in a society whose legal constitution recognizes the rights, privileges and aspirations of the individual, but whose political institutions recognize the reality of ethnic groups only during election contests. (Harlem Background, 16)

Every four years the great fiction of the assimilated American ideal is put aside to deal with the pluralistic reality of the American vote, of which the largest is the Negro-American. But since the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 on public school integration, the Negro-American has been catapulted into the role of being the mover and shaker of modern America while putting the Great American Ideal to the most crucial test of its last hundred years. (Britannica Student Library)

America which idealizes the rights of the individual above everything else, is in reality, a nation dominated by the social power of groups, classes, In-groups and cliques-both ethnic and religious individual in America has few rights that are not backed up by the political economic and social power of one group or another. Hence, the individual Negro has, proportionately, very few rights because his ethnic group has very little political, economic or social power to use. Thus it can be seen that those Negroes, and there are very many of them, who have accepted the full essence of the Great American Ideal of Individualism are in serious trouble trying to function in America. (Britannica Student Library)

Very understandably, these people want to be full-fledged Americans, without regard to race, creed, or color. They do not stop to realize that this “social animal” is a creation of the American imagination and has never really existed except in rare cases. They cite the American Constitution as the legal and moral authority in their search for fully integrated status and find it necessary to avoid that stratum.

Although three main power groups- Protestants, Catholics and Jews- neither want nor need to become integrated with each other. The existence of a great body of homogenized, inter assimilated white Americans is the basis for racial integration. Thus the Negro integrationist runs a foul of reality in the pursuit of an illusion, the dream of the “open-society”. Which group or subgroup leaves its door wide open for the outsider? None, really. But we cannot point out one sub societal exception to this state of affairs between groups which, for our purposes, it is important to note very attentively: “The only substantial exception to this picture of ethnic separation is the compartment marked intellectuals and artists,” Gordon suggested.

Gordon goes on to explain this stratum saying that, it would be sufficient here to point out that in the situation of men and women coming together because of an overriding common interest in ideas, the creative arts, and mutual professional concerns, we find the classic sociological enemy of ethnic parochialism. In other words, in the detached social world of intellectuals, a considerable amount of racial integration and ethnic intermingling does take on a social level. While the Negro intellectual is not fully integrated into the intellectual class stratum, he is, in the main, socially detached from his own Negro ethnic world. Gordon Points out that there is evidence that the outflow of intellectuals from religio-ethnic groups of America, their previous separation from the life of there groups, and the resultant block in communication between the ethnic sub society and the intellectual might have dysfunctional consequences.

In Negro life the cultural spheres appear to many as being rather remote, intangible and hardly related to what is called the more practical aspect of race relations. However, the truth is that the more practical sides of the Negro

problem in America are bogged down precisely because of cultural confusion and disorientation on the part of most Negroes. Thus it is only through a cultural analysis of the Negro approach to group politics that the errors, weaknesses and goal failures can strongly be analyzed and positively worked out.

The American moral ideas are irritated with history and cares deeply only about today, and possibly about tomorrow. History is valid for the American only when it can be used as a facile justification for what is half-heartedly pursued today in defense of pragmatic “Americanism”<sup>51</sup>. Negroes are no different in this respect; thus even those who glory in certain black antecedents learn very little from their past.

James Weldon Johnson’s wrote *Black Manhattan*, a cultural history. From sociological point of view, Johnson was correct in his choice of cultural analysis as a method, yet the cultural aspects of Harlem developments had economic determinants and political consequences. In economic terms, the origins of Harlem black community are to be found in the rise of black economic nationalism. At the turn of this century Harlem was a predominantly white community that had been “overbuilt with new apartment houses. It was far uptown, and the only rapid transportation was the elevated running up Eighth Avenue- the Lenox Avenue Subway had not yet been built... So landlords were finding it hard to fill their houses.” However, the Harlem whites organized to use all means-legal, persuasive, and conspiratorial- to stem the Negro influx which assumed mass proportions around 1905.

