

W. E. B. DU BOIS'S QUEST TO CHALLENGE SCIENTIFIC RACISM, 1906–1932:
EDUCATING THE “CITY NEGRO” AT THE 135TH STREET BRANCH LIBRARY

by

DEIRDRE FOREMAN

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

W. E. B. Du Bois's Quest to Challenge Scientific Racism, 1906–1932:

Educating the “City Negro” at the 135th Street Branch Library

By DEIRDRE FOREMAN

Dissertation Director:
Dr. Steven Diner

This is a historical study of W. E. B. Du Bois's quest to challenge scientific racism by educating Black Americans on Negro history and culture at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library. W. E. B. Du Bois discovered that the silence and neglect of science had distorted and erased the truth regarding the history and culture of the Black race. Thus, he believed that it was his duty to change the perception of the Black race contrary to how science had defined it. Du Bois used the 135th Street Branch Library in its role in the Harlem community as an urban repository and a center for Black studies to educate the Black masses on Negro history and culture. To show that Blacks were not of an inferior race, Du Bois provided evidence to counter the claims of science. Du Bois developed an empirical framework based on social scientific research of Blacks in cities and engaged the scientific community on both the domestic and international fronts. This study examined the historical relationship between the evolution of Du Bois's thinking on race and science and his “anti-racialism,” exemplified in two critical moments in his career: his attendance at the First Universal Race Congress in London and his work at the 135th Street Branch Library. The aim of this research was (a) to explain the history of scientific racism as it relates to the intellectual development of Du Bois's thinking on

race and science; (b) to understand Du Bois's role in Harlem and how the 135th Street Branch library was a part of it, and (c) to describe the issues in the history of urbanization, cities, and race and how they relate to Du Bois and to Harlem. Historical research was applied in the form of (a) archives; (b) primary and secondary sources, such as articles, newspaper clippings, and monographs; (c) audiovisual materials, such as photos; and (d) observations. Validity and reliability of the findings derive from these multiple data sources. This work contributes to research in the fields of history, education, ethnology, anthropology, sociology, and urban studies.

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populations and scientific racism. Finally, I thank the staff at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture for assisting with this research and making possible this project with their patience and guidance. This project is the culmination of a 3-year exploration of topics relevant to scientific racism and education of Black Americans on Black history and culture in the cities during the 20th century.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|------|
| Title | i |
| Abstract | ii |
| Acknowledgments | iv |
| Preface | viii |
| Introduction to the Investigation | 1 |
| Chapter 1: Scientific Racism: A History of Social Thought | 33 |
| Chapter 2: The First Universal Races Congress: An International Influence on Du Bois's Scientific Thinking, 1911 | 63 |
| Chapter 3: The Age of the Harlem Renaissance: Du Bois and the 135th Street Branch Library | 88 |
| Table 1: Comparison of New York City population to total United States population in urban cities, 1900–1930 | 139 |
| Chapter 4: The KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theatre, 1925–1927: Racial Vindication | 169 |
| Chapter 5: Lessons Learned | 208 |
| Bibliography | 234 |
| Appendix A: Cover Letter for a Questionnaire on Du Bois's Genealogical History | 254 |
| Appendix B: Heredity Questionnaire, ca. 1925. Requesting Information About W. E. B. Du Bois's Genealogical History for a Study Challenging the Findings of Arthur De Gobineau | 255 |
| Appendix C: Outline of Plan to Establish Department of Negro History, Literature And Art | 257 |
| Appendix D: Letter From W. E. B. Du Bois to Ernestine Rose: Plan to Establish Little Negro Theatre Dated 17 May 1926 | 258 |
| Appendix E: KRIGWA Draft of Invitation | 259 |
| Appendix F: KRIGWA Final Copy of Invitation | 260 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Appendix G: KRIGWA Circular F, 1 January 1926 | 261 |
| Appendix H: Conditions for Using the KRIGWA Players..... | 262 |
| Appendix I: KRIGWA, The Programme | 263 |
| Appendix J: Memorandum: Book Guild to Mr. Johnson..... | 264 |
| Appendix K: Tournament Announcement..... | 265 |
| Appendix L: Letter from Du Bois to Ernestine Rose Concerning Harassment by the Janitor..... | 266 |

Preface

This study is an investigation about a man who worked tirelessly to challenge the dominant racist ideology of Black intellectual and cultural inferiority. W. E. B. Du Bois discovered early in his career that the silence and neglect of science had distorted and erased the truth regarding the history and culture of the Black race. Thus, he believed that it was the obligation and duty of Black leaders such as himself to change the perception of the Black race in a way that was contrary to how science had defined it. Du Bois used the 135th Street Branch Library in its role in the Harlem community as an urban repository and a center for Black studies to educate the Black masses on Negro history and culture through the power of drama. To show that Blacks were not of an inferior race, as science had, in his opinion, wrongly defined them, in the form of arts and humanities, Du Bois provided evidence to counter the claims of science. In following the intellectual development of Du Bois's thinking on race and science, certain points of his career must be acknowledged to understand the motivation behind his mission. Early on, Du Bois sought to understand the racial divide within society and thus sought to explain the "color line" as it pertained to the daily life of Black Americans in cities.¹

Du Bois looked to slavery to explain the root of the social construction of racial divisions within society. He argued that racial inequality in the United States was the direct result of the heritage of slavery, not biology.² He perceived the institution of bondage as a single factor in the "global imperialism" that was commenced by the

1. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois and Isabel Eaton. *The Philadelphia Negro: A social* No. 14. Published for the University, 1899: iv.

2. Ibid.

Europeans or what he referred to as the “lighter races.”³ Racial inequality, he argued, originated from the burden of the “color line,” and that imposition was the foundation for a conflicting relationship between the “darker to the lighter races of men.”⁴ As will be seen in this study, Du Bois constructed a philosophy in which the notion of Black inferiority that had perpetuated race inequality was a socially constructed phenomenon within American society due to human agency, not biological determinism based on natural laws of human differences. In support of this claim, Morris (2015) wrote, “In contrast, at a time when races were considered natural, Du Bois’s school viewed them as socially constructed categories and held that they could not be ranked according to natural hierarchies.”⁵

Society had developed the racial worldview that Blacks did not possess a history or culture; this view distorted conceptions of the Black race and used science to justify the conclusion. This is made evident throughout this study. Du Bois viewed the resolution to the “Negro problem” as the responsibility of Blacks themselves to be educated on Negro history and culture to challenge the scientific conclusions that had silenced the truth and had claimed that Blacks were inferior to the White race. He said,

Thus it is the bounden duty of black America to begin this great work of creation of beauty, of the preservation of beauty, of the realization of beauty, and we must use in this work all the methods that men have used before. And what have been those tools of the artists in times gone by? First of all, he has used the truth—not for the sake of truth, not as a scientist seeking truth, but as one upon whom truth

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

eternally thrusts itself as the highest hand maid of imagination, as one great vehicle of universal understanding.⁶

Du Bois questioned the idea of the “Negro problem” being a result of biological determinants –due to Blackness—or race. Du Bois eloquently described what is meant by the “Negro problem” for Blacks in cities. In the speech “The city Negro,” given in 1910, he said,

Consequently we face various Negro problems in the United States Involving many different circumstances and surroundings and conditions. One of these problems we are to talk about tonight and that is the problem of the city Negro in the North. When one is to face such a problem there are one or two answers that spring to the lips: the first is, why should one single out the colored people in the North and call them a problem any different from the problem of a half dozen other nationalities who are crowding our large cities? . . . Secondly, why is it that Negroes trained in the United States, particularly in the North for long years, and with opportunities for education and work, should remain a problem? In answer to these questions we must remember that much as we may deplore it there is a line of demarcation and a line of discrimination against Negroes which is drawn, in the United States, against no other race; and that it is this discrimination which makes the Negro problem in Northern cities call in, some degree, for special treatment.⁷

Lewis (1995) stated that this was “the first time he sought to analyze the burden he bore on his back, the dead weight of social degradation, partially massed behind a *half-named* “Negro problem.”⁸ Du Bois did not believe that the social conditions under which Blacks had lived in cities was explained by the biological determinant that Blacks were of an inferior race but was explained by sociological factors.

6. David Levering Lewis, *The Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader* (Penguin Group USA, 1995), 100.

7. W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt) Du Bois, 1868-1963. The city Negro, ca. 1910. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed September 20th, 2016. <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b196-i054>.

8. Lewis, *Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader*.

Based on his studies, Du Bois determined that human behavior could be studied scientifically by sociology, not biology, and that Blacks were not responsible for their “Negro problem.”⁹ He believed that human agency, not science, should be used to measure the human interactions between social patterns in society.¹⁰ To support this analysis, according to Taylor (1981), Du Bois argued that “scientific definitions were illogical and unsupported assumptions of a closed system, derived from a laughable methodology, and interpreted by biased investigators.”¹¹

Du Bois focused his social scientific research on the migration of Blacks in cities, in particular moving away from the dogmatic scientific theories that had defined the Black race. He consistently challenged the idea of universal laws or science as a way to explain human behavior, stating that it lacked the proper cause to capture the day-to-day life and social realities of the Black experience in cities.¹² That theory would stand in direct opposition to the dominant views on race and science for German scientists and other White scholars of the time. This would lead to Du Bois’s eventual retirement in 1910 and his later termination for a second tenure, in 1944, as professor at Atlanta University.¹³ Shirley Graham Du Bois (1978), Du Bois’s second wife, kept a journal on her life with her husband. In it she wrote of these events of her husband’s tenure that transpired at Atlanta University,

9. W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*; and WEB Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America* (2004), 4.

10. Ibid.

11. Carole M. Taylor, “W.E.B. Du Bois’s Challenge to Scientific Racism,” *Journal of Black Studies* 11, no. 4, (1981): 459, September 20, 2015. Accessed <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784074>

12. Taylor, “Challenge”.

13. Ibid.; Shirley Graham Du Bois, *Du Bois: A Pictorial Biography* (Johnson Publishing Company, Inc. Chicago, Illinois 1978).

Du Bois increased visibility as the leader of “this radical Northern” movement made his continued association with a Southern Negro college difficult. He said, “The people who were supporting Atlanta University were a little uneasy about the way in which I talked about the Negro problem and the pressure began to be put upon the University to do without my services.” He said, “I recall at last I resigned. They would have had to drop me if they wanted to keep the philanthropic gifts coming from rich people of the North.”¹⁴

During his second tenure at Atlanta University in 1944, Mrs. Graham Du Bois wrote that,

at the August 1944 meeting of the Board of Trustees, at Atlanta University, President Rufus Clement “reluctantly” proposed to the Board of Trustees that they would have to let Dr. Du Bois go. Again, it was felt that the social reforms being implemented in the University’s Sociology Department were threatening the school’s financial support. The Board voted to retire Du Bois as professor and head of the Department of Sociology at Atlanta University.¹⁵

According to Morris (2015), Du Bois was dismayed by the news.¹⁶ Du Bois believed that, as Morris (2015) noted, “This reality flatly contradicts the accepted wisdom.”¹⁷ Du Bois worked at Atlanta University for 13 years and made vital contributions to the school’s sociology department and to the people at the university.¹⁸ In 1897 Du Bois was recruited by Dr. Horace Bumstead, the university’s President, to serve as supervisor of the “sociology program” and as manager of the newly sponsored series of conferences on the study of “urban Negro problems” at the university.¹⁹ The

14. Graham, Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 40.

15. *Ibid.*, 70.

16. Aldon Morris, *The Scholar Denied: WEB Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology*, (University of California Press, 2015).

17. Morris, *Scholar*, 1.

18. Morris, *Scholar* Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*.

19. Elliott M. Rudwick, “WEB Du Bois and the Atlanta University Studies on the Negro,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 26, no. 4 (1957): 466-476, accessed December 5, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/pdf/2293494.pdf>.

Laboratory in School of Sociology at Atlanta University and its annual conferences were considered “landmarks” in the history of scientific sociology in America.²⁰

Known to many as “the founding father of scientific sociology in America” as it related to the study of the urban Black, Du Bois dedicated his life’s work to the production of sociological studies of Black Americans in cities to prove that the “Negro problem” was a “human problem,” not a condition on race.²¹ In support of the claim that Du Bois was an originator in the field, Morris (2015) wrote, “There is an intriguing well-kept secret regarding the founding of scientific sociology in America. The first school of scientific sociology in the United States was founded by a black professor located in a historically black university in the on race.”²²

Du Bois made the first social scientific study of Black Americans for Atlanta University, a historical Black institution in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1896.²³ Even as a self-proclaimed scientific sociologist and expert on the Black race, Du Bois claimed that he was the first to study scientific matters of the Negro race and wished to be recognized as such.²⁴ As further evidence of this claim, Du Bois wrote a letter to Edwin Embree in 1931, thirty-four years after his “first” scientific study on the urban Negro, published in a book entitled *Philadelphia Negro* in 1899. He wrote, “I can say without modesty that I

20. Morris, *Scholar*, 89.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.; W. E. B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. Memorandum from W. E. B. Du Bois to Walter White, November 17, 1930. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 1, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b055-i306>.

24. W. E. B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Edwin Embree, December 2, 1931. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 2, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b058-i210>.

was the first person who began the scientific study of the American Negro along modern social lines.”²⁵ To support this argument, Morris (2015) wrote, “W.E.B. Du Bois was the first social scientist to establish a sociological laboratory where systematic empirical research was conducted to determine the scientific causes of racial inequality.”²⁶

Mrs. Graham Du Bois (1978), the second wife of Du Bois, recalled in her journal the time when her husband had begun his “first” scientific study on the urban Black published in 1899 in the *Philadelphia Negro*. She wrote,

At the end of two years at Wilberforce he and Nina [Du Bois’s first wife, who passed away during the course of their marriage] were married. He took her with him to Philadelphia where he had been offered a temporary appointment for one year at the University of Pennsylvania as “assistant instructor.” He was paid \$600 for the year, but the money was less important to him on scientifically structured investigation. His study of the Black community in Philadelphia has withstood the test of time and is even today looked upon as a model for the social scientist.²⁷

Despite Du Bois’s “controversial” theory on race, he gained the respect of social scientists and impressed the scientific community with his intellect and scholarly talents both domestic and abroad.²⁸ Francis Broderick (1958) wrote, “W.E.B. Du Bois went to Europe in 1892 an historian; he returned two years later a sociologist.”²⁹

25. Ibid.

26. Morris, *Scholar*, 3.

27. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 12.

28. Ibid.; Francis L. Broderick, “German Influence on the Scholarship of WEB,” *Phylon Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (1958): 367, accessed July 1, 2016 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/273098>; Lee D. Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954* (University of California Press, 1998), 107; William Edward Burghardt, Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B Du Bois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of its First Century* (Oxford University Press, 1968); William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: New American Library 1903); W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk in Nathan Huggins* (ed.), *Du Bois Writings*, New York (The Library of America, 1903,1986), 368; Morris, *Scholar*.

29. Broderick, “German Influence,” 367.

However notable Du Bois might have been for his social scientific research on urban Blacks, his theories on race did not go unchallenged. In the 1920s, the Chicago School of Sociology dominated the field of social scientific research and was declared the “leader in social scientific research on urban cities,” despite the successes of the school of sociology at Atlanta University.³⁰ Supported by White sociologists and philanthropists alike, the Chicago School was “housed” in the University of Chicago’s prominent Department of Sociology, which had been founded in 1892.³¹ The School supported the work of well-known pioneers in the field such as social psychologist George Herbert Mead and philosopher John Dewey from the Philosophy and Pedagogy Department at the Chicago School of Sociology.³² Robert Ezra Park, who was known as the school’s “primary leader,” established the two principles upon which the institution’s theories would be based.³³ According to Morris (2015), the first principle stipulated that “sociology was an objective science whose mission it was to formulate natural laws determining human behavior.”³⁴ Morris (2015) considered the second to be “a unique social Darwinism that combined evolutionary principles with social interaction analysis.”³⁵ Du Bois rejected both theories.³⁶ As evidence of his rejection, Du Bois clearly expressed his dismay with the thought of scientists attempting to seek answers on human attributes—of the “Negro problem”—by looking to science instead of sociological scientific theory. He wrote,

30. Morris, *Scholar*.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., 1.

34. Ibid., 112.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

The elaborate attempt to compare the social and animal organism failed because analogy implies knowledge but does not supply it—[it] suggests but does not furnish lines of investigation. And who was able to investigate “Society”? Nor was the search for the ultimate Sociological Element more successful. Instead of seeking men as the natural unit of associated men, it strayed further in meta-physical lines, and confounding Things with Thoughts of Things, they sought not the real element of Society but the genesis of our social ideas.³⁷

Harris (1969) noted that Darwinian theories were an example of an application of social science concepts to biology and these theories were used to justify the myth of Negro intellectual inferiority, inferring that White superiority was to rule over all others and that Europeans were the superior race.³⁸ Du Bois maintained that sociologists were enthralled with this concept of natural laws as an explanation for race inferiority because it satisfied their deepest desire to answer the complex questions of social scientific studies on racial inferiority.³⁹ He argued that such sociological reasoning was flawed in that it was based on “unscientific methodology that generated unsound data.”⁴⁰ He supported the use of empirical data in approaching social scientific studies on racism versus, “superficial generalizations” on complex social problems such as the study of Black Americans in cities.⁴¹

Based on earlier claims in this study, it is evident that Du Bois was aware that racism began to surface when it became important to justify reasons for human bondage of African Americans. Thompson (2003) noted, “Only when voices began to make themselves heard against the inhuman traffic in slaves . . . supporters of slavery were

37. Ibid., 26; William Edward Burghart Du Bois, “Sociology Hesitant,” *Boundary 2*, 27, no. 3 (2000): 40, accessed November 1, 2017, http://pages.uoregon.edu/koopman/siap/readings/dubois_hesitant.pdf.

38. John Offer, *Herbert Spencer: Critical Assessments*, vol. 2, Taylor & Francis, 2000.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., 25.

41. Ibid.

forced to look about them for reasons”⁴² Racism, as defined by Feagin and Sikes (1995), refers to adopting or opposing attitudes and ideologies that dominate the sociocultural authority that determines societal outcomes.⁴³ Feagin, Vera, and Imani (1996) said, “Racism is more than a matter of individual prejudice and scattered episodes of discrimination.”⁴⁴ Racism includes a broad embrace of a racist ideology and the power to reject groups of a different race and deny the “dignity, opportunities, freedoms, and rewards that are available to one’s own group through a socially organized set of ideas, attitudes, and practices.”⁴⁵ Blacks who had migrated to cities from the South were of particular interest to Du Bois’s social scientific focus. He was aware that the urban Black had suffered the same forms of oppression in the North that had limited their opportunities in the South. As evidence of this claim, Du Bois said in his speech in 1910 entitled “The city Negro,” “In face, there are today many resemblances between the situation of the Negro of the country districts of the United States, and the serf of the Middle Age who ran away to town to escape a serfdom.”⁴⁶

Du Bois’s years in Harlem, between World War I (1914–1918) and the Great Depression (1929–1941), were a time of massive industrialization that brought on rapid urbanization and an increase in the Black population in cities across the nation. Between

42. Ashley Montagu, *Man’s Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* (Alta Mira Press, 2001), 61.; Ibid.; Amanda Thompson, “Scientific Racism: The Justification of Slavery and Segregated Education in America,” *Gaines Junction 1*, no. 1 (2003): 1, accessed September 1, 2016, <http://fliphtml5.com/rizg/qgpg>.

43. Joe R. Feagin, and Melvin P. Sikes, “How Black Students Cope with Racism on White Campuses,” *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 8 (1995): 91-97, accessed March 3, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2963064>.

44. J. R. Feagin, H. Vera, & N. Imani, *The Agony of Education: Black Students at White Colleges and Universities* (New York, NY: Routledge 1996), 9.

45. Ibid., 7.

46. Du Bois, The city Negro, ca. 1910, Du Bois Papers, 2.

1920 and 1930, while Du Bois resided in Harlem among the Black intelligentsia of the period, thousands of African Americans who had left the South settled in Harlem in the hope not only of economic opportunities but also a more racially tolerant and inclusive environment.⁴⁷ Gottdiener and Hutchinson (2011) best described the effects of the urbanization period for Blacks in cities: “At the turn of the last century, the mechanization of agriculture, coupled with the immense increase in industrialization with its job opportunities, both pushed and pulled Blacks off southern farms and into northern factories.”⁴⁸

Du Bois had witnesses early on this shift in the Black population in cities, as evidenced by his speech in 1910 entitled “The city Negro.” He highlighted the increase in the Black population in cities in relation to the region’s rural population. Osofsky (1971) also wrote of the ecological changes within Harlem and noted that urbanization had intense effects on the ecology of the region and on its economy.⁴⁹ Within this urban space, Du Bois observed the psychology and lifestyles changes of Blacks and concluded that, over the course of generations, structural violence as scientific racism had had deleterious effects on Blacks in cities. This is evident in his study of the “city Negro” that he conducted at Atlanta University. Massey and Denton (1988) supported this theory of the expansion of cities during this period as they highlighted that, in terms of a place, urbanization signifies increased spatial scale and/or density of settlement, as in business

47. Ibid.; Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto: Negro New York, 1890-1930*, vol. 1572 (Harpercollins College Div, 1971).

48. M. Gottdiener and R. Hutchinson, *The New Urban Sociology*, (Westview Press: Boulder: Colorado, 2011), 186.

49. Osofsky, *Ghetto*.

and other activities in the urban area over time.⁵⁰ This process could occur either as a natural expansion of the existing population (usually not a major factor, since urban reproduction tends to be lower than rural reproduction) or the transformation of peripheral population from rural to urban and incoming migration, as is the case of Harlem.⁵¹ Urbanization changed the dynamics of the Harlem neighborhood. It changed the racial and social composition of the city at large and created pressures on the lower segments of the real estate markets. In his fundraising speech entitled “The city Negro,”⁵² Du Bois brought to the attention of all who would listen the consequences of the Black migration as it pertained to their social status in the “Great Metropolis.”⁵³

Du Bois used this urban environment to conduct social scientific research on Blacks to dispute the notion of science, which had defined Blacks as intellectually and culturally inferior to Whites and had thus socially reproduced inequality and a stratified society.

Du Bois, a strong proponent of race equality, actively engaged the masses and participated in a movement to educate Blacks in cities for many years to come. He focused his energies on dissecting the issues of urban racism, social/spatial discrimination, and urban violence in the form of limited education of Negro history and

50. Massey, S. Douglas and Nancy A. Denton, “The Dimensions of Residential Segregation,” *Social Forces* 67 no.2 (1988): 281-315, accessed April 2, 2016 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2579183>, doi: 10.2307/2579183; Van Kempen Ronald and A. Şule Özüekren, “Ethnic Segregation in Cities: New Forms and Explanations in a Dynamic World,” *Urban Studies* 35, no. 10 (1998): 1631-1656, accessed September 4, 2016, <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.460.8310&rep=rep1&type=pd>.

51. Douglas and Denton, “Dimensions”.

52. Du Bois, *The city Negro*, ca. 1910, Du Bois Papers.

53. Junius Henri Browne, *The Great Metropolis: A Mirror of New York* (1869).

culture for Blacks in cities. He contended that scientific racism could be challenged by correcting the historical accounts of the Black race. He believed that educating the race on its history and culture in public schools, universities, libraries, and other public forums in cities across the nation would put forth an answer to the race question: How do we solve the “Negro problem”? In a search for answers, Mrs. Graham Du Bois (1978) wrote in a journal about the affinity for history that she believed that her husband naturally embodied. She wrote,

Du Bois studied history and acted in history. But he also embodied history in the flesh. He was one month old when Ulysses Grant was President, eight years old when Victoria became Empress of India, nine when white men with guns nullified Reconstruction. Sixty two-when Ghandi marched to the sea and 95 when he died on the eve of the great March on Washington.⁵⁴

To augment his enlightenment on the study of Blacks in cities, in 1906, Du Bois witnessed a man named Franz Boas, a renowned anthropologist, give the Commencement address to the Atlanta University graduates. The subject was the Black race. Du Bois claimed that this speech by Boas served as a major influence in the formulation of an already developing idea: the engagement of the Negro race in the education of its own history and culture as a resolution to the “Negro problem.”⁵⁵ Du Bois described this experience as an “awakening from the paralysis of this judgment [that the Negro has no history].”⁵⁶ As an example of his gratitude, Du Bois named Boas a leader in the scientific community and one of the most influential persons in his life.⁵⁷

54. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, xii.

55. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now: An Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race: The Oxford WEB Du Bois*, vol. 7 (Oxford University Press on Demand 2007).

56. *Ibid.*, xxxi.

57. *Ibid.*

Boas taught at Clark University in Massachusetts from 1889 to 1892 and conducted studies on urban migration, with special focus on drawing a comparison of the growth patterns of European immigrants in the United States and their children.⁵⁸ In 1892 he resigned from Clark University to work as Assistant Chief at the World Columbian Exposition.⁵⁹ However fortunate at times to secure a position, throughout his early career he had also experienced similar challenges with racism as Du Bois due to his Jewish heritage and background.⁶⁰ During this era, anti-Semitism had challenged the ability of Jews in America to move up the social and professional ladder, as was true for many Blacks in the United States.

Boas had personally experienced racism in his early life as opportunities for German Jews during this period were scant and he did not escape these trials.⁶¹ In retrospect, this obstacle would later serve as an explanation for why Boas was denied a position at the University of Chicago, the place where, ironically, Park and his team were promoting principles that were in direct opposition to both Du Bois's and Boas's theories on race.⁶² Boas said that sociology was not an objective science, as others had defined it, whose mission it was to formulate natural laws determining human behavior and social Darwinism.⁶³

In August 1894 in Brooklyn, New York, Boas delivered his first speech on the dominant views on scientific racism before the Anthropology Section of the American

58. Baker, *Savage*.

59. Ibid.; Morris, *Scholar*; France Boas, "Human Faculty is Determined By Race," *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science* 43 (1895).

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

Association for the Advancement of Science.⁶⁴ In his speech entitled the “Human Faculty as Determined by Race,” he posited the following question: “What wonder if civilized man considers himself a being of higher order as compared to primitive man; if it is claimed that the white race represents a higher type than all others?”⁶⁵ Boas cautioned the audience, “[The problem with simple evolutionary theories was the liability] to interpret as racial character what is only an effect of social surroundings.”⁶⁶ He argued against race superiority, contending that racial disposition did not determine superiority.⁶⁷ He said that it would soon be found that the superiority of civilization of the White race alone was not a sufficient basis to infer that Whites were superior to other races.⁶⁸ Similar to Du Bois, he used in part his studies of racial groups within the urban environment to justify and explain his theory.⁶⁹

As did Du Bois, Boas believed that the main reason for Blacks to experience societal inequality was clear racist beliefs that were unsupported by scientific argument.⁷⁰ Boas claimed that “the old race feeling of the inferiority of the colored race is as potent as ever and is a formidable obstacle to its advancement and progress.”⁷¹ He cited that the sciences had not focused on the accomplishments of the Negro despite the obstacles that the race faced in society.⁷² He also said that Negroes have “accomplished in a short

64. Ibid.

65. Morris, *Scholar*; Boas, *Human Faculty*, 301.

66. Baker, *Savage*, 104.

67. Ibid.; Morris, *Scholar*; Boas, *Human Faculty*.

68. Baker, *Savage*; Morris, *Scholar*.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. Boas, *Human Faculty* 307.

72. Baker, *Savage*; Morris, *Scholar*.

period against heavy odds.”⁷³ When Boas attempted to challenge the eugenics movement, he was rejected by the federal government and practically ignored by the social scientific community.⁷⁴

Du Bois’s quest to challenge scientific racism with his accumulated knowledge on the issue was, as stated by Baker (1998), “an important precursor for the paradigmatic shift in the social sciences that is rightly credited to Boas.”⁷⁵ Boas’s ability to culturally assimilate more easily within American society than Du Bois served as an advantage for him to possess more influence within the social scientific community to refocus the scientific approach to race.⁷⁶ According to Baker (1998), “Boas was White, was viewed as an ‘objective’ scientist, and had the ability to convince scientific societies, editorial boards, and a prestigious departments of his theoretical perspective on race.”⁷⁷ Morris (2015) agreed, writing that “Boas simply had more power than Du Bois in the academy to redirect scientific approaches to race”.⁷⁸

Du Bois and Boas first made contact when Du Bois wrote a letter to him on 11 October 1905, inviting him to speak at the 11th Atlanta conference.⁷⁹ Boas agreed, saying that “the Atlanta conference was an opportunity to present really new evidence and new points of view on the black problem.”⁸⁰ Morris (2015) wrote,

73. Boas, *Human Faculty*, 307.

74. Morris, *Scholar*; Baker, *Savage*.

75. Baker, *Savage*, 107.

76. Baker, *Savage*; Morris, *Scholar*; Rosemary Levy Zumwalt and William Shedrick Willis, “Franz Boas and WEB Du Bois at Atlanta University, 1906, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 98, no. 2 (2008): i-83.

77. Baker, *Savage*, 107.

78. Morris, *Scholar*, 218.

79. *Ibid.*, 82.

80. *Ibid.*; Zumwalt and Willis, “Franz Boas”.

Atlanta University decided that its annual conferences would focus on Black urban life, given that many of its graduates lived in cities. The goal of the Atlanta Conference was to collect data on urban black life each year and to analyze it at annual meetings to shed light on black life each year and to analyze it at annual meetings to shed light on black city life.⁸¹

The theme of the conference was the “Health and Physique of the Negro American.”⁸² The intellectual parallels of Du Bois’s and Boas’s scholarship made for a perfect union.⁸³ Similar to Du Bois, Boas rejected the position of social Darwinism and “Spencerian organicism” that nature determines the social order and defined Whites as superior to Blacks.⁸⁴ He too had supported the ideas that were in stark contrast to the dominant belief of racial superiority and thus contributed in mass defense to the argument to liberate the oppressed races.⁸⁵ Boas dedicated his career to reforming racial and political equality for minorities and immigrants.⁸⁶ He challenged the misuse of science during his tenure as anthropology professor at Columbia University and established resistance that led to the end of the movement.⁸⁷ During World War II, Boas worked with the U.S. scientific community; as Grasso (2000) indicated, he, along with other scientists, challenged Nazism, scientific racism, and eugenics.⁸⁸

Du Bois was strengthened in his resolve that Boas was correct in claiming that, to counter claims of moral, psychological, or mental inferiority, as Boas said, “You may

81. Morris, *Scholar*, 58.

82. Ibid., 81; Gina Marie Grasso, “Confronting Eugenics: The Historical Significance of Franz Boas” (PhD dissertation, California State University, Fresno, 2000), accessed January 6, 2016, <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/docview/304678788?accountid=13626>.

83. Morris, *Scholar*; Zumwalt and Willis, “Franz Boas”.

84. Morris, *Scholar*.; 26.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.; Zumwalt and Willis, “Franz Boas”.

87. Ibid.

88. Grasso, *Confronting Eugenics*.

confidently look to the home of your ancestors and say that you have set out to recover for the colored people the strength that was their own, before they set foot on the shores of this continent.”⁸⁹

Du Bois knew that scientific racism had been used to justify the enslavement of Africans who had for centuries been deemed to be intellectually and culturally inferior to the White race. This view of racism claimed that the Black race was inferior to people of European descent in all aspects of physical and mental being.

Robert Kugbey, co-author of the book *Shackles in Darkness*, offered an analysis of the concept of Black inferiority in terms of the European’s slaveholder perspective of the 1500s slave trade in Cape Coast, Ghana and the importance of teaching Negro history and culture, as Du Bois did during the renaissance period at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library in Harlem in its role in the Harlem community as an urban repository and a center for Black studies.⁹⁰ He said,

Back in the 1500s the Africans who were captured and kept in Ghana at the Elmina Castle and the Cape Coast were viewed as inhuman. Yes! Du Bois knew of the importance, because “The whites...I don’t know. Because of their position they thought African culture was not refined—we are not human beings. But, nothing has been changed. As we stand here today, my book that I showed to you, “*Shackles in Darkness*,” we as Africans have not gone beyond the shackles. We are still in darkness! That is the title that we choose,” *Shackles in Darkness*.” We are still in darkness! You say we have independence, but we are still in darkness. You look at this Ghana, we have all of the resources, but we still borrow money from the whites, a place that is slowly falling...I am talking about Europeans in general. That is why we borrow money to support our budget and we have all of

89. Julia E. Liss, “Diasporic Identities: The Science and Politics of Race In the Work of Franz Boas and Web Du Bois 1894–1919,” *Cultural Anthropology* 13, no. 2 (1998): 137, accessed January 1, 2017, <http://www.academicroom.com>.

90. Robert Kugbey, “Cape Coast Slave Castle,” (presentation, Cape Coast Slave Castle Cape Coast, Ghana, March 13, 2017); Felix Nguah and Robert Kugbey, *Shackles in Darkness: A Handbook on The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, (NYAKOD Printing & Publishing Company Limited Cape Coast, 2015).

the natural resources, our own timber and everything, so we are still in darkness: “*Shackles in Darkness*.” It doesn’t make sense! So, we are still in darkness. Shackles in darkness, And we are still in chains. . . . This is a time when we have to rise up! African leadership must rise up. It is the education that is continuing the pathology of slavery. They are using “dominant” education.” What I mean is they still use the system of education, this is Africa. We must develop our own curriculum. Yes! When you go to the university, in the third year you are taught how to look for a job, write application, put on tie. Of course, you have the light, you have the sea, you have the rain, you have the sun. You see people go to a great college and they can’t do anything so we are stuck. We have to check our minds. This is Africa. We are Africans! They are not educating them on Negro culture and history like we should. Because when I was in school, I was not taught anything about slavery or Negro culture and history. But our educational system, slavery is not a part of it. But now we have it in the curriculum. It is now being taught in schools, -from primary and basic level. The people of Ghana do not even come to this Castle. No! There are people who never step foot on this castle and don’t even know what happened here. We just receiving the whites, but there are Africans here who don’t know. Gradually, and slowly it is changing. Some Africans that are learning are reacting by saying –these people are wicked! People don’t know that slavery was very inhumane. This is our nation. People don’t want to eat Fufu and Fonfom. They want instead fried rice. Lot of things has happened, like diseases. Things that we are not used to we are eating- Chicken from outside,-outside of Ghana, fats-- Cancer, hypertension. Everything is here in Africa. Now, the youth, they want to travel to Europe. What are you going to do in Europe? That’s why they are there. Chasing the white image. They want to go to Europe. Look at this light! Look at the sea! Look at the fish! And they want to go to Europe. So, we have to change our mentality. We are Africans! We can gradually change the mentality of Africans. Slavery just occupied a minor free time. We are human beings. What they were saying is that we are not human. That is not true. There is no London. You don’t even have the sun. What are you going to do? We have to change. . . . I am an African. This is me! We are talking to people about change. . . . The propaganda is a lie, if you say that we are not human beings.⁹¹

This ideology was critical to the silence and neglect of science that had led to the “disappearance” of Negro history and culture and ultimate distortion of the race, which arguably remains today.⁹²

91. Ibid.

92. Taylor, “Challenge,” 459.

Critical to this study is Du Bois's biographical information, which aids in understanding his intellectual development on race and science. It describes Du Bois's educational background and his own experience with "race consciousness" on what it meant to be Black in America. An archival document of handwritten notes penned by an unknown author provides intricate details on the life of Du Bois. The document, "Notes on the Life of W.E.B. Du Bois," gives a brief synopsis of Du Bois's life from the age of "1.5 to 22 years."⁹³ According to these notes, Du Bois lived in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. His father's family was of African West Indian and French descent. His mother's family was of African and Dutch descent. Mrs. Graham Du Bois (1978) described in her journal Du Bois's sentiment regarding his mother,

My mother was brown and rather small with smooth skin and lovely eyes and hair that curled and crinkled down each side of her forehead from the part in the middle. She was rather silent, but very determined and very patient.⁹⁴

His mother's family resided in Massachusetts for 200 years.