The spirit behind this influx was economic nationalism. The economic organization behind this nationalism was the Afro-American Realty Company, a group of Negro leaders, business men, and politicians of whom the leading voices were Philip A. Payton, a real estate man, and Charles W. Anderson, a Republican Party stalwart who, in 1905, was appointed collector of internal revenue in New York by Theodore Roosevelt. Behind these men stood T. Thomas Fortune, editor of the *New York Age*, the oldest and most influential Negro newspaper in New York. But behind them all stood the guiding mind of Booker T. Washington and his National Negro Business League founded in 1900. All of the personalities in or

around the Afro-American Realty Company were protégés of Washington and members of his business league. They were, thus, representatives of Washington's Tuskegee Machine, the bane of the civil rights radicals led by W.E.B. Du Bois in his Niagara Movement of 1905. By this time nationalism had become aggressive and assertive in economics but conservative in civil rights politics, hence the clash over program was between Washington and Du Bois's new civil rights radicalism.

The operations of the Afro-American Realty Company led the growth of black Harlem by either leasing or buying apartment homes that could not be rented and renting them to Negroes. In many cases whites voluntarily abandoned houses, in other cases whites were forced to leave and replaced by Negroes. The whole movement, in the eyes of the whites, took on the aspect of an invasion; they became panic-stricken, and began fleeing as from a plague.

Philip A. Payton organized the Afro-American Realty Company to counter the thrust of the Hudson Realty Company, a white group, formed to stop and turn back the black influx after it had begun to spread west of the Lenox Avenue line of demarcation. Payton's group then attempted to incorporate with a capitalization of \$500,000 at ten dollars per share with the aim of expanding operations to include building apartments. For a long period the New York Age carried an appealing for buyers of shares. From 1905 to the beginning of IWW, a legal and financial struggle went on in Harlem between black and white realty interests, during which time Negroes gained a solid foothold.

The dominant thinking of the times was reflected in the remarks of several of the leading minds behind the organization of the Afro-American Realty Company. Speaking to an audience of farmers at the fourteenth annual session of the Tuskegee Negro conference, Washington was quoted by the New York Age as saying "when race gets Bank Book, its Troubles will cease." (Washington,

He further advised Negroes "Get some property...Get a home of your own." W.E.B. Du Bois was unhappy over the way Washington emphasized his gospel of "Work and Money." Speaking at a celebration of Lincoln's birthday to the Professional and Business Men's group, Philip A. Payton discussed the Afro-American Realty Company's operations and aims, stating "there is strength in

financial combination”. In pleading for more race support, he declared: “how often do we see because of this lack of race confidence a competent Afro-American lawyer or doctor hardly able to exist from want of patronage from his race.”(Britannica 2007 Ultimate Reference Suite)

The Afro-American Realty Company lasted about five years, and then collapsed. Harlem became what historian; James Weldon Johnson called “the intellectual and artistic capital of the Negro world” for a very good reason- because New York City was the intellectual and cultural capital of the white world in America. This is of historical and cultural importance in more ways than one. By understanding this, it is then possible to see that the emergence and growth of Negro Harlem took place within the framework of Negro-white relations, both in New York and elsewhere. Manhattan real estate interests the relations of various national groups, southern Negro migrations, war economics, etc made Harlem a new Promised Land for the black worker and former peasant from both the South and the West Indies. But Harlem also helped in developing something else which has not been adequately dealt with in the history books- a cultural movement and a creative intelligentsia.

That this occurred was not at all strange in terms of the Negro’s native artistic gifts. What was unique; however, was that this Negro cultural movement ran almost parallel to, and in interaction with, a white American cultural resurgence. Again the historical motif of the Negro dynamic, acting and reacting within the contest of Negro-white relations, was demonstrated on the cultural plane. Thus it is more than coincidence that Negro Harlem, which began as a trickle of black settlers quickly, grew into a city within a city, and the fact that in 1912, a group of white creative intellectuals came together in the “salon” of Rabel Drage in Greenwich Village to launch the American literary and cultural renaissance that reached its Zenith in the 1920’s.

James Weldon Johnson concluded unsatisfactory as they were vaguely indicated where the Harlem movement might have led:

‘Harlem is still in the process of making. It is still new and mixed; so mixed that one may get many different views- which is all right so long as one view is not

taken to be the whole picture this many-sided aspect. However, makes it one of the most interesting communities in America. But Harlem is more than a community; it is a large scale laboratory experiment in the race problem and from it a good many facts have been found...Through his artistic efforts the Negro is smashing [an] immemorial stereotype faster than he has ever done through any method he has been able to use... He is impressing upon the national mind the conviction that he is a creator as well as a creature; that he has given as well as received; that his gift have been not only obvious and material, but also spiritual and aesthetic; that he is a contributor to the nation's common cultural store; in fine, he is helping to form American Civilization.'