Mary Sylvina Burghardt, Du Bois's mother was born in the Housatonic Valley of Western Massachusetts. The black Burghardts were a group of African Americans, descents of Tom Burghardts, who was born in West Africa about 1730. He was stolen by Dutch slave traders and brought to the Valley of Hudson as a as a small child. His father, Alfred Du Bois was a light mulatto, who came to live in Great Barrington shortly after the Civil War where he met and married Mary Sylvina Burghardt.⁹⁵

93. W.E.B., Du Bois. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. *Notes on Life of W. E. B. Du Bois, ca. 1905*. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed November 5, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b238-i076>.

94. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 7.

95. *Ibid.*, 3.

Du Bois's mother's grandfather fought in the Revolution.⁹⁶ His grandfather, Alexander Du Bois, was one of the founders of St. Luke Episcopal Church, New Haven, Connecticut.⁹⁷ Born in 1868, during the reconstruction era three years following the American Civil War, Du Bois lived in a racially mixed environment, in a poor but working class.⁹⁸ At age 5, Du Bois resided in Great Barrington, Massachusetts.⁹⁹ Du Bois described his family:

My immediate family consisted of a very dark grandfather, Othello Burghardt, sitting beside the fire place in a high chair because of an injured hip. He was good-natured but not energetic. The energy was in my grandmother, Sarah Lampman, "Sally," a thin tall yellow and hawk-faced woman...beautiful in her youth, and efficient and managing in her age. . . . For a time I lived in the country at the house of my grandfather, Othello, one of three framing brothers. . . . My father's father, Alexander Du Bois, lived in New Bedford. A short thick-set man, he was hard and set in his ways, proud and bitter. I went to New Bedford in 1883 at the age of 15. . . . My skin was darker than that of my schoolmates. My family confined itself not entirely but largely to people of this same darker hue.¹⁰⁰

He entered public schools at age 5 and graduated from high school at 16.¹⁰¹ Mrs. Graham Du Bois wrote in her journal, "When Du Bois graduated from Great Barrington High School in 1884 he was the youngest and only non-white member of the class. He delivered the commencement oration."¹⁰²

As early as the age of 15, his writing skills had become apparent to meet the rigors of a college education, as he held a position as a correspondent for the *New York Globe*, where he wrote columns on the local news of the Black community in Great

96. Ibid.

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid., 6

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid., 8.

Barrington.¹⁰³ He pursued a higher education, entering Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee at age 17 from 1885 and graduating in 1888 at the age of 22.¹⁰⁴ As a student at Fisk University, he embraced a liberal arts curriculum, including classes on Germany, where he would eventually visit to study its history and language. As noted by Gordon and Watkins (2017), “Du Bois advocated for what he sometimes referred to as the study of the [“liberating arts and sciences”] because he thought that persons who have been so broadly educated could not easily be enslaved.”¹⁰⁵ Du Bois, with a background in liberal arts and sciences, described his educational experiences to his wife, and she noted them in her journal. She wrote,

Through the church people in Great Barrington he was given a scholarship to Fisk University. His mother passed away right before he left for college. This was a total new experience for him being in a segregated world. For the first time he heard Negro spirituals. He was sure he had never seen such beautiful people or had heard such beautiful music. Du Bois took on a leadership role from the very beginning and worked in various capacities on the staff of the Fisk Herald. . . . Then, of course, there was what was to me, the new experience of being with my own group of people. In New England I was usually the one colored pupil with surrounding white pupils. It was not until I began to get along in the teens that I felt any differences, and there the differences were comparatively small. And yet, as I look back I can see that probably I felt myself to be the exception.¹⁰⁶

She wrote that education was not “uncommon” in Du Bois’s family. She recorded her husband’s thoughts:

For several generations my people had attended schools for longer or shorter periods, so most of them could read and write. I was brought up from my earliest years with the idea of regular attendance at school. I started on one school ground . . . at the age of five or six and continued there until I was graduated from high

103. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*.; Morris, *Scholar*.

104. Du Bois, *Notes in the Life*.

105. Edmund W. Gordon and L’Tanya M. Watkins, “Commentary: Race Man and Philosopher of Education: A Reflection on WEB Du Bois,” *American Educational Research Journal* 54, no. 1 suppl (2017): 50S.

106. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 8.

school at sixteen. . . . The curriculum was simple—reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic, grammar, geography and history. We learned the alphabet and we were drilled rigorously on the multiplication table and we drew accurate maps. We could spell correctly and read clearly.¹⁰⁷

In that year, Du Bois was accepted into a class of 281 students, matriculating as a junior. He attended Harvard College 1888 to 1890, where he earned a second Bachelor's degree.¹⁰⁸ Mrs. Graham Du Bois wrote,

In 1887, his senior year, he was made editor-in-chief of the *Fisk Herald*. . . . After Du Bois graduated from Fisk University in 1888, he applied for and was given the Price-Greenleaf Aid of \$300 to attend Harvard University.¹⁰⁹

He was one of six commencement speakers.¹¹⁰ Remaining steadfast to be among the best and the brightest of the race, he pursued a doctorate in philosophy and later history.¹¹¹ Du Bois had a strong interest in sociology; however, the field was not fully accepted in academia during this period.¹¹² Mrs. Graham Du Bois recalled Du Bois's comments:

I had always thought as a boy that I was going to Harvard. . . . When I went to Harvard I had made up my mind that I was going to study philosophy. That is, I wanted to study the thought of what was the meaning of the whole universe. Coming from Fisk to Harvard was a change, and yet I met it in a particular sort of way. If I had gone directly from my high school in Great Barrington to Harvard, I would have thought of myself as a Massachusetts man and my fellows would have been the whites there. But, coming from Fisk, I brought with me the feeling of a separate race. . . . I never felt myself to be a Harvard man as I had felt myself a Fisk man. I was coming to Harvard for a particular purpose—to try to further the education that I had received at Fisk, to work by myself, and to seek no contact with my fellows. If they wanted to know me, the effort would have to be

107. Ibid., 8.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid., 10.

110. Ibid.

111. Baker, *Savage*; Morris, *Scholar*.

112. Ibid.; Du Bois, *Autobiography of W.E.B Du Bois*.

on their part. Out of a class of 300, I don't suppose I knew ten really intimately at all.¹¹³

Du Bois attended the Friedrich-Wilhelm III Universität in Berlin from 1892 to 1894, where he studied political science under German scholars and social scientists Adolph Wagner, Gustav Von Schmoller, and Max Weber.¹¹⁴ Morris (2015) discussed that early on in Weber's career he embraced the scientific racist ideology of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries until he had a transformation based on his acquaintance with Du Bois's writings of which he read.¹¹⁵ Throughout his college career, Du Bois embraced the study of liberal arts education and would later use it to his advantage in many respects. He said,

After I got there [Harvard] and had studied one or two years under [William] James [the great sociologist], we had a frank talk. James said, "No if you have to study philosophy, you will, but if you can get out of it, you had better because it is difficult to make a living at philosophy." So I gave up philosophy and went into history, and was very interested in the work that I was doing; it was work that Hart particularly wanted done. Eventually, I took several courses from my broader education; courses in chemistry, mathematics, and geology and then finally to concentrate in history, especially the history of the Negro in the United States and then later in African.¹¹⁶

Becoming the first Black American to earn a doctorate from Harvard University in 1896, Du Bois would extend his intellect beyond the liberal arts training that he had received to encompass social scientific scholarship that would later transform the trajectory of field of sociology.¹¹⁷ Gordon and Watkins (2017) claimed,

113. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 12.

114. Ibid.; W.E.B. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept* (New York: Library of America, 1940).

115. Morris, *Scholar*, 155.

116. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 12.

117. Ibid.

Du Bois was globalist and universalist in much of his thinking. He had studied at the universities in Germany. When the Germans let racism stop them from awarding him the PhD, my friend had to settle for a PhD from Harvard. He was becoming a citizen of the world.¹¹⁸

As a leading scholar in the Black community, Du Bois rose from the White universities to defy the odds and to challenge the dominant racist ideology that had defined the social order of the times.

Based on my research, I found that the education on Negro history and culture were for W. E. B. Du Bois the panacea to the “Negro problem” for Blacks in America. It was evident that the 135th Street Branch Library during the Harlem Renaissance period served in its role in the Harlem community as an urban repository and a center for Black studies where Blacks could be educated on Negro history and culture outside of the schools to change the perception, mindset, and trajectory of the race during a time of racism, discrimination, and oppression. It was evident that factors such as segregation, polarization, urban poverty, urban racism, and ghettoism were critical to the ability of Black Americans to reside freely in this urban center. I found that, unknown to many as the founding father of scientific sociology in America, Du Bois dedicated his life’s work to the production of thorough sociological studies of Black Americans through empirical research to challenge the dominant scientific discourse of Black intellectual and cultural inferiority. Du Bois used the arts as a response to science in that he answered the question of whether Blacks were of an intellectually and culturally inferior race. The answer, based on the evidence, was No.

118. Gordon and Watkins, “Commentary,” 50S.

This dissertation is based on an array of primary and secondary data. Due to Du Bois's decades of contributions throughout Black history, I collected a multitude of documents, such as letters, transcripts, memorandums, autobiographies, journals, and written papers. Aldon Morris (2015), author of *The Scholar Denied: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology*, was used as the framework to strengthen the argument on Du Bois as a scientific sociologist attempting to reject scientific racism and developed the intellectual philosophy on how sociological factors not biology explained the "Negro problem" in America. The historical approach to this study follows the methods as described by W. H. McDowell (2013): "Historical research represents a systematic inquiry into the past and an attempt to separate fictionalized accounts of historical events, based upon the examination of a wide range of relevant source material."¹¹⁹ The following methods were followed for the development of this study. I defined the historical problem and identified a need for certain historical knowledge.¹²⁰ I gathered as much relevant information about the topic as possible and formulated a hypothesis that explains the relationships among interrelated historical factors.¹²¹ I collected and organized the evidence and verified the authenticity and veracity of information and sources.¹²² I selected, organized, and analyzed the data, recorded and drew conclusions in a meaningful narrative, defined the historical problem, and identified a need for certain

119. Bill McDowell, *Historical Research: A Guide for Writers of Dissertations, Theses, Articles and Books* (Routledge, 2013), 5.

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid.

122. Ibid.

historical knowledge that can contribute to the specific fields of urban anthropology, urban sociology, urban education, and urban studies.¹²³

This research mostly entailed a detailed review of various books, journal articles, and periodicals. A range of these sources covers the concept of Negro inferiority in American and social political thought and the anthropological idea of the racial worldview on the notion of race superiority. I reviewed Du Bois's published and unpublished letters, manuscripts, and archival materials. Most of his works, including his correspondence and speeches, are available at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Other collections are located at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture (formerly the 135th Street Branch Library). The W. E. B. Du Bois Papers at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, cover almost every phase of his extensive career as a fighter against scientific racism and his involvement in many areas of twentieth-century racial, literary, social, and educational reform movements. According to the Amherst Collection library description, the collection includes more than 100,000 articles, correspondence, speeches, newspaper columns, nonfiction books, research materials, book reviews, pamphlets and leaflets, petitions, novels, essays, forewords, student papers, manuscripts of pageants, plays, short stories and fables, poetry, photographs, newspaper clippings, memorabilia, videotapes, audiotapes, and miscellaneous materials. There is a substantial file of materials from Du Bois's early days, in the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s, that includes correspondence received by Du Bois and copies of letters that he wrote to others throughout his lifetime.¹²⁴

123. Ibid.

124. Ibid.

Also, according to the library description, Du Bois corresponded with many leading figures and was a leading participant in many of the most important efforts for social change. His correspondence files reflect his involvement in many areas of twentieth-century racial, literary, and social reform movements. The earliest item of correspondence dates from 1877, but most of the material is from the post-1910 period. The files continue through the years of his work with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), teaching and research at Atlanta University during the late 1800s to the mid-1900s, return to the NAACP in 1944, involvement with the peace movement in the late 1940s and the 1950s, and work with the *Encyclopedia Africana* until his death in 1963. The purpose of this study was to conduct a systematic collection and evaluation of data on Du Bois to describe, explain, understand, and reconstruct as completely and accurately as possible the events behind Du Bois's intellectual development on race and science, his study of the Black race in the urban environment, and his interests in educating urban Blacks on Negro history and culture.

This dissertation is presented in five chapters. Chapter 1 is an investigation of scientific racism and Du Bois's social scientific analysis of Black urban life. Chapter 2 is an examination of Du Bois's visit to the First Universal Races Congress in London, England, and the manner in which it influenced his thinking on race and science. Chapter 3 is an introduction to Harlem during the early 1900s urbanization period and the significance of Du Bois's role at the 135th Street Branch Library during this era. Chapter 4 examines Du Bois's most notable contribution to the 135th Street Branch: The KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theatre during the height of the Harlem Renaissance.

Chapter 5 presents a culmination of Du Bois's scientific journey and lessons learned on the subject.

INTRODUCTION TO THE INVESTIGATION

Few today are interested in Negro history because they feel the matter already settled: the Negro has no history. This dictum seems neither reasonable nor probable. I remember my own rather sudden awakening from the paralysis of this judgment taught me in high school and in two of the world's great universities. Franz Boas came to Atlanta University where I was teaching history in 1906 and said to a graduating class: You need not be ashamed of your African past; and then he recounted the history of the black kingdoms south of the Sahara for a thousand years. I was too astonished to speak. All of this I had never heard and I came then and afterwards to realize how the silence and neglect of science can let truth utterly disappear or even be unconsciously distorted.¹ *W.E.B. Du Bois, 1939.*

W. E. B. Du Bois, notable scholar and pioneering American sociologist, heard a commencement speech given by Franz Boas in 1906 at the Atlanta University graduation located near downtown Atlanta, Georgia. Du Bois described this event as a “sudden awakening” and a significant moment in his life.² Du Bois had invited Boas to speak and to participate in the Atlanta conference. As proclaimed by Du Bois himself, it was the speech that had opened his eyes: the eyes of a man who had already made vital contributions to the improvement of the education for the Black race. This moment transformed Du Bois's social scientific thinking on how best to approach the “Negro problem,” which included educating Blacks on Negro history and culture. It is evident that this encounter had a long-lasting effect on Du Bois as he cited it in his writings thirty-three years later. In 1939 Du Bois wrote of this experience in his book “*Black Folk Then and Now*,” in which he referred to Boas as an inspiration to pursue the quest to educate Blacks on Negro history and culture to challenge the beliefs of science that had both silenced and neglected to tell the truth of the contributions of the Black race.³

1. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*, xxxi.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

Boas, who had become the leading spokesperson against social Darwinism and other racist ideology in the United States during the early twentieth century, was a prominent voice in the argument for a paradigm shift from theories of evolution on racially inferiority to social scientific explanations for race inequality.⁴ In a letter to his fiancée on his Baffinland ethnographic fieldwork, Boas expressed his desire to fight for equality for all people.

What I want to live and die for, is equal rights for all, equal possibilities to learn and work for enriched alike! Don't you believe that to have done even the smallest bit for this, is more than all science can be taken together? ⁵

From 1906 to 1932, Du Bois worked vigorously in line with Boas's thinking on how science had silenced and distorted the truth about the Black race. Julia Liss (1998) remarks,

Both men were at crucial junctures in their thinking about race. Sharing an antiracist agenda, Boas and Du Bois were struggling to institutionalize their arguments by furthering research to counter scientific racism and by participating in public discussions to promote their ideas.⁶

This period was selected for this study because it was a time for what Du Bois described as a “sudden awakening” and a call to order for him to join the movement to raise the social and political consciousness of Black Americans to challenge racist ideology that had silenced the truth of the Black race. The urbanization of cities and the ability of Blacks who had migrated there from the South to live free of scientific racist oppression and to be educated on Negro history and culture were of particular interest to

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.; Cole, Douglas. “The Value of a Person Lies in His Herzensbildung: Franz Boas Baffin Island Letter-Diary, 1883-1884,” In *Observers Observed, Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork*, vol. 1, edited by George W. Stocking, Jr. Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1983: 37.

6. Liss, “Diasporic,” 135-136.

Du Bois, as evidenced in his speech “The city Negro,” which he gave in 1910. In his speech, Du Bois used the “city Negro” term to describe Black migrants who had left the South and moved to cities in the early 1900s.⁷

He described the condition of the Black race in urban areas across the nation.⁸ He explained the manner in which they had been positioned as subordinate and subjected to subpar accommodations due to race.⁹ In his speech he said,

The proportion of city Negroes is increasingly steady and will increase. Probably the census of the present year will show nearly three millions living in the cities and towns. Now the reasons for this are perfectly obvious. The same forces that have put forty-three percent of the white people in towns are operating among Negroes. They are attracted by the more interesting life and larger social opportunities, a greater economic return, a better chance for civilization and culture. But in the case of Negroes, there are additional reasons: the country life of the Negro still savours of slavery and often the only way to escape peonage is to run away to town. In fact there are today many resemblances between the situation of the Negro in the country districts of the United States, and the serf of the Middle age, who ran away to town to escape serfdom. Under such circumstance, the person who wishes the Negro to stay in the country districts of the South, must make those country districts places where human beings with reasonable aspirations will want to stay: the crop lien [sic] system and contract labor laws must go; land ownership must be made possible to the poor; law and order must be established and above all public schools maintained. Until this is possible in the country districts of the South, the rush to town and city among black people is going to continue; and for my part I do not see that we can blame people for such migration. Not only that, but practically the whole migration from the South to the North is a migration to cities.¹⁰

Du Bois established a theoretical framework based on his research knowledge of the “city Negro” to support his conclusions that he had reached upon hearing Boas speak, that the silence and neglect of science had suppressed and distorted the truth of the Black

7. Du Bois, The city Negro, ca. 1910, Du Bois Papers.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., 3-4.

race.¹¹ Blacks were in need of an education on Negro history and culture—an opportunity for self-expression to exhibit their heritage and background that Du Bois and Boas concluded had been wrongly silenced and distorted by science.¹²

Morris (2015) highlighted that Boas deserved the credit for shifting Du Bois's perspective to that of a more social scientific approach when attempting to describe and explain the "Negro problem" in America. In support of this claim, Morris (2015) wrote, "Du Bois's early understanding of the color line was an important precursor for the paradigmatic shift in the social sciences that is rightly credited to Boas."¹³

Despite Du Bois's attempts to follow in the footsteps of Boas, for White sociologists to embrace Du Bois's scholarship would have meant recognizing that their theories of Black intellectual and cultural inferiority based on scientific proof could not be scientifically proven—a recognition that would have positioned White social scientists at odds with the majority of the White population, which went against the racial worldview that had predominated America for centuries.¹⁴ This would have gone against the social norms that had been inherent in the societal thinking for hundreds of years.¹⁵ The thought of adopting the views of a man of Negro ancestry would have put at odds their own main argument that Blacks were not intelligent or credible with regard to scholarship or higher learning.¹⁶ As a result, Du Bois did not gain credibility or respect from the Chicago School of Sociology, led by Robert Ezra Park, nor from others of his

11. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*.

12. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*.

13. Morris, *Scholar*, 218.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

kind.¹⁷ On the contrary, many White social scientists of the time sought to suppress and “oppress” Du Bois’s scholarship on the subject of scientific racism and did not accept him as a legitimate or “exemplary scholar who pioneered scientific sociology.”¹⁸

Characteristically of the time, Du Bois’s work was essentially stolen by the Chicago School and thus he did not receive credit for his original study. Morris (2015) noted the following thoughts in support of this claim: “He [Du Bois] developed an explicit research strategy to guide his school very similar to the approach adopted two decades later by the Chicago school, which has received credit for being the original model.”¹⁹

Five years after he had experienced his “sudden awakening” upon hearing Boas’s speech on 26 July 1911 in search for answers on how best to address the “Negro problem” in America, Du Bois attended the First Universal Races Congress at the University of London.²⁰ At the Congress, Du Bois engaged the scientific community and emerged as a prominent leader on the international stage. Du Bois, a notable scholar and pioneering American sociologist, served in an honorary capacity, as he was recognized for his contributions to the Negro race. He represented the American Negro on behalf of the United States and met with hundreds of world leaders to examine the issue of race and science and the notion of inferiority with regard to the Black race.²¹ As evidenced by documents and letters on his travels and interactions with domestic and international world leaders which will be shown later in this study, Du Bois sought guidance on how

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., 4.

19. Ibid., 61.

20. “Universal Races Congress,” *New York Observer and Chronicle* (1833-1912) 89, no. 27 July 06, 1911: 31, accessed August 5, 2016 <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/docview/136724885?accountid=13626>.

21. Ibid.

best to address the question of the “Negro problem” in America. The participants convened for answers to disqualify the scientific racist notions that had for centuries caused the oppression of “colored” people worldwide and thus contributed to the distorted racial worldview of Blacks worldwide.²² Du Bois concluded that the issues of race and science were a national problem that had hindered the status of “colored” and White racial relations across the globe.

Modeling the theoretical perspectives of Boas and many German scientists of his time, Du Bois established a voice on the international and domestic stages with regard to race and science. His empirical thinking would become a model for scholarly pursuits and political activism in the United States, setting the stage for others who followed during the most critical racial movements in American history: Civil Rights, Black Power, and Pan-Africanists movements. An article published in *The Philadelphia Bulletin* dated 16 October 1918 seven years post his attendance at the Congress said,

The effort of Dr. Du Bois and other colored leaders of this country to bring before the Peace Conference a plea for self government in behalf of the black population of Africa, is not to be confused with colonialization and repatriation schemes for the solution of America’s Negro problem, even though there have been fantastic suggestion of that sort in connection with the discussion. It is rather a plea for the forgotten tribes, whose condition, at least in many groups, has not been less than one of slavery since it was forbidden to load them into ships and transport them to other countries to be sold as chattel.²³

22. “Universal Races Congress,” *New York Observer and Chronicle*, July 06, 1911.

23. [Saheed AAdejumobi](http://www.blackpast.org/perspectives/pan-african-congresses-1900-1945#sthash.qBo9ZQXs.dpuf), The Pan-African Congresses, 1900-1945, <http://www.blackpast.org/perspectives/pan-african-congresses-1900-1945#sthash.qBo9ZQXs.dpuf>; Saheed A. Adejumobi, “The Pan-African Congress,” in *Organizing Black America: An Encyclopedia of African American Associations*, Nina Mjagkij, ed. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2001).

Applying the knowledge that he had acquired by following these movements, Du Bois worked fervently to educate Blacks in Harlem on Negro history and culture to counter the claims of science.

A prototype for Du Bois's efforts is the analysis offered by Frederick Douglass (1817–1895) on how best to address the “Negro problem” in America. Back in the nineteenth century, Douglass had already concluded that to combat the racist ideology, Blacks needed to be educated on Black accomplishments. Douglass, who died at the age of 78 in the same year that Du Bois graduated from Harvard University as the first Black to earn a Harvard doctorate, with the dissertation titled, “The Suppression of the African Slave Trade in the United States,” lived a generation apart from Du Bois.²⁴ However, the common philosophical underpinnings that they shared on this issue is a powerful demonstration of how two Black men from different generations of Black history were able to conclude that the “Negro problem” called for a targeted address to science.

Jorgensen (1995) highlighted that Douglas once said that Black writers advocated for Black Americans to counter scientific racist beliefs and the notion of Black intellectual inferiority by engaging in the following: (a) becoming accomplished in skill and character, making public note of these accomplishments; (b) making public note of the accomplishments and character of other Black Americans; (c) making public the material and moral accomplishments of African people currently and in the past; (d) making it known that much of the greatest glory of Egyptian civilization had been created by Black and mulatto people (this fact in and of itself disproves the main premise

24. David Pilgrim and William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, *WEB Du Bois in Memoriam: A Centennial Celebration of His Collegiate Education*, (Fisk University [sic], 1888, Harvard University, 1890, Wyndham Hall Pr, 1990).

of White supremacy); and (e) demonstrating the misuse of facts and illogic by those who claim inferiority of Black Americans, thus making the claimants of Black inferiority into examples of the intellectual and moral inferiority of White racists.²⁵

Jorgensen (1995) noted that Black American writers such as Du Bois; Joel Augustus Rogers, author of *World's Great Men of Color and Sex and Race: Negro-Caucasian Mixing in All Ages and All Lands* (Volume I); St. Claire Drake, author of “Black Folk Here and There: An Essay in History and Anthropology”; and George G. M. James, author of *Stolen Legacy: Greek Philosophy Is Stolen Egyptian Philosophy*,²⁶ as well as Afrocentrists such as Cheikh Anta Diop, author of *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology*, adopted this framework and built on the idea that Black inferiority was a misnomer of science and that Blacks needed to be educated on their past to debunk these scientific beliefs.²⁶

Eventually, this race concept geared Du Bois to focus on, as he described, the “scientific task [in which] to explore and measure the scope of chance and unreason in human action.”²⁷ He understood that scientific racism was based on biological misconceptions that had been disproven by the evidence of Black history and culture.

Drama became Du Bois’s vehicle by which to educate the masses. As a social scientist and a literary scholar, he used drama to make evident that, despite “physical likeness” and ‘biological descent,” Blacks, contrary to scientific beliefs, possessed history and culture and deserved the rights of equal status to any other race. As evidenced

25. Carl Jorgensen, “The African American Critique of White Supremacist Science,” *Journal of Negro Education* 64, no. 3 (1995): 235, doi:10.2307/2967205, accessed November 18, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.Libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/2967205>.

26. Ibid.

27. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 555–6.

in his writings entitled “On the Drama,” Du Bois expresses his intention to organize a drama group, which he eventually created at the 135th Street Branch Library called The KRIGWA of the Little Negro Theatre. In his piece Du Bois said,

I WAS ON THESE OCCASIONS TRYING FOR SOMETHING MORE THAN A MERE SPECTACLE; I WAS SEEKING FOR SELF-EXPRESSION ON THE PART OF A GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO, QUITE BEYOND THE FACT OF THEIR PHYSICAL LIKENESS AND BIOLOGICAL DESCENT, HAVE A CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL UNITY, WHICH COMES FROM A LONG HISTORY OF OPPRESSION AND REPRESSION; AND WHICH CALLED FOR EXPRESSION TO BENEFIT HUMAN PROGRESS. LATER IN 1928 A GIFT OF PRIZES FOR WRITING AND PLAYS LED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CRISIS GUILD OF WRITERS AND ACTORS; KRIGWA AS WE CALLED IT. FROM THIS WE MOVED IN A FEW YEARS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LITTLE THEATRE IN THE BASEMENT OF 135TH STREET BRANCH OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY. . . . THIS THEN IS MY PERSONAL INTEREST IN THE NEGRO STAGE.²⁸ [Original in caps]

Du Bois had concluded, prior to the creation of the KRIGWA in 1906 when he had heard Franz Boas’s speech of “how the silence and neglect of science” had suppressed and distorted the truth of the accomplishments of the Black race, that to challenge the notions of science to correct the historical accounts of the Black race called for a movement to educate the masses on Negro history and culture through the power of drama. To this end, Du Bois joined the Harlem Renaissance movement and worked with the staff at the 135th Street Branch Library to create a theatrical showcase of Black talent to reject the pathologies of the silence and neglect of science that had been bestowed on the Negro race.

28. Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. On the Drama, October 7, 1946. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, 1-2, accessed January 30, 2017, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/pageturn/mums312-b273-i068/#page/1/mode/1up>.

The basement of the library once used as a lecture room would later be placed under the direction of Du Bois: The Little Negro Theatre.²⁹ Du Bois used the 135th Street Branch Library in its role in the Harlem community as an urban repository and a center for Black studies to educate the Black masses on Negro history and culture through the power of drama. To show that Blacks were not of an inferior race as science had, in his opinion, wrongly defined them, in the form of arts and humanities, Du Bois provided evidence to counter the claims of science. Du Bois encouraged the arts to solve the “Negro problem”:

With the growing recognition of Negro artists in spite of the severe handicaps, one comforting thing is occurring to both white and black. They are whispering, “Here is a way out!” Here is the real solution of the color problem.³⁰

In the prime of the Harlem Renaissance period, the library served as a “community support system” in the urban environment to accommodate the growing number of Black migrants who had shifted their residence from the South, fleeing its oppressive caste system of Jim Crow, to the North in hopes of seeking equal opportunities. Morris (2015) made an analysis of this claim by stating what Du Bois considered to be an important factor to buttress his argument for the root of the problem in society: “ Du Bois argued that as caste developed during slavery dominant whites gradually began ‘conceiving certain sorts of work and certain colors of men as necessarily connected.’”³¹

29. Ibid.; 411; Lewis, *Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader*.

30. Ibid.; 411; Lewis, *Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader*.

31. Henry Louis Gates and Gene Andrew Jarrett, *The New Negro: Readings on Race, Representation, and African American Culture, 1892-1938* (Princeton University Press, 2007), 133.

The Harlem Renaissance was an attempt to combat this idea and the literary, artistic, and intellectual movement sparked an energy to redefine Black cultural identity and its place in American society. The spirit of the movement was best summarized by Du Bois's advocate Alain Locke (1925), Professor of Philosophy at Howard University. At the height of the era, in 1926, Locke (1925) said that, through art, "Negro life is seizing its first chances for group expression and self determination."³² Harlem became the central urban center for millions of Blacks in America. Locke (1925) said,

If in our lifetime the Negro should not be able to celebrate his full initiation into American democracy, he can at least, on the warrant of these things, celebrate the attainment of significant and satisfying new phase, of group development, and with it, a spiritual Coming of Age.³³

The 135th Street Branch Library—an urban repository and a center for Black studies for the Harlem community—became the prototype of a community support system that, according to Stoller and McConatha (2001), dissipated lowliness of the sojourner or migrant.³⁴

For Du Bois, the Library's role was to serve the Harlem community as an urban repository and a center for Black studies. As Sarah Anderson (2003) described, "The library provided an urban space in which a people, long denied an understanding and appreciation of their own history and culture, could explore what it meant to be Black."³⁵

32. Ibid.

33. Alain Locke, *The New Negro* (Simon and Schuster, 1925), 16.

34. Paul Stoller and Jasmin Tahmaseb McConatha, "City Life West African Communities in New York," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 30, no. 6 (2001): 651-677, accessed June 4, 2016, <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/089124101129024303>.

35. Sarah A Anderson, "The Place to Go": The 135th Street Branch Library and the Harlem Renaissance," *The Library Quarterly* (2003): 399, accessed February 7, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.Libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/4309684>; David L. Lewis, *WEB*

Du Bois was aware of an instance in which a woman was denied admittance to an art school in New York City. Lewis (1995) highlighted Du Bois's comments: "There is in New York tonight a black woman molding clay by herself in a little bare room, because there is not a single school of sculpture in New York where she is welcome."³⁶ Within the context of the Harlem Renaissance, this urban space for education served as the central location to accommodate Blacks to immerse themselves in the Black culture and history that they had so long been denied. Du Bois appreciated the library in its role in the Harlem community as an urban repository and a center for Black studies and an intellectual urban space of education for Black Americans to explore and learn about their culture and background outside of the schools. It functioned essentially as a research institution or a university within the urban environment to educate Blacks outside of the school system. The 135th Street Branch Library held adult education programs, reading classes, theatre performances, and forums on political and racial issues, book meetings, and children's book clubs.³⁷

By the 1920s, the height of the Harlem Renaissance period had ensued and Black Americans' thirst for knowledge on their African heritage had increased significantly. Du Bois's role in the context of this period was to contribute to the expansion of the cultural, social, and "artistic explosion"³⁸ that took place in Harlem between the end of

Du Bois, 1919-1963: The Fight for Equality and the American Century, vol. 2, (New York: Macmillan, 2000).

36. Lewis, *Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader*, 102-3.

37. *Ibid.*, 411.

38. Richard Wormser, PBS, "The Harlem Renaissance (1917-1935)," accessed March 3, 2016, http://www.pbs.org/wnet/jimcrow/stories_events_harlem.html; History.comstaff, History.com, "Harlem Renaissance," last modified 2009, accessed April 28, 2017. <http://www.history.com/topics/black-history/harlem-renaissance>.