Johnson had said "American Civilization" because he wanted to point out that the Harlem Renaissance was paying a high price for being allowed to contribute to the nation's common cultural store and to form American Civilization. The price was that in exchange for the patronage gained from Carl Van Vechten and others among the downtown white creative intellectual movement, the Negro's courage determination and aesthetic materials were taken over by many white artist; who used them allegedly to advance the Negro artistically but actually more for their own self-glorification.

As a consequence, a most intense and unfair competition was engendered between white and Negro writers; the whites, from their vantage point of superior social and economic advantages, naturally won out. For instance, from 1917 to 1930, no less than 50 white play-wrights presented works in Broadway dealing with Negro themes, on the side of Negroes; only 5 plays were produced of which four were serious.

LINCOLN STEFFEN'S 1919 effusion about the future at work had done a great deal to make it almost mandatory by the mid-twenties for intellectuals to visit the Soviet Union. Convoys of British Fabians had followed hard on the tracks of Steffens, an enthusiastic H. G. Wells and a repelled Bertrand Russell among them. Granted an hour's interview alone with Lenin in May 1920, Russell had been impressed by the Bolshevik leader's self-assurance but he found the regime loathsome, that there was 'less liberty in modern Russia than ever existed

anywhere before.' Uncritical readers of his quick book, *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*, would have been inclined to abandon all travel plans to see Bolshevism being practiced. Two years after Russell's visit, *The Liberator's* Max Eastman had come to St. Petersburg to attend the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, accompanied by a temporarily excited Claude McKay. Eastman, who had bitterly assailed Russell as a naïf person of Menshevik propaganda, became an impassioned champion of Leon Trotsky and fell in love with the sister of the minister of justice, whom he married.

McKay, who enjoyed the special distinction of addressing the world body of communism on the unique racial circumstances confronting the American Communist Party, wrote *Negry v. Amerike*, a small book on the subject that would become required reading among the Soviet hierarchy. The poet recalled being feted like a "black ikon in the flesh," much to the surprise of the African Blood Brotherhood's light complexioned Otto Huiswood, who had been cast by the American Communist Party delegates as the black representative of class solidarity. But both McKay and Eastman, like the undefeatable Emma Goldman, had soon become disappointed with the Soviet system, Eastman's explosive *Since Lenin died* appearing two years after Goldman's, *My Disillusionment in Russia* and only a year before Du Bois embarked to see the future for himself. The editor was familiar with the literature inspired by the Soviet Union's growing stream of political tourists, and it is clear from his writings during the early twenties that he resolved not to prejudge the Russian experiment. He refused to be moved either by the "superficial omniscience of Wells or the reports in the New York Times."

When the *Liberator* charged in summer of 1921 that he had no respect for the Revolution, Du Bois had responded to McKay, an enthusiastic supporter of the Bolsheviks, with the "Negro and Radical Thought," a *Crisis* think piece denying scorn but asserting a right to skepticism. How could one dismiss a movement whose paramount duty was not only to unite the European working class, but, as the Comintern now proclaimed, to achieve the unity "of all colors: white, yellow, and black-the toilers of the world"? He asked. The marvelous set of phenomena known as the Russian Revolution might well be all that McKay, Asa Randolph,

Hubert Harrison, Cyril Briggs, and others prophesied- "the greatest achievement of the twentieth century," in Randolph's words- but Du Bois had urged an inquiring patience. "Russia is incredibly vast, and the happenings there in the last five years have been intricate to a degree that must make any student pause." Even though he had sanctioned the blood-soaked antislavery crusade of John Brown in the biography, Du Bois made it clear that he was deeply disturbed by the violent transfer of power in Russia. "We do not believe in revolution," he had announced in "The Class Struggle," another provocative Crisis editorial in summer 1921. There may have been rare circumstances in history where "organized murder" was the sole option, but those occasions belonged in the past. Revolutionary changes must come "mainly through reason, human sympathy and the education of children, and not by murder," Du Bois moralized.

Du Bois also concluded that the application of Marxist class analysis to people of color had limited validity. Black Americans might look and act like proletarians. Theoretically they were indeed "part of the world proletariat," he conceded in one of the earliest of what were to become significant Du Boisian revisions of scientific socialism, but, as a practical reality, they were not only unrecognized and excluded from the white world proletariat, they were victimized by the "physical oppression, social ostracism, economic exclusion, and personal hatred" of the white working class.