World War I and the mid-1930s.³⁹ Du Bois described Harlem at the turn of the Harlem Renaissance as the “nexus of activity.”⁴⁰ During the renaissance period, Harlem was a cultural center that attracted Black artists, literary scholars, poets, and musicians alike.⁴¹

Du Bois recruited literary artists from the South to join in his fight for racial uplift to correct the accounts of science. Through his political and social engagement, he contributed to the social and artistic emancipation of Black Americans in the early periods and throughout the Harlem Renaissance.⁴¹ Dr. Karl Johnson, Professor of History and Africana Studies and author of several publications, including “Police-Black Community Relations in Postwar Philadelphia: Race and Criminalization in Urban Social Spaces, 1945-1960” (published in 2014), lectured on the Harlem Renaissance period and what it meant for Du Bois and his work at the 135th Street Branch Library.⁴² Dr. Johnson said in his lecture,

Du Bois chose Harlem during the renaissance period, because it was the Mecca of black intellectuals and even more dynamic than Philadelphia. It was more attractive—The Harlem Renaissance was the Mecca of black intellectuals—Zora Neill Hurston came from Florida, James Weldon Johnson came from Florida, Langston Hughes, and Marcus Garvey from the Caribbean, and more intellectual Caribbeans came to Harlem during this time and artists too. It was a very dynamic time when black intellectuals were using a particular philosophy to improve the condition of Blacks in America. That philosophy was to better educate the race on black history and culture of the race. Du Bois was trying to create some type of brotherhood amongst class and race. Du Bois, during the Harlem Renaissance, when he was editor of *The Crisis*, had competed against notables like Marcus Garvey.—Du Bois switched from the Talented Tenth to a more class-based sociological theory. But by the end of the 1950s, he becomes disillusioned with the class-argument because society was just too racist. The Harlem Renaissance

39. Ibid.

40. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 77.

41. Ibid.

42. Karl Johnson, “W.E.B Du Bois’ Fight For Change In Urban America.” (Lecture, W.E.B Du Bois Memorial Center for Pan-African Culture Accra, Ghana, March 14th 2017.)

was a very dynamic period. You had literature, art, and researchers like Arturo Schomburg from Puerto Rico—You have the intellectual African diaspora coming from all over that contributed to this movement. The city was critical because of the diversity of the black population taking from the African Diaspora—People from Puerto Rico, blacks Cubans, old black elites, and new black elites, preachers, the AME religion and the Baptist people and the black-nationalist . . . they bore the Nation of Islam. Noble Drew Ali brought the Islamic type of philosophy. A more black segregationist philosophy—save your money, create and support black businesses. And for Du Bois the 135th Street Harlem library just added to all of this by supplying his work and the work of others and putting on display the proof that the black race was capable and not inferior . . . that was the Harlem Renaissance.⁴³

Dr. Rosetta D'Angelo, Professor of Italian Studies and Literature and author of “Women Partisans During the Second World War II,” offered her opinion on the literary contributions to the Harlem Renaissance movement in her lecture. She said,

The Harlem Renaissance was one of the most literary important events. As with all *marginalized* literature this was the first attempt to come together as a group to communicate the inner intellectual expressions-which then developed into the music and theater movement of the renaissance. This was a fundamentally important period for Du Bois's work to challenge racism, which was based on scientific thinking during this time.⁴⁴

In support of the renaissance movement, Arturo Alfonso Schomburg, an apprentice of Du Bois, collected historical artifacts and books out of his Brooklyn home.⁴⁵ A Puerto Rican migrant who dedicated the majority of his adult life to the study of Negro history and culture, Schomburg contributed to the Harlem Renaissance movement and the growth and expansion of the 135th Street Branch Library in its role in

43. Ibid.

44. Dr. Rosetta D'Angelo “W.E.B. Du Bois's Fight for Change in Urban America,” (lecture, W.E.B Du Bois Memorial Center for Pan-African Culture Accra, Ghana, March 14, 2017).

45. New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch. Plan for establishing a Department of Negro history, literature and art in the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, March 25, 1924, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed November 30th 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b026-i458>.

the Harlem community as an urban repository and a center for Black studies to educate Blacks on their Negro history and culture. To build social and cultural capital within the Harlem community, what started as the “Negroid collection,” as described by head librarian Ernestine Rose, would become an exhibit of archives that included items collected by Schomburg, who would later sell his collection to the New York Public Library for \$10,000.⁴⁶ The library in 1926 added the Schomburg collection to the special collection division, which was later renamed the Division of Negro Literature, History and Prints. This element of the library not only met the needs of the Harlem community as an urban repository and a center for Black studies; it attracted many from outside New York City to seek an education on the Negro past to witness the evidence contrary to what they had been taught. Schomburg’s collection included an estimated “5,000 books; 3,000 manuscripts; 2,000 etchings and paintings; and several thousand pamphlets.”⁴⁷ In 1940, the Division of Negro Literature, History and Prints was renamed the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature, History and Prints in honor of its founder.⁴⁸

Du Bois’s work at the 135th Street Branch called for all those who appreciated the beauty of arts and literature to participate and to gather to see the evidence to receive an education on the race. Elinor Des Verney (1989) wrote,

In the early years of this century, a group of black American scholars, professionals, and laypersons pledged themselves to collect and document materials reflecting their historical and racial consciousness. The collected evidence, their research and published works, informed a skeptical audience about the accomplishments and contributions of blacks to the growth and development of society. This body of information served of information to refute so-called

46. Ibid.; Stan Luxenberg, “The Schomburg Center: The Soul of Black Scholarship,” *Change* 9, no. 9 (1977): 19, accessed June 3, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/40177023>.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

scientific theories of the black race's inferiority, while their activities encouraged and inspired racial pride within the black community.⁴⁹

Du Bois facilitated opportunities for young writers to hold workshops and book readings to audiences and prominent literary writers as evidenced in his communications to the library staff. He used this urban space as a place for the community to allow for self-expression and to educate the masses on a grand scale. He formed the theatrical group The KRIGWA, a group of professional actors and actresses from students of the arts and literature. Du Bois said that he would raise his race "by becoming renowned in social science and literature."⁵⁰ In addition to serving in its role in the Harlem community as an urban repository and a center for Black studies, the library provided a stage, dressing rooms, and lighting equipment to support what became known as the KRIGWA Players.⁵¹ This would be one of Du Bois's most notable contributions to the library. It was an exhibition of Black talent to debunk the notion that Blacks were of an inferior race.

The drama component helped Du Bois to transform the community with an attempt to preserve the cultures and religions of his people. The 135th Street Branch, an example of an urban space in the heart of the city during the Harlem Renaissance, was considered to be a cultural community within the larger city.⁵² This establishment enabled Du Bois to create a bridge between familiar cultures among people who were a part of the African diaspora. Du Bois used it as a response to science to dictate a type of Black urban "public sphere," a term coined by German social theorist Jurgen Habermas. Calhoun

49. Elinor Des Verney Sinette, *Arthur Alfonso Schomburg: Black Bibliophile and Collector* (Detroit: Wayne State and New York Public Library, 1989), 1.

50. Ibid.; Lewis, *Fight*, 398.

51. Ibid.; Anderson, "Place to Go".

52. Ibid.

(1992) wrote, “The public sphere may be conceived above all, as the sphere of private people coming together as a public.”⁵³ The library provided an urban space during for research and dialogue, an exhibition of Black artistry, and a stage for the creation of theatrical works that would have had fewer channels for expression.⁵⁴

In fighting against scientific racism, Du Bois was aware of the importance of such an establishment and relied on the library staff to assist him in accomplishing his mission.

In Accra, Ghana, I visited a structure similar to the 135th Street Branch Library. This structure is the actual home where Du Bois and his second wife, Mrs. Shirley Graham Du Bois, resided from 1961 until his death in 1963. The home was preserved and is used as a research library for Black history and culture. In honor of Du Bois the library is named The W. E. B. Du Bois Memorial Center for Pan-African Culture. The structure holds Du Bois’s personal collections and includes books and archives collected personally by Du Bois himself. The library is located in a residential area near the urban center of downtown Accra. Similar to the role and function of the 135th Street Branch Library, the library serves as an urban repository and a center for Black studies and as a resource for the community to gain knowledge on Black history and culture. Similar to the 135th Street Branch Library, The Du Bois Center plays a pivotal role in addressing the issue of educating Blacks on Negro history and culture.⁵⁵ It is described on the brochure as a major West African tourist site that houses the mausoleum of Du Bois and his wife, Du Bois’s personal library, and archival documents of Du Bois’s intellectual life

53. Craig J. Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (MIT Press, 1992), 9; Anderson, “Place to Go”; Lewis, *Fight*.

54. Ibid.

55. Brochure, The W.E.B. Du Bois Memorial Center for Pan African Culture.

as an influential Pan-Africanist and human rights activist.⁵⁶ The brochure states,

The mission of the Centre is, therefore, to promote the Du Bois intellectual legacy through research, public education, the arts, and constructive dialogue. To fulfill its mission the Centre is seeking to build an endowment as the means toward achieving needed stability. Such a base will insure the maintenance and appropriate improvements of the Centre, as well as guarantee the resources for its programs.⁵⁷

Belinda Franklin Tuta serves as the Senior Women's Officer and Director of the Museum and Research for the library.⁵⁸ She explained in her presentation to the visitors at the institution the role and function of the Du Bois Centre to the audience as follows:

This center was Du Bois's home when he immigrated to Ghana in 1961. He was here to direct an Encyclopedia Africana project. Now, this is a book that would contain eligible facts about Africans on the Continent of Africa. Nkrumah [the first President of Ghana] had taken Du Bois, as his mentor in 1945 and he eulogized Du Bois as the father of Pan Africanism and as it maintained, when he became the first president of Ghana, he had wanted education, education, education. Just like Du Bois wanted education for Black people. He choose him [Du Bois] to direct the project Encyclopedia Africana. This library museum was their home when they immigrated to Ghana in 1961. They meaning he [Du Bois] and his second wife Shirley Graham Du Bois. So, they moved to Ghana in 1961 and he [Du Bois] died here in 1963, in his sleep, in one of their bedrooms here. He was 95 when he passed in 1963. This room [in which we are sitting] was their dining space that we now use as our Center room. This space, the museum was established, as a research center and as a Pan African center for the community. The Center is here to share and encourage through dialogue the research, which promotes our races as black people and to share the ideas of the Du Bois and Nkrumah and all of their work especially with our race as Black people. So, that is why we are here, this Du Bois Center. He [Du Bois] worked with a large number of professors until he passed in his sleep in 1963. Initially, the living room space had a small space for dining. This was also a time when the continent was fighting for independence-[On March 6, 1957, the Gold Coast (now known as Ghana) gained independence from Britain. Ghana became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations and was led to independence by Kwame Nkrumah who transformed the country into a republic, with himself as president for life]. That was the time when Du Bois had come in and there was a lot of fighting, fighting in other countries to gain their independence. The people were coming to see Nkrumah when he was in power and Nkrumah was bringing the people to see

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

Du Bois. Du Bois connected with people from all over in the different countries. He also connected with people of Accra . . . it [the Du Bois Centre] was also extended to others like Mandela, who was here too. The Du Bois Centre works with the local schools and high schools in Accra. We work with the school children to teach them about Negro history and culture. Something Du Bois wanted to have here in Accra. He wanted to educate the people of Accra and around the world on blacks. Hopefully, you come to meet the students. This desk here is used by the school children who, are in the primary grades. We also have them [the school children] who come from outside of Accra who come to the Du Bois Center. His research inside the continent and outside the continent helped to raise issues for black people. We [Black people] are lost. Where are we [Black people]? We find [discover] ourselves as Black people and we share on common issues whether negative or positive. And Du Bois helped to raise that consciousness.⁵⁹

Du Bois's wife recorded in her journal her husband's initial encounter with Ghanaian government. Du Bois's connection to Ghana was introduced in 1945, when he attended the Fifth Pan African Congress in Manchester, England.⁶⁰ Du Bois said,

There [at the Congress] I met some of the great . . . leaders of Africa Nkrumah of Ghana, Johnson of Liberia, and Kenyatta of Kenya. I began to see the new spirit that was starting in Africa. I had been a consultant at the UN for the

59. Belinda Franklin Tuta, "W.E.B Du Bois Memorial Center for Pan-African Culture" (presentation, W.E.B Du Bois Memorial Center for Pan-African Culture, Accra, Ghana, March 13th 2017).

60. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 77; The Pan African Congress Pan-Africanist as defined on blackpast.org- accessed March 3, 2017, <http://www.blackpast.org/perspectives/pan-african-congresses-1900-1945#sthash.qBo9ZQXs.dpuf>. "This idea emerged during the late nineteenth century in response to [European colonization](#) and exploitation of the [African](#) continent. Pan-Africanist philosophy held that slavery and colonialism depended on and encouraged negative, unfounded categorizations of the race, culture, and values of African people. These destructive beliefs in turn gave birth to intensified forms of racism, the likes of which Pan-Africanism sought to eliminate. As a broader political concept, Pan-Africanism's roots lie in the collective experiences of African descendants in the New World. Africa assumed greater significance for some blacks in the New World for two primary reasons. First, the increasing futility of their campaign for racial equality in the United States led some African Americans to demand voluntary repatriation to Africa. Next, for the first time the term *Africans*, which had often been used by racists as a derogatory description, became a source of pride for early black nationalists. Hence, through the conscious elevation of their African identity black activists in America and the rest of the world began to reclaim the rights previously denied them by Western societies."

NAACP when it was formed in 1945. When I came back it was proposed that we appeal to the United Nations and ask them to take up the matter of the treatment of Negroes in the United States.⁶¹

Du Bois held the belief that “freed Blacks” had for generations remained in subordinate positions due in large part to their lack of knowledge of Black history and culture. As evidence of this claim, he often cited slavery as the reason for this lack of knowledge. He said that racial inequality in the United States was the direct result of the heritage of slavery, not biology.⁶² The center carries out the spirit of Du Bois’s life’s mission that was previously established in Harlem.

Du Bois exercised his ability to reach a large mass of people by using his power of appeal as he was keenly aware of the issues of which were faced by the Black race. He used the 135th Street Branch Library as a common urban institution in which people of a common background could take advantage of the array of educational materials that had been placed on display for intellectual enrichment. Art exhibits, dramatic presentations, music lessons and recitals, forums, lectures, and discussion groups constituted many of the activities offered at the library in which Du Bois was involved. Evidence of this claim as letters between Du Bois, Ernestine Rose, Arturo Schomburg and Regina Andrews will be revealed later in this study.

To distinguish such efforts from similar activities compared to other library institutions, Anderson (2003) argued that the library’s programs and classes were established on the “foundation of solid reading.”⁶³ Anderson (2003) highlighted the manner in which the reading material was based on such subjects as history, sociology,

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.; Morris, *Scholar*.

63. Anderson, “Place to Go”.

philosophy, poetry engineering carpentering, tailoring, automobile mechanics, hairdressing, business advertising, cooking, and Black history and education.⁶⁴ Through Du Bois's book-buying campaign, made evident in his correspondence to the library staff, Du Bois encouraged the Harlem community to read for the sake of becoming better educated, for the sake of strengthening one's mind and soul, and for the purpose of gaining knowledge of race and heritage to foster a much-needed pride in one's own ancestry.⁶⁵

It might seem that during the Harlem Renaissance the trajectory of the Black race would have been much improved in cities. However, in many instances it was not much different in terms of race relations between Blacks and Whites. Despite the "enlightenment" period of the Harlem Renaissance, conditions in Harlem made it evident that Blacks were not treated equally to Whites throughout society and that the education of the Black race on Negro history and culture was hindered. Du Bois understood the need to engage the renaissance movement and to educate the race was just as critical as it was in the South.

By the early 1900s, Du Bois had emerged as a prominent leader in the movement and served in his role to raise the social and political consciousness of Blacks in cities across the nation. Earl E. Thorpe (1955), who described himself as a "Negro PhD" and who taught history at Southern University in Baton Rouge, wrote an article in which he underscored the importance of this mass movement.⁶⁶ He described it as an "expression in

64. Ibid., 411; Luxenberg, "Schomburg".

65. Ibid.

66. Earl E. Thorpe, Letter from Earl E. Thorpe to W. E. B. Du Bois, July 11, 1955. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b144-i225>.

scholarly books and journals, novels, poems, college and high school courses, plays, the very popular Negro History Week, and the beginning of numerous private and public manuscript and book collections.”⁶⁷

Thorpe said that never in history had “the Negro experienced so much fear mingled with hope as he did in the 1900 to 1914 period,”⁶⁸ a delicate and contentious time for race in this country. In the age of the Harlem Renaissance, Du Bois and other Black leaders encouraged organizers to go back to their churches, libraries, YMCAs, and Masonic halls to develop survival programs that highlighted past Negro accomplishments and successes to transform in earnest the race prejudice based on scientific racist theories that was so deeply rooted in American society.⁶⁹ Based on the communications between Du Bois, Rose, Schomburg and Andrews which will be revealed later in this study, these programs served to justify the need for the Negro to be educated on his past.

Du Bois posited that, once the dominant ideology and racial worldview of Black inferiority had been challenged, race prejudice, discrimination, and segregation would no longer limit the Negro’s full potential for acceptance in society.⁷⁰ This was Du Bois’s role during the Harlem Renaissance period: to educate the masses to vindicate Africa and people of African descent from the White racist “pseudoscientific scholarship” of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁷¹ Du Bois demonstrated that the Negro possessed intellectual capabilities that earned him the right to claim freedom and equality

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.; Elizabeth Botch, “History and Heroes: A Means of Social Uplift in 1930s Harlem” (master’s thesis, University of Montana, 1976), 3; Du Bois, *Souls*.

69. Ibid.

70. Taylor, “Challenge”; C.C.H. Pounder, Larry Adelman, Jean Cheng, Christine Herbes-Sommers, Tracy Heather Strain, Llewellyn Smith, and Claudio Ragazzi. *Race: The Power of an Illusion*, (San Francisco, California: California Newsreel, 2003).

71. Taylor, “Challenge,” 459; Ibid.

in a democratic society. In 1924, Du Bois cited three obstacles to the Black man's ability to be viewed as an equal: the White world's preconceived notions about the Black man, anti-Black propaganda, and the Black man's desire to conceal his flaws.⁷²

As is made evident in this study, Du Bois clearly understood that scientific racism was based on misconceptions without scientific proof. He supported the idea of educating the Black race to save the race from the misnomers and misconceptions that had loomed for generations. His work served as the panacea for the race to escape the ignorance of their own history and culture, which in his view only maintained their subordination in American society. Du Bois's own educational experiences served as a buttress to his claim and advocacy for the education of the Black race on Negro history and culture, in response to scientific thinking. As a student, Du Bois had been deprived of learning about Negro history and culture. This is evident in Du Bois's comments when reflecting on the speech that Boas gave at Atlanta University in 1906, when Boas said that few people were interested to know of the Negro past because it was believed that "the Negro has no history."⁷³ Recalling that moment, Du Bois said, "I remember my own rather sudden awakening from the paralysis of [this] judgment taught me in high school and in two of the world's great universities."⁷⁴ For Du Bois, these years exemplified periods of agitation, self-assertion, and race consciousness.

72. Du Bois, "Opinion," *The Crisis*, 28 (1924): 56-57; John Gilbert Monroe, "A Record of The Black Theatre In New York City: 1920-29" (PhD dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 1980), 175, accessed December 31, 2016. <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.Libraries.rutgers.edu/docview/303074529?accountid=13626>; W.E.B., Du Bois. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. Notes on life of W. E. B. Du Bois, ca. 1905. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers.

73. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*.

74. Ibid., xxxi.

Although *The Crisis* was the official organ of the NAACP, W.E.B. Du Bois exercised his editorial independence while working, as editor of *The Crisis*. It was essentially his publication, and he made it one of the most effective tools for education, vindication, and liberation.⁷⁵

During this period, in cooperation with the 135th Street Branch Library staff, Du Bois published many articles as editor of the NAACP magazine known as *The Crisis*. This is evident through communications between Du Bois and Arturo Schomburg. Taylor (1981) stated, “Although Du Bois engaged the enemy on a wide variety of battlegrounds, he reached his largest audience through the editorial pages of *The Crisis*.”⁷⁶ Du Bois argued that, during his time as editor, *The Crisis* “has led in an [endeavor] to make American Negroes stand up for their rights, talk frankly and insistently about their wrongs, and use every lawful method of fighting race prejudice.”⁷⁷ *The Crisis*, an outgrowth of *The Horizon*, was published by Du Bois and two colleagues. Du Bois wrote in a memorandum entitled, “*A Memorandum on The Present and Future Editorial Progame of the Crisis*” the following insert describing the history of his involvement with the magazine. Du Bois wrote,

The Crisis magazine was preceded by a miniature magazine published by myself and two colleagues in Washington, D.C. 1907-1910, and called the Horizon. The name indicated that the editor thought the sun was rising.⁷⁸

Mrs. Graham Du Bois (1978) wrote of Du Bois and *The Crisis* magazine,

Lynchings, race-riots, the mass migration of rural Blacks from the Southland to northern and midwestern cities, and finally World War I, kept the pages of *The Crisis* filled with news and notices, as well as editorial opinions of Du Bois and others who wrote in to *The Crisis* with reports from across the country.⁷⁹

75. Baker, *Savage*.

76. Taylor, “Challenge,” 1.

77. Du Bois, “On the Present and Future,” 1.

78. Ibid.

79. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 51.

Black Americans had acquired a fundamental awareness that, to enact social and political change, they should understand their race, origins, roots, development, and accomplishments. Based on his writings presented in this study Du Bois dedicated his work to presenting evidence of Black achievements-Black expression and Black culture. He signified that the 135th Street Harlem Branch Library served as a resource for him, to educate and give a voice to those whose truths had been silenced due to dominant racists thinking. Based on Du Bois's own analysis made evident in his claim presented in this study his work enhanced the Negro history to educate the race and to diminish the race question.²⁸⁰ The library promoted a binding "together of the northern urban black community by promoting history amongst a newly emergent black middle class and the black masses."⁸¹

Several writings have addressed the efforts of Du Bois throughout his career; however, based on research few have examined Du Bois as a social scientist who pursued his research to assemble empirical data on the urban Black and challenged the claims of science by educating the Black race in the urban environment on Negro history and culture.⁸² Du Bois understood how the "silence and neglect of science" could suppress the truth of the Black race and thus perpetuate a misconception that Blacks had no history and no culture.⁸³ It can be argued that, from 1906 forward, this philosophy served as the basis for most of his work during the mid-twentieth century. According to his writings on the encounter with Boas's speech in 1906, which he categorized as a "sudden

80. "Library Aids Negroes: Particular Attention Given to Children Meets," *New York Times* 17 April 1921: 33.

81. Susan Porter Benson, Stephen Brier, and Roy Rosenzweig, *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public*, vol. 1. (Temple University Press, 1986), 334.

82. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*..

83. Ibid.

awakening,” the speech had a long-lasting effect on his thinking with regard to the education of the Black race. This project focuses on Du Bois as a social scientist and educator who, as a student of race and science, challenged this evolutionary theory and constructed a new empirical framework for approaching the education of the Black race on Negro history and culture.

Few studies have specifically focused on Du Bois’s “sudden awakening” by Franz Boas in 1906 as a period of transformation with regard to Du Bois’s perspective on how to address the “Negro problem” in America and connecting this to Du Bois’s work within the urban environment and his intellectual development as a basis for his work at the 135th Street Branch Library. Most studies have addressed all of these topics as separate entities. This study examined the intellectual development of Du Bois’s social scientific thinking on race and science and his “anti-racialism,” exemplified in two critical moments in his career: his attendance at the First Universal Races Congress in London and his work at the 135th Street Branch Library.

Thomas Gossett (1963) made an analysis in his book *Race: The History of an Idea in America* that Du Bois was a Black leader who had become disillusioned by the scientific beliefs of Black inferiority and responded to those claims to overcome prejudice against members of the Black race.⁸⁴ Gossett acknowledged that much of Du Bois’s work was, as he stated, “a direct challenge to the Dunning Burgess ideology.”⁸⁵ William A. Dunning-Burgess was the co-founder of the Dunning school of historiography, which supported the views on the Reconstruction Era that were consistent

84. I. F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963).

85. *Ibid.*, 507.

with those of the White southerners and former slaveholders.⁸⁶ The scholars in this group viewed Blacks as inferior and the rights granted them during Reconstruction were considered to constitute a major injustice to the White race. It was concluded in the book that they viewed Reconstruction “as a dangerous period in American history.”⁸⁷

Bruce Edward Twyman (1991) wrote a master’s thesis, *Du Bois and the Use of Social Science in the Fight Against American Racism 1897 to 1911*. In it he examined how Du Bois developed his scientific belief and the extent to which Booker T. Washington and his supporters had obstructed Du Bois’s scientific plans through application of a more populist philosophy on the improvement of the race.⁸⁸

Carol Taylor (1981) argued in *W. E. B. Dubois’s Challenge to Scientific Racism* that, through the use of *The Crisis* magazine, Du Bois made a direct and authoritative challenge to scientific racism during the early twentieth century and claimed, “issuing such a challenge was one of his “leading rhetorical contributions.”⁸⁹

Elinor Des Verney Sinnette (1989), in *Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, Black Bibliophile & Collector*, wrote eloquently about how Dubois, as one of the prominent “university-trained colleagues,” worked with Arturo Schomburg and Ernestine Rose at the 135th Street Branch Library to collect historical evidence to combat scientific racism. She stated in her book, “Without hesitation, both sides agreed that the collection and

86. Ibid.

87. Eric Foner, *The Dunning School: Historians, Race, and the Meaning of Reconstruction*, ed. John David Smith and J. Vincent Lowery (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2013), 27.

88. Bruce Edward Twyman, *W. E. B. DuBois and the Use of Social Science and Fiction in the Fight Against American Racism 1897-1911* (ETD Collection for AUC Robert W. Woodruff Library 1991), Paper 1131.

89. Taylor, “Challenge,” 450.

dissemination of information about black history and culture would be a beneficial step toward promoting harmony among and between the races.”⁹⁰

David L. Lewis (2000), in *WEB Du Bois, 1919–1963: The Fight for Equality and the American Century*, examined Du Bois from a sociological and political vantage perspective.⁹¹ The second volume of the book examined the time period post World War I, when Blacks returned to the United States only to face a rude awakening that war did not adjust the racism that had confronted Blacks since slavery in America, despite attempts in the renaissance period to diminish this racist ideology. Lewis highlighted Du Bois’s attempts to counter the strong opposition by Whites to his approach to fight racial injustice and rejection of “Whites to interpret the aspirations of Black America.”⁹²

Elizabeth Ann Botch (1976), in *History and Heroes: A Means of Social Uplift in 1930s Harlem*, discussed at length the “Negro History Movement” and its challenges experienced during the early twentieth century.⁹³ The purpose of her study was to examine the contributions to the movement by Black artist Jacob Lawrence, who, similar to Du Bois, participated in the movement of the 1930s by propagating history of thought in the medium of art.⁹⁴ Botch (1976) noted that Harlem residents learned of Negro achievements, honored heroes and heroines both Black and White, and propagated the historical facts of the Negro.⁹⁵ She highlighted that Blacks found a basis for their claim to

90. Sinette, *Black Bibliophile*, 33-34.

91. Lewis, *Fight*.

92. Ibid.

93. Botch, “History”.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.

equality in American society through the establishment of Negro history courses in schools, from primary through university levels.⁹⁶

Sarah A. Anderson (2003), in an article entitled “The Place to Go: The 135th Street Branch Library and the Harlem Renaissance,” reported her study on the Schomburg Center, highlighting the lives and works of the Schomburg librarians and how they contributed to growth and development during the Harlem Renaissance period and worked to expand the historical accounts of Black women.⁹⁷ She investigated the role of the library during the Harlem Renaissance movement under the leadership of esteemed librarian Ernestine Rose.⁹⁸ She examined the role of the library to gather materials and expand the book collection known as the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.⁹⁹

Howard Dodson (1988), in an article entitled “The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library,” examined the history of the Schomburg Center from 1925 through 1987.¹⁰⁰ He highlighted two significant cultural events that transpired in 1925: publication of *The New Negro* and the opening of the Division of Negro Literature, History and Prints in the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library.¹⁰¹

96. Ibid.

97. Anderson, “Place to Go,” 383-421.

98. Ibid.; Betty L. Jenkins. “A White Librarian in Black Harlem,” *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy* 60, no. 3 (1990): 216-31.
<http://www.jstor.org.proxy.Libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/4308477>.

99. Ibid.

100. Howard Dodson, “The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.” *The Library Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (1988): 74-82.

101. Ibid.

Carter G. Woodson (1933), in his book *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, examined how history has been used as a “weapon” and argued that Black Americans must utilize their own cultural tools to think and work their way into better socioeconomic positions.¹⁰² Woodson challenged the meaning of the “educated Negro,” particularly the Negro who studies philosophy and art.¹⁰³ He claimed that the “educated Negro” often detaches himself from the Black community and is “indoctrinated” by White ideologies that throughout generations have labeled Blacks as inferior to the White race.¹⁰⁴

As noted by Steven Edwards Barrington in his study entitled *W.E.B. Du Bois, Empirical Social Research and The Challenge to Race, 1868–1910*, the traditional historiography on Du Bois has focused on his role as a political activist and literary scholar but has consistently overlooked how science informed his social and political outlook.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, this project focuses on Du Bois, as a scientist who, as a revolutionary “American sociologist,” challenged the evolutionary theory of the day and constructed a “new empirical framework” for the discussion of the race question.

Barrington (2001), in his thesis, pointed out that, from 1910, the year in which Du Bois co-founded the NAACP, scholars have focused only on his literary works: his essay “The Souls of Black Folk,” the great educational debate with his stark opponent Booker T. Washington, the Niagara Movement, and his involvement in the Pan African

102. Carter Godwin Woodson, “*The Mis-Education of the Negro*,” (1933).

103. Ibid.

104. Ibid.

105. Steven Edwards Barrington, “W. E. B. Du Bois, Empirical Social Research and the Challenge to Race, 1868–1910,” (thesis, Harvard University, 2001).

movement.¹⁰⁶ In most cases, however, I would argue that most scholars have overlooked much of Du Bois's work at the First Universal Races Congress and his role during the Harlem Renaissance at the 135th Street Branch Library and how these two are intertwined.

This dissertation explores the manner in which Du Bois studied the urban environment and worked, despite rejections, to develop a social scientific perspective to challenge the belief that Blacks were inferior to the White race. In cities across the nation, Du Bois initiated a movement that transcended the manner in which Blacks were educated on Negro history and culture for years to come. He centered his mission on educating the "city Negro"—Blacks who had migrated from the South to Harlem during the Harlem Renaissance through drama. He initiated a call to action to address the educational needs of its newly established citizens.

This project differs from other studies in that it looks at the relationship of Dubois's theories on race and science as they relate to his literary work at the 135th Street Branch Library. This dissertation brings together these two stories. Unlike most other studies, particular emphasis is given to Du Bois's interpretation of race and science and how it applies to Blacks in cities. There is a concentration on the period of urbanization, as this affected the composition of cities across the nation.

Scientific racism was an argument about much more than intelligence; however, Du Bois's work influenced societal thinking specific to the innate intellectual capabilities of Black Americans. This study argues that the alleged lesser intelligence of Blacks that was based in biology was ultimately the ground on which much of Du Bois's work was

106. Ibid.

based. No studies were found that specifically argued that Du Bois's specific contributions to the 135th Street Harlem Branch Library during the Harlem Renaissance were viewed as a challenge to scientific racism in cities. It appears that most research has treated these subjects as independent entities.

This dissertation is not simply a study of scientific racism and the notion of Black intellectual inferiority. Instead, it looks specifically at Du Bois's intellectual life—that is, his work and subsequent social scientific research and how this relates to his view of the education for Blacks in cities. As an “American sociologist,” Du Bois was a social scientist who used his studies on the urban Black to answer the claims of science.

Francis L. Broderick noted in *W. E. B. Du Bois, Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis*, Volume 2,

Du Bois's importance to the Negro history in American society lies in two achievements: First for thirty years, he made himself the loudest voice in demanding equal rights for the Negro and in turning the Negro opinion away from acceptance of anything else. Whatever private racist notions may have contradicted this line of thought, Du Bois's principle public statements from the publication from the *Souls of Black Folk* until 1933 hammered away at America's conscious and at the Negro pride, arguing, cajoling, threatening, retreating when necessary, advancing when possible. Many weapons came to his hands, history, facts, fiction, invective and even humor.¹⁰⁷

107. Francis L. Broderick, *WEB Du Bois, Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis*, vol. 2 (Stanford University Press, 1959), 266.

CHAPTER 1: SCIENTIFIC RACISM: A HISTORY OF SOCIAL THOUGHT

At Harvard . . . I began to face scientific dogma: first of all, evolution and the “Survival of the Fittest.” It was continually stressed in the community and in classes that there was a vast difference in the development of the whites and the “lower” races; that this could be seen in the physical development of the Negro....Eventually in my classes stress was transferred to brain weight and brain capacity, and at last to the “cephalic index.” . . . This history of the world was paraded before the observation of students. . . . Which was the superior race? Manifestly that which had history, the white; there was some mention of Asiatic culture, but no course in Chinese or Indian history or culture was offered at Harvard, and quite unanimously in America and Germany, Africa was left without culture and without history.¹ *W.E.B. Du Bois, 1940*

Prior to witnessing Franz Boas’s speech in 1906, when he had come to realize “how the silence and neglect of science” had suppressed and distorted Negro history, Du Bois had already questioned the concepts of scientific racism and race superiority. During his experiences at Harvard University, he had questioned this very fact. Are Blacks inferior to the White race? The concept of Black inferiority had reached its zenith among society elites. Scholars such as Albert Einstein, a world-renowned physicist, supported the general concept of “Black inferiority” as an “immoral” factor in society. Einstein said,

This evil can be met through closer union and conscious educational enlightenment among the minority, and so an emancipation of the soul of the minority may be attained. The determined effort of the American Negro in this direction deserves every recognition and assistance.²

To conceptualize the intellectual development of Du Bois’s social scientific thinking on the matter of race and science, it must first be recognized that Du Bois had conducted social scientific research on Black Americans in the urban environment to

1. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 98.

2. “Einstein Hails Negro Race,” *New York Times* (1923-Current File), January 19, 1932, 23, accessed March 10, 2016
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/99729909?accountid=13626>.

delegitimize the scientific claims that the “Negro problem” was due to race and Black inferiority. In 1896 to 1899 Du Bois conducted social scientific research on urban Blacks to prove that the “Negro Problem” was not due to race but more the cause of human agency and environmental factors.³ The mission was for him to understand the urban Blacks who had migrated to cities to aid in solving the “Negro problem.”

Du Bois published his findings in “*The Philadelphia Negro*” in 1899,⁴ as he had recognized that for centuries race and science had been inextricably linked to Negro oppression and thus it warranted further examination.⁵

While conducting his social scientific study on the “city Negro,” Du Bois concluded that race was socially constructed and that environmental factors played a major role in the problems of Blacks; he concluded that a sociological scientific approach should be taken to understand the “Negro problem” in cities.⁶ In support of this claim, Morris (2015) wrote, “In contrast, at a time when races were considered natural, Du Bois’s school viewed them as socially constructed categories and held that they could not be ranked according to natural hierarchies.”⁷

During the year in which Du Bois was conducting his studies on the Philadelphia Negro, he reflected on this quandary as it related to his own personal racial identity. In 1897 he made posed questions while visiting the Lincoln Memorial Church in

3. Morris, *Scholar*; Du Bois and Eaton, *Philadelphia Negro*.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.; Morris, *Scholar*, 185.