European workers, after all, had discriminated against Asians: why, therefore, assumes on the part of suppressed white masses "a clearness of thought, a sense of human brotherhood, sadly lacking in the most educated classes?" However appealing the communist ideal, the Briggs's, McKay's, and Randolph's were mistaken to assume that we have only to embrace the white working class program to have the working class embrace ours. Du Bois was right in saying that it would be foolish to abandon the practical program for Negro emancipation "laid down and thought out" by the NAACP "by seeking to join a revolution which they do not understand. The life-and-death question was this: How far can the colored people of the world, and particularly the Negroes of the United States,

trust the white working classes? Those who skimmed the essays in *Darkwater* could easily find Du Bois's not very encouraging answers.

According to McKay, who had sought to enlighten the aging editor prior to his own disillusionment, the problem of the twentieth century was far less one of race than of class. The black American refused to let himself be a member of his community because of his color, McKay explained in a lengthy letter. "In reality," black workers were discriminated against because they were "the lowest type of worker"- because they allowed themselves to be manipulated against the white working class by the capitalists. Du Bois would have heard the theme of class over race sounded very unpleasant in the *Messenger* shortly before sailing for Russia. Speaking on behalf of the recently organized Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters [BSCP], now the principal support for Randolph and Owen's magazine, the magnetic young Negro socialist, Frank W. Crosswaith, predicted the imminent founding of the Worker State soon after the BSCP and all the workers of the nation were inextricably bound up with that of every section of the working class. In revealing contrast to the response the previous year when a subscriber had repeatedly needled the editor for ignoring Crosswaith and Randolph, whom *The Nation* and *The New Republic* found worthwhile, *The Crisis* lost no time announcing its full backing of Randolph and Owen's courageous venture into organized labor politics and its looming battle with the gargantuan Pullman Railroad Corporation.

When the Communist Party operative, Lovett Fort-Whitman, sent an invitation to participate in something called the American Negro Labor Congress [ANLC], Du Bois admitted not knowing "anything about you personally," but subsequently praised the Party's effort to mobilize black workers, although he declined to attend the ANLC's founding in Chicago in October 1925. "The Black Man and Labor," appearing in the December *Crisis*, marked a significant advance in thinking about the USSR, with Du Bois enjoining readers to "stand before the astounding effort of Soviet Russia to organize the industrial world with open and mind and listening ears."

**Bolshevik Russia strongly enticed Du Bois now. Intellectuals of his stature were expected to possess informed opinions about what he would soon describe as the greatest event in history since the French Revolution. The editor thought of himself with good reason as someone who helped to set the trends of his time, yet he surely recognized that his hesitations and qualifications about the Russian Revolution and the white workers of the world had diminished his standing among many of the so-called New Negroes. At fifty-eight, he was thought of as the peerless embodiment of Negro civil rights and intellectual culture, an iconic figure after whom high schools were named in West Virginia and Illinois and whose birthday brought interracial tributes from many of America's most distinguished men and women. Yet, also and increasingly, Du Bois had come to be regarded by young militants as the superannuated representative of a magnificent past.**

**He writes of seeing poverty "struggling on the ruins of the empire," of much oppression and disorganization that left an "unforgettable impression." It cannot be known how keenly he may have sensed the lift being given the people by the Dawes Plan which had just regularized Germany's reparations debt and provided for a massive infusion of American and British bank loans to help stabilize the mark. The Locarno Pact had ended the French army's humiliating occupation of the Ruhr, authorized the Allied evacuation of Cologne, and enabled Germany to enter the League of Nations just as Du Bois arrived. But the scene in Berlin was still one of widespread, gnawing hardship for the working classes and deepening political disaffection on the part of the middle classes. Cabaret life had begun to sizzle with an athletic decadence, but the shabby street crowds had the look of outpatients, hollow-eyed victims recovering from the disastrous inflation of 1923-24 when people bought food with wheelbarrows filled with marks.**

## **CONCLUSION:**

Through my research I wanted to see the improvement of the African American intellectual especially in the early 1900's till 1930's. This pushed me to dig behind the reasons that pushed African Americans to fight for their right and to see the duplicity of the opinions of three figures that played a major role in developing the image of the African Americans in the world. I looked for who was for full civil rights and who was for building a black society within the white America. I wanted to know weather the figures I have chosen did fulfil their goals, and to see whether these goals were personal or they worked for the benefit of the Black community.