Washington, DC. For what Lewis Gordon (2013) describes as the “first of Du Bois’s 1897 formulations made public,” Du Bois posed the following questions:⁸

What after all am I? Am I an American or am I Negro? Can I be both? Or is it my duty to cease to be a Negro as soon as possible and be an American? If I strive as a Negro am I not perpetuating the very cleft that threatens and separates Blacks and whites in America? Is not my only practical aim the subduction of all that is Negro in me to the American? Does my black blood place upon me any more obligation to assert my nationality than German, or Irish or Italian blood would?⁹

Predominant in the consciousness of many scientists during this period, Du Bois sought to demonstrate that the Negro race had the right to be viewed as equal in a democratic society. Du Bois said that he would raise his race “by becoming renowned in social science and literature.”¹⁰ Du Bois’s comments can be captured on this issue in the Occasional Papers of the American Negro Academy. Du Bois said,

In an essay in 1897 published in the Occasional Papers of the American Negro Academy, Du Bois developed the idea that race was largely a social construct that groups developed on the basis of a shared history, culture, language, customs, and religion. Having settled on this sociological approach to race, Du Bois dissected the mechanism through which racial inequality was produced and sustained. His mission entailed understanding the sociological and political foundations enabling the oppressed to dismantle racial inequality.¹¹

Du Bois recognized that, once race had entered the scientific discourse, it dominated the theories on the significance of human differences. Taylor (1981) explained that Du Bois viewed scientific racism as a basis of argument for unproven theories drawn by biased individuals who were not interested in the truth of Negro race. “As Du Bois saw it scientific racism was a closed system, which reached untenable conclusions by

8. Ibid.; Lewis, *Fight*; David Levering Lewis, *WEB Du Bois: Biography of a Race*, New York: Henry Holt (1993).

9. Ibid.; William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, *The Conservation of Races*, (Washington, DC: American Negro Academy, 1897), 11.

10. Lewis, *Fight*, 398.

11. Morris, *Scholar*, 154.

weak methodology in the hands of biased researchers.”¹² This in turn transformed society’s perception of racial identity and human variations. Race and the construction of human identity became interconnected and created—a racial worldview that influenced the development of a race ideology.¹³

To challenge scientific racism would first require a fundamental understanding of race. Morris (2015) discussed the research methods that Du Bois used to bolster his claims that race differences were not based on biology. Morris highlighted how Du Bois advanced his social scientific study by use of research methods, including fieldwork, to refute these claims.¹⁴

The investigative tools of the Du Bois-Atlanta school encompassed surveys, interviews, participant observations, organizational documents, and census data. These were empirical techniques that the first generation of black students undergoing graduate training in white universities wanted to master. Through such means, they believed, crucial data for overwhelming racial ignorance and stereotypes would be gathered.¹⁵

Using this method, Du Bois studied communities and observed the manner in which Blacks lived in their environment and methodically collected data that aided in developing the foundation of his social scientific theories on race inferiority.¹⁶ According to Morris (2015), Du Bois is known as the founding father for this type of method as he applied it to “The Philadelphia Negro,” “The Negroes of Farmville,” and many other studies conducted when he worked at the Atlanta School.¹⁷

12. Taylor, “Challenge,” 455.

13. Audrey Smedley, “Race” and the Construction of Human Identity,” *American Anthropologist*, vol 100 (1998): 3, accessed January 5, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/682047>.

14. Morris, *Scholar*.

15. Ibid., 62.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

Before his “sudden awakening” based on Boas’s words of wisdom, Du Bois brought to fruition the foundation for establishing a separation of race from language and culture when he offered that “race was not a biological category” and thus was wrongly considered to be a factor of intelligence.¹⁸ That scholarship stood in direct opposition to the dominant scientific discourse among German scientists and other White scholars for centuries.¹⁹ Considered by Morris (2015) to be a “pioneer of urban ethnography,” Du Bois’s project was funded by the University of Pennsylvania, one of the major Ivy League institutions in the United States, and was underwritten by the city of Philadelphia.²⁰

Du Bois’s wife, Mrs. Graham Du Bois (1978), recalled in her journal the time when Du Bois had just begun to work at the University of Pennsylvania to begin his scientific study on the “Philadelphia Negro.” She wrote,

At the end of two years at Wilberforce he and Nina [Du Bois’s first wife, who passed away during the course of their marriage] were married. He took her with him to Philadelphia where he had been offered a temporary appointment for one year at the University of Pennsylvania as “assistant instructor.” He was paid \$600 for the year, but the money was less important to him on scientifically structured investigation. His study of the Black community in Philadelphia has withstood the test of time and is even today looked upon as a model for the social scientist.²¹

To conduct his research, Du Bois garnered the support of Black families throughout the city of Philadelphia who participated in this intensive “holistic” ethnographic study over the course of fifteen months.²² Du Bois implemented a “two-

18. Ibid., 113.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 12.

22. Ibid., 113.

pronged” plan to conduct his social scientific research on Blacks in cities.²³ Morris (2015) described the plan in detail.

In 1897 Du Bois had a two-pronged research plan to the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics. In a letter to Carroll Wright, who headed the Bureau, Du Bois stated, “I have been for the last month giving considerable thought as to method of studying certain aspects of the industrial development of the Negro.” His “Plan A” called for a series of small preliminary studies of “the economic situation of a typical town containing from 1,000 to 5,000 Negro inhabitants. Following a research phase designed to ascertain accurate information on a limited scope of issues including occupations, wages, home ownership, hours of labor, economic history, cost of living, organizations, and crops, these community studies were to be published. Plan B envisioned a larger project modeled after The Philadelphia Negro but based on the research methods used in the smaller studies. This research plan, partially funded by the government, guided the sociological studies produced over a decade the Atlanta Sociology Laboratory.²⁴

Du Bois was pleased with his social scientific study conducted on the Black race.

As evidence of his satisfaction he said, “I am glad that, almost without exception, there was a disposition to allow the full truth to be known for the sake of science and social reform.”²⁵ With regard to the Philadelphia study, Baker (1988) wrote that Du Bois “sought to ascertain something on the geographical distribution of this race, their occupations and daily life, their homes, their organizations, and above all, their relation to their million white fellow citizens.”²⁶

Du Bois examined the migration of the new Negro city dwellers that had fled the South in search of better opportunities and moved to Philadelphia.²⁷ Living in the urban “slums” of Philadelphia, Du Bois closely examined the city and explained that the urban spaces of Philadelphia were “habitats” that were developed as a result of “racial conflict”

23. Morris, *Scholar*.

24. Morris, *Scholar*, 61-62.

25. Du Bois and Eaton, *The Philadelphia*, iv.

26. Ibid.; Du Bois and Eaton, *Philadelphia Negro*, 1.

27. Ibid.

and “vested interests,” not natural laws of innate behaviors, as argued by many White scientists of the time.²⁸ He had determined that the environmental and political structures in this urban environment had served as a detriment to “international structures and culture of the black community.”²⁹

Following the publication of his ethnographic study of Blacks who lived in the city of Philadelphia, Du Bois aspired to establish a research program at University of Pennsylvania for sociological research on Blacks in cities throughout the United States.³⁰ His enthusiasm to deepen his knowledge on urbanization, migration, industrialization, and its effects on Blacks in cities to combat scientific racism was overwhelmingly positive.³¹

The reality of his racial circumstance became even more apparent when he attempted to pursue the establishment of a research center at a leading White university.³² His attempts were formally rejected due to a lack of interest by White sociologists in wanting to learn of the Black experience.³³ Gordon and Watkins (2017) noted, “Much of his thinking was marginalized and ignored, perhaps because of his emphasis on and critique of racism and capitalism.”³⁴ Du Bois sought the help of White establishments, as they could afford to support financially the social scientific research required to pursue such an endeavor, contrary to the financial hardships that he had experienced at the Black

28. Morris, *Scholar*, 3.

29. Ibid.; Morris, *Scholar*, 68-69; Du Bois and Eaton, *Philadelphia Negro*.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Gordon and Watkins, “Commentary,” 50S.

institution, Atlanta University.³⁵ Du Bois knew that White institutions were selective in their support of Black scholarship; however, he was willing to collaborate with White sociologists in efforts to gain credibility in the social scientific community.³⁶

Du Bois continuously challenged the racial worldview of scientific racialism, which had originated during the Enlightenment period in early modern Europe, had been used to gain social control of the Negro masses and ultimately the manner in which Blacks were educated and perpetuated an essential caste system of education in America.³⁷ Unlike his White counterparts, Du Bois was secure in his theory on scientific racism, although it was shunned by White sociologists, who were insecure in their theories.³⁸ In 1900, one year following the completion of the Philadelphia Negro study in 1899, Du Bois touted his newfound scholarship on sociological scientific research in a speech to the graduating class at Atlanta University. He said,

The study of society as it is carried on today is a slow and difficult task. No sociologist claims to present in his science any such finish system of laws and measurement as chemistry or astronomy—it is rather a great field of study where careful observers are daily counting, measuring and searching—gathering the data which another age will systemize and interpret. . . . It [sociology] has discovered no great or startling laws of human action and may never do so—but it has collected a mass of material of supreme interest and value, and of such a nature that no modern thinker who is interested in the condition and destiny of beings can afford to ignore its methods and results.³⁹

The philosophical underpinnings of the global phenomenon that Du Bois so vehemently opposed—that Blacks were of an inferior race—began as early as the

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.; Francois Bernier, “A New Division of the Earth,” *History Workshop Journal*, 51, (2001): 247–50; Morris, *Scholar*, 28; W.E.B. DuBois, “Post Graduate Work in Sociology at Atlanta University,” unpublished manuscript, DBP, 14 – 15, 16.

39. Ibid.

nineteenth century. From the early works of the hereditarianism, the movement led by Herbert Spencer (1850) and Charles Darwin (1859), the eugenics movement led by Arthur de Gobineau (1853) and Francis Galton (1883), brain size analysis by Robert Bean (1906), and the intelligence testing movement led by Lewis Terman (1916) provided a purpose for Du Bois's school of sociology, which operated on the belief that a scientific approach, as promoted through his studies at Atlanta University, would yield unbiased research conclusions that would diminish the postulation that scientific racism was valid and would lead to the eventual diminishment of racial oppression.⁴⁰

In 1850 Herbert Spencer wrote *Social Statics*, which included the earliest citations of his theories of evolution. In it he described the progress more than the structure of society and the functional prerequisites of an ideal society.⁴¹ Spencer's theory of evolution, an antecedent of social Darwinism by nine years, was based on the concept of the "survival of the fittest." Humans, like animals and plants, compete in a struggle for existence. This concept was used as an explanation for population and societal development.⁴²

40. Ibid.; Robert G. Perrin, "Herbert Spencer's Four Theories of Social Evolution," *American Journal of Sociology*, (1976): 1339-59, accessed May 6, 2016 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2777007>; William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, *The Talented Tenth*. (James Pott and Company, 1903); Henry Edward Crampton, "What Civilization Owes To Charles Darwin: Although Not Originating," *New York Times*, December 27, 1908: SM7, accessed March 1, 2015, https://www.newspapers.com/browse/#138lhC8P-Uzi2cmBGG9chjeSKa9_0AdgO2md5; Offer, *Herbert Spencer*; Marvin Harris, "The Rise of Anthropological Theory: A History [of] Theories of Culture," *Crowell (1968) Africa-Wide Information*, accessed April 10, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2799288>.

41. Perrin, "Herbert Spencer's Four Theories".

42. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, *The Talented Tenth*. (James Pott and Company, 1903); Henry Edward Crampton, "What Civilization".

Born in Derby in 1820, Spencer grew up under the educational direction of his uncle Thomas, a cleric for the Church of England at a rural parish near Bath.⁴³ He chose not to study at the university and instead focused his education independently on the sciences.⁴⁴ Harris (1968) called Spencer an “incorrigible iconoclast.” John Offer (2000) described Spencer’s education in his collection of work on Spencer as being “concentrated on the sciences at the expense of the humanities.”⁴⁵

Despite having no formal education in this area, Spencer emerged as an intellectual with keen intelligence.⁴⁶ Later, Charles Darwin gave scientific credence to Spencer’s scientific theory. Darwin’s book *The Origin of Species*, published in 1859, weakened the scientific foundation for many of the long-standing racial theories while simultaneously offering a new structure within which existing beliefs on racial superiority or inferiority could be supported.⁴⁷

Du Bois’s interest in Darwinian theory continued well into the 1930s, while he was still living in Harlem. In a letter that he wrote on 25 February 1932, A. Clayton Powell, a militant Black leader in Harlem, he commented on and very lightly criticized Powell’s recent NAACP address regarding Darwinian interpretations of the fitness and potential superiority of certain races and expressing interest in printing it in a future issue of *The Crisis*, a magazine founded and edited by Du Bois.⁴⁸ In the letter he said,

43. Offer, *Herbert Spencer*.

44. Harris, “The Rise”.

45. Offer, *Herbert Spencer*, 247.

46. Ibid.

47. R. Benedict, *Race and Racism*, (London, UK: G. Routledge & Sons Ltd, 1942).

48. W.E.B. Du Bois, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to A. Clayton Powell, February 25, 1932. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed April 1, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b192-i371>.

I have read your article with greatest interest. I should criticize adversarily only one statement, and that is on page 10-11 about Darwin's "Origin of Species". I do not think that it is historically accurate that this book advocates the survival of the fittest or the conservation of favored races. That doctrine was developed entirely apart from Darwin's book and long before its appearance. The book was seized upon to support the doctrine, when as a matter of fact, it did not at all. What Darwin said about "survival of the fittest" was simply a scientific statement of the results of competition between living beings but he did not for a moment mean by "fittest", those who ought to survive. It was simply a statement that as a matter of fact some would survive. As an interpretation of unanswerable facts, Darwin and his successors are to my mind unanswerable, but on the other hand, the philosophy of superior races, etc. built up long before Darwin, is, of course, deserving of all criticism which you put upon it . . . I will keep the manuscript until I hear from you.⁴⁹

In no area were scientists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries more unified and thus more influential than in the area of race theory.⁵⁰ American science was viewed with high regard. The primary unifying agent was the Darwinian theory of evolution.⁵¹ Under the direction of Spencer, Darwin's belief, in natural selection was viewed as a useful tool by which to analyze society.⁵² Social Darwinism, an application of social theory, posits that people, individually and in groups, are subject to the same laws of natural selection as are plants and animals.⁵³

Darwin's theories were embraced by racists to support their claim that Negroes were at a stage of development midway between those of White men and the apes.⁵⁴ The purported similarity between Negroes and apes was offered as evidence that Blacks were

49. Ibid.; Crampton, "What Civilization Owes to Charles Darwin," 1908.

50. Taylor, "Challenge," 451.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. R.J. Halliday, "Social Darwinism: A Definition," *Victorian Studies*, 14, 4, (1971): 389-405, accessed September 20, 2015,

<http://www.jstor.org.proxy.Libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/3825958>

54. Pounder, Adelman, Cheng, Herbes-Sommers, Strain, Smith, and Ragazzi, "Race: The Power of an Illusion."

intellectually inferior.⁵⁵ Sociology had developed into a professional academic field along with anthropology, based on many ideas derived from social Darwinistic theories.⁵⁶

Harris (1969) noted that Darwinian theories were an example of an application of social science concepts to biology.⁵⁷ This theory was used to justify the myth of Negro intellectual inferiority, inferring that White superiority was to rule over all others and that Europeans were the superior race. Race and human abilities influenced American thought on social, political, and economic growth for the Negro race. In support of this claim

Thomas F. Gossett (1963) noted that,

Darwin's influence upon race theory arose not so much from anything specific which he himself said on the subject . . . as from certain analogies which his followers drew between relationships among the lower species in the animal world, on the one hand, and among men in human societies on the other. The idea of natural selection was translated to a struggle between individual members of a society, between members of classes of a society, between different nations, and between different races. This conflict, far from being an evil thing, was nature's indispensable method for producing superior men, superior nations, and superior races.⁵⁸

Popular at the turn of the century, this ideology validated the notion of Black intellectual inferiority and conceded to a form of scientific racist theory by which society functioned. History has focused on intelligence, race, and genetics, all of which are based on scientific myths rather than on scientific proof. This concept of inferiority dominated the scientific discourse of the nation. However, at times, Darwin's theories were challenged. A July 1916 article by Dr. James M. Boddy on Darwin's theory of evolution and the bloodlines of the people of Abyssinia (currently Ethiopia) argued that Darwin's

55. Richard L. Worsnop, "Racism in America," in *Editorial Research Reports*, 1, (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1964), 341-60.