Starting with Booker T. Washington and his Tuskegee Machine My work is close to be a biographical study in the sense that its focus is on the complex, enigmatic figure of Washington, the most influential, powerful figure of his time. In what became known as the Atlanta Compromise Address, delivered before a southern commercial convention, he proposed a triple alliance between northern capitalists, the New South white leadership class, and blacks. Washington offered to trade black acquiescence in disfranchisement and some measure of segregation, at least for the time begin, in return for a white promise to allow blacks to share in the economic growth that northern investment would bring. So I reached the point that Washington did not give a major importance to be integrated in the American society.

Then came W.E.B Du Bois The most influential public critique of Booker T. Washington's policy of racial accommodation and gradualism came in 1903 when black leader and intellectual W.E.B. Du Bois published an essay in his collection *The Souls of Black Folk* with the title "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others." Du Bois rejected Washington's willingness to avoid rocking the racial boat, calling instead for political power, insistence on civil rights, and the higher education of Negro youth. Du Bois, agreed with many of Trotter's criticism of Washington, and believed that Washington was misguided in his assertion that

blacks should seek economic equality first. Du Bois instead asserted that economic security was not enough, and that blacks must become educated.

The third impressive figure is Marcus Mosiah Garvey shows us the path. Being one of the first to emphasize the requirement for a black newspaper, to inform the people and restore the social and historical truths, which are essential to awaken the conscience of men oppressed and reduced to the status sub-human. And bringing the fight on an international level, the great Garvey tells us of his journey, aspirations and requirements that must be ours. At the time of the "Gran name 'like this, it is obvious that the empowerment intellectual, political, economic and cultural life of black people through ownership of its history, information control, and the return its deep ancestral roots in Africa.

But Garvey did not stop there. Indeed - and this was one thing that distinguished black leaders at the time -, Garvey is not a man of theory. It is not a man to broad principles and fine without worrying about how they put into practice immediately. With the same care that it took to realize, his own eyes the misery in which the Negroes were left to fight it better, Garvey cleverly develop practical ways to the establishment of this country wanted. This country where black people will return with its glorious and powerful past.

Indeed, Garvey was not a man to throw words into the air. We have seen, since 1919, the big man run the newspaper "The Negro's World" published in several languages (French, English, Spanish and Portuguese) and distributed throughout the Americas (North, South, as Central America) but also in Europe. Newspaper editorials in which it outlined vividly the glorious past of the black race, and reminded readers of the great Negro intelligence, heroism and courage of leaders in the slave revolts, and the grandeur that existed once on the continent of their ancestors. Above all, these texts never fail to remind that such greatness could not be restored until the blacks are not again control their own destiny. The newspaper, printed in 200 000 copies, traveling as much as under coats and became in no time the newspaper's most popular black in the world.

The dream of the "Promised Land" and was stopped in its tracks. For the reasons outlined highest, Garvey was opposed not only to class white intends to maintain at all costs the Negro in an inferior position, but also to black elites, convinced of the need to get rid of such a man . Thus, many black intellectuals launched the movement Garvey must go, through which they engage in constant harassment and require strength and determination with the departure of their country of Jamaica.

Marcus Garvey would be imprisoned in March of this year 1925 to the prison in Atlanta for mail fraud. The day after his incarceration, demonstrations demanding the release of the great man took place in Atlanta, New York, Kingston, Jamaica ... and took a global dimension. Everywhere, voices calling for the U.S. government for the release of Mosiah Garvey. In November 1927, after 3 years in prison, man is finally released because of public pressure that was becoming increasingly untenable for the White House.

But Washington's philosophy of racial uplift was bitterly opposed by some African American intellectuals, most notably W.E.B. Du Bois. In 1903, Du Bois published the essay, "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," in his book *The Souls of Black Folk*. He criticized Washington for failing to realize that without political power, economic gains were short-lived and vulnerable. Du Bois also believed that vocational education to the exclusion of the liberal arts would deprive African Americans of the well-trained leaders they sorely needed. In a time of increasing discrimination and racial violence, Du Bois argued, blacks must press for civil rights rather than accommodate inequality.

Du Bois and his Crisis editorial essays worked for being full fledged in the American society. He wanted full civil right and wanted his people to be full citizens and to not give up their civil rights as Booker T. Washington wanted. The two men were different in ways but they wanted the best they can offer for their people, though sometimes they wanted to impose their way in thinking. By the end of my work you will find out that the three men were seeking the best even

**through the Tuskegee Machine, through Back to Africa Movement, or through the fight for equal citizenship.**

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