56. Baker, *Savage*, 108.

57. Offer, *Herbert Spencer*.

58. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* , 145.

theory on “reversion to type” was scientifically “invalid.”⁵⁹ To refute the notion of Negro inferiority, he used as an example a historical revelation that was made on the genetic heritage of a Russian poet.⁶⁰ Boddy stated that the Roman Empire had recognized the Abyssinians (Ethiopians) as Negroes.⁶¹ He stated that, for centuries, many argued that the “Coptic” form of the Christian religion fought against the influences of the Mohammedans and the Egyptian and Arabian religions.⁶² He cited the battle of Adowa in 1895 as evidence to support his claims, explaining that the military forces of the Abyssinians defeated the Italian army of 10,000 men under General Bolderossa, thwarting the Italians’ attempt to conquer their country.⁶³ Moreover, he noted that Russian poet Alexander Pushkin was the son of an Abyssinian Negro and that, therefore, any direct and lineal descendants of Pushkin who married into the wealthy and royal families of the British Empire were, in fact, Negro.⁶⁴ He concluded that this weakened the claims of Charles Darwin’s biological theory on “reversion to type—or as the common people say, ‘taking back.’”⁶⁵ His conclusion was that application of Darwinian theory to race inferiority was a figment of the “Darwinian imagination.”⁶⁶

If the now reigning family of the British monarchy should become extinct, the next heir to the throne would be the prince of Battenburg, whose beautiful and

59. James M. Boddy, Clippings with Notes from Dr. James M. Boddy, ca. July 1919. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312) Special Collections and University Archives, accessed September 2, 2015, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b013-i366>.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

accomplished wife is the direct descent of Pushkin. She would be the Queen of England and Empress of India.⁶⁷

Du Bois's colleagues took interest in the Darwinian theory and reviewed Darwin's publications on his theory of evolution, which supported the idea of race inferiority. One colleague in particular was James Weldon Johnson, secretary of the NAACP, described as "an educator, lawyer, diplomat, newspaper, editor, lyricist, poet, novelist, essayist, and reformer,"⁶⁸ and an asset to the Harlem Renaissance. Johnson wrote a memorandum to Du Bois dated 17 May 1927, expressing his interest in the title and publication of Darwin's piece.⁶⁹ *The Evolution of Charles Darwin* is the title of George A. Dorsey's book on Darwin, published by Doubleday Paper and Company.

An example of Du Bois's generational interest in scientific racist theories is a letter that he wrote dated 8 June 1927 to the Doubleday Page and Company in which he stated, "Gentlemen: *The Crisis* Magazine would like very much to review Mr. George A. Dorsey's book on Darwin.⁷⁰ I hope you can send us a copy."⁷¹ He asked for a copy of the book to review in *The Crisis*.⁷²

67. Ibid.

68. James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way: The Autobiography of James Weldon Johnson*, Da Capo Press, 1933; James Weldon Johnson, Memorandum from James Weldon Johnson to W. E. B. Du Bois, May 17, 1927. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed March 2, 2017, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b039-i600>.

69. James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way: The Autobiography of James Weldon Johnson*, Da Capo Press, 1933; Memorandum from James Weldon Johnson to W. E. B. Du Bois, May 17, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers.

70. W.E.B. Du Bois, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Doubleday Page & Company, June 8, 1927, Special Collections and University Archives, accessed March 1, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b175-i562>.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

Dorsey, a classmate of Du Bois at Harvard University, was viewed by Du Bois as one of his few White “life-long” friends at Harvard. As evidence of this claim Du Bois spoke of his experiences with his classmate. He said,

So that of the general social intercourse on the campus I consciously missed nothing. Some white students made themselves known to me, and a few, a very few, became life-long friends. Most of them even of my own more than 300 classmates, I knew neither by sight nor name. Among my Harvard classmates many made their mark in life: Norman Hapgood, Robert Herrick, Herbert Croly, George A. Dorsey, Homer Folks, Augustus Hand, James Brown Scott, and others. I knew practically none of these.⁷³

Eugenics, a movement that argued that the issues of heredity and race were intermingled, was essential to the argument on the biological meaning of race.⁷⁴

The movement held that a population of humans classified on the basis of certain hereditary characteristics differentiated them from other human groups.⁷⁵ An infamous scientist of the eugenics movement, Joseph Arthur Gobineau (1853), posited that certain models based on scientific views of races were fixed and determined and that this supported the inception of racist ideology.⁷⁶ The International Encyclopedia for the Social Sciences defined biological determinism as “the idea that all human behavior is innate, determined by genes, brain size, or other biological attributes.”⁷⁷ Garland E. Allen (1984) noted that this is the “general name for theories,” that maintained that the foundation of

73. Du Bois, “*Dusk of Dawn*,” 18.

74. Pounder, Adelman, Cheng, Herbes-Sommers, Strain, Smith, and Ragazzi, “Race: The Power of an Illusion.”

75. Rebecca Powell, “Overcoming Cultural Racism: The Promise of Multicultural Education,” *Multicultural Perspectives*, vol. 2, 3, (2000): 8-14, accessed March 1, 2015, http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1207/S15327892MCP0203_03.

76. Arthur comte de Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races*, (GP Putnam’s Sons, 1915).

77. Meghan A. Burke and David G. Embrick, “Determinism, Biological,” *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, accessed January 13, 2016, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/applied-and-social-sciences-magazines/determinism-biological>.

human social behavior and personality lies within the biology of individuals and groups (racial or ethnic) and, therefore, determines basic aspects of social life.⁷⁸

Known as the “father of racist ideology,” as highlighted by Michael D. Biddas (1970), Gobineau (1853) argued that theories of biological determinism over decades had rationalized the status quo by postulating that social problems are caused by innate biological factors inherent to biological determinism.⁷⁹ According to this denial of free will, individuals have no internal control over their behavior and dispositions (intelligence) and are not responsible for their actions.⁸⁰ The theory of biological determinism that Du Bois rejected argues that environment and social conditions are not the cause of human action; rather, inborn tendencies serve as a plausible explanation.⁸¹ This theory disputes the idea that inferiority is due to environmental or social conditions and claims that it is due to innate biological factors and inherent to biological determinism.⁸² Gobineau (1853) gave credence to the notion that Blacks were born inferior; he used the skull to support his claims. He wrote in *The Moral and Intellectual Diversity of Races*,

My opinion, is that the Negroes, with respect to capability for mental improvement are far behind the Europeans; and that considered in the aggregate, they will not even with the advantages of careful education, obtain a very high degree of cultivation. This is apparent on the structure of the skull on which depends the

78. Garland E. Allen, “The Roots of Biological Determinism,” Review of “The Mismeasure of Man,” *Journal of the History of Biology*, vol. 17, no.1 (1984): 141–45, accessed March 4, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.Libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/4330882>.

79. Michael D. Biddiss, *Father of Racist Ideology: The Social and Political Thought of Count Gobineau* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970), 109.

80. H. Hotz and Josiah Clark Nott, *The Moral and Intellectual Diversity of Races with Particular Reference to Their Respective Influence in the Civil and Political History of Mankind*, A. De Gobineau (New York: J. B. Lippincott & Company, 1856), 448.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid.

development of the brain, and which, in the Negro, approximates closely to the animal form. The imitative faculty of the monkey is highly developed in the Negro, who readily seizes anything, merely mechanical, whilst things demanding intelligence are beyond his reach.⁸³

While few in the field of science fully accepted the theory of biological determinism, the theory has had cultural and political implications in the shaping of human racial history and in the relative importance of human genetic qualities (i.e., nature) versus socialization process (i.e., nurture) in determining the individual physical and behavioral characteristics of the Negro race.⁸⁴

Du Bois was presented with an opportunity to counter the claims of Gobineau. While living in Harlem, in 1925, he agreed to participate in a scientific experiment to test the theories of Gobineau. John F. Kendrick, a research worker in biology at the Biological Research laboratory in Chicago, wrote to Du Bois on 25 February 1925 (Appendix A),

The *Chicago Defender* advised me to write to you at the given address. The enclosed plate matter will explain itself: and in this regards I wish to say that no race in America is in such need of a word from science as the so-called colored race. I am testing the theory of Gobineau, which has been twisted into purporting that since the Nordic race has its genius; it must necessarily be greater than the other races in the realm of their own particular genius.⁸⁵

83. Ibid., 448.

84. Ronald H. Bayor, Jonathan Peter Spiro, and Gregory Michael Dorr, "The Development and Impact of "Science": The Role of Eugenics." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 30, no. 2, (1911): 58-61, accessed January 6, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/jamerethnhist.30.2.0058>.

85. John F. Kendrick, Letter from John F. Kendrick to W. E. B. Du Bois, February 18, 1925. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed April 5, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b029-i585>.

Du Bois complied with the request and completed a Heredity Questionnaire administered by Kendrick.⁸⁶(Appendix B) On the survey Du Bois indicated his genealogical history as requested in the hopes of challenging the findings of Gobineau.⁸⁷ Specific instructions were given on the form and directed the respondent not to list names of persons or places or dates other than years.⁸⁸ Kendrick stated, “We wish to ascertain the quantities of time between births of ancestors of those investigated; this is our only aim.”⁸⁹ Du Bois indicated the years of his birth (1868), his father’s birth (1830), his mother’s birth (1834), his father’s birth (1800), and his father’s mother’s birth (1810).⁹⁰ Du Bois was instructed to return the questionnaire to Hendrick at 1775 Cullom Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.⁹¹ Du Bois’s cooperation reflects his strong support of the effort to challenge the scientific racist theories of Gobineau. Du Bois once proclaimed, “I dedicated my life to the gathering of information, the compiling of exact knowledge concerning the Negro.”⁹²

In a four-volume essay entitled *The Inequality of Human Races*, Gobineau (1915) frequently described the Negro as inferior to the White.⁹³ Writing at the age of thirty-seven, Gobineau argued in support of racial superiority.⁹⁴

The Negro variety is the lowest, and stands at the foot of the ladder. The animal character that appears in the shape of the pelvis, is stamped on the Negro from

86. John F. Kendrick, “Heredity Questionnaire,” ca. 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed April 5, 2016 <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b029-i586>.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.

92. Francille Rusan Wilson, *The Segregated Scholars: Black Social Scientists and The Creation of Black Labor Studies, 1890 – 1950* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 49.

93. Gobineau, *Inequality*.

94. Ibid.

birth and foreshadows his destiny. His intellect will always move within a very narrow circle.⁹⁵

Gobineau's work was subsequently translated into German and English and is known to have been most influential with Adolf Hitler and the National Socialism White superiority campaign in Europe and the United States.⁹⁶

As an argument for slavery, Gobineau's book was considered to be a valuable reference; however, its value was underestimated until biologists August Weismann and Gregor Mendel offered an alternative explanation for racial superiority through the idea of heredity and the discovery of primitive man in the Weisman doctrine.⁹⁷ Every individual is composed of two independent types of tissues: the germplasm and the somatoplasm.⁹⁸ The germplasm consists of generating germ cells that reproduce themselves and pass on unchanged from generation from generation, each time building new bodies out of somatoplasm, as temporary containers for this fluid.⁹⁹ The argument that found most favor in the eyes of the propagators of the superior race prejudice is that the individual is essentially the same, as his unknown ancestor of the neo-monkey era, since the vital qualities that he had at the beginning were passed on by the germplasm, while the characteristics that he acquired in each generation were lost at his death with

95. Ibid., 205.

96. Muzammil Quraishi and Rob Philburn, *Researching Racism: A Guidebook for Academics and Professional Investigators* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2015).

97. J. J. Smertenko, "The Claim of 'Nordic' Race Superiority", *Current History* (New York) vol. 20, no. 1 (1924): 15; Pounder, Adelman, Cheng, Herbes-Sommers, Strain, Smith, and Ragazzi, "Race: The Power of an Illusion."

98. Ibid.

99. Pounder, Adelman, Cheng, Herbes-Sommers, Strain, Smith, and Ragazzi, "Race: The Power of an Illusion."

the disintegration of his body.¹⁰⁰ This served, as a basis for racial casting, which spearheaded the idea that race categorization linked to science was the norm. Human categorization was based on physical characteristics and intellectual capabilities.¹⁰¹ Science perpetuated the distorted theory that Blacks were destined to become extinct.¹⁰² Brandt (1978) stated that the Negro race was “in the throes of a degenerative evolutionary process.”¹⁰³

This racial worldview of scientific racism arose during the era of slavery and persisted and increased in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁰⁴ Generally used by anthropologists to describe “a culturally structured, systematic way of looking at, perceiving, and interpreting various world realities,”¹⁰⁵ the racial worldview has altered ideals and beliefs that classified groups based on phenotype or physical traits.¹⁰⁶ In 2004, Rothenberg claimed, “The expropriation of property, the denial of political rights, the introduction of slavery and other forms of coercive labor, as well as outright

100. Smertenko, “Claim of ‘Nordic,’” 15; Gobineau, *Inequality*; Douglas R. Sharp, *No Partiality: The Idolatry of Race & The New Humanity* (Inter Varsity Press, 2002); Ibid.

101. Smedley, “Race” and the Construction,” 3.

102. Allan M. Brandt, “Racism and Research: The Case of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study,” *The Hastings Center Report*, 8, no. 6 [Hastings Center, Wiley] (December 1978): 21, accessed April 12th, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/3561468.pdf>; Smertenko, “Claim of ‘Nordic’”; Pounder, Adelman, Cheng, Herbes-Sommers, Strain, Smith, and Ragazzi, “Race: The Power of an Illusion.”

103. Ibid., 107.

104. Audrey Smedley and Faye Janis Hutchinson, “Racism in the Academy: The New Millennium,” *Findings of the Commission on Race and Racism in Anthropology and the American Anthropological Association* (2012), accessed April 15, 2016. http://s3.amazonaws.com/rdcms-aaa/files/production/public/FileDownloads/pdfs/cmtes/commissions/upload/CRR_reportFULL.pdf.

105. Sharp, *No Partiality*.

106. Smedley and Hutchinson, “Racism in the Academy,” 5.

extermination, all presupposed a ‘worldview,’ which distinguished Europeans, from others.”¹⁰⁷

Anthropology has historically played a vital role in the creation of the racial worldview that developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Europe and North America and expanded under various contextual meanings to other parts of the world.¹⁰⁸ Author Tema Okum (2010) described it best: “White supremacy became global and affected all societies where Europeans extended their reach.”¹⁰⁹ The question becomes, how can a concept determined as irrelevant based on scientific principles retain its importance by societal standards?

Du Bois recognized that the value that society had placed on race has to do with deeply entrenched conditioning of the racial worldview.¹¹⁰ Du Bois believed that race was socially constructed and grew out of major historical events such as slavery and dominant social perceptions.¹¹¹ In support of the claim that Du Bois believed that race was socially constructed, Morris (2015) wrote, “In contrast, at a time when races were considered

107. Paula S. Rothenberg, *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States: An Integrated Study* (New York: Macmillan, 2004), 14.

108. Audrey Smedley, *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview* (Westview Press, 2007); Carol C. Mukhopadhyay, and Yolanda T. Moses, “Reestablishing Race in Anthropological Discourse,” *American Anthropologist*, vol. 99, no. 3, (1997): 517-33, accessed March 1, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.Libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/681740>.

109. Tema Okun, *The Emperor Has No Clothes: Teaching About Race and Racism to People Who Don’t Want to Know*, IAP (2010), 6-7.

110. Audrey Smedley and Brian D. Smedley, “Race as Biology is Fiction, Racism as a Social Problem is Real: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives on the Social Construction of Race,” *American Psychologist*, vol. 60, no. 1 (2005): 16, accessed February 12, 2016, <http://psycnet.apa.org/journals/amp/60/1/16/>.

111. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

natural, Du Bois's school viewed them as socially constructed categories and held that they could not be ranked according to natural hierarchies."¹¹²

Du Bois challenged such theories as eugenics, a term coined by Sir Francis Galton (1883),¹¹³ derived from the Greek *eugenes*, meaning "good in birth"¹¹⁴ and carrying strength within the intellectual community. Galton (1904) described Eugenics in general terms as "the science, which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race; also with those that will develop them to the utmost advantage."¹¹⁵ Carlos P. Blacker (1947) also noted Galton's idea of Eugenics.¹¹⁶ Eugenics has been influential in the development of scientific racism, generating widespread domestic and international support. Although the term *eugenics* has been defined in various ways, the meaning has remained consistent. Ridding society of the Black race attracted the attention of scientists and historians alike. Perceived as intellectually inferior by nature of their race, Negroes saw few efforts to change their societal outcomes.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most Whites conceived of Blacks as biologically, morally, and intellectually inferior.¹¹⁷ Martin N. Marger (2009) said, "The biological understanding of race has led to an enormous variation in thought

112. Ibid., 185.

113. Sir Francis Galton, *Inquiries into the Human Faculty & Its development* (JM Dent and Company, 1883), accessed January 7, 2016, <https://books.google.com>.

114. Yanguang Wang, "A Call for a New Definition of Eugenics," *Eubios Journal of Asian and International Bioethics*, vol. 9, no. 3, (1999): 73-4, February 5, 2016, <http://www.eubios.info/EJ93/ej93e.htm>.

115. Francis Galton, "Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope, and Aims," *The American Journal of Sociology* 10, no. 1 (1904): 1, accessed March 2, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2762125>.

116. Carlos P. Blacker, "What Is Eugenics?" *The Eugenics Review*, vol. 39, no. 2 (1947): 56, accessed March 6, 2016, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2986418/pdf/eugenrev00244-0017.pdf>.

117. Ibid.

and almost no accord among biologists, geneticists, physical anthropologists, and physiologists concerning either the term's meaning or its significance."¹¹⁸ The discursive methods of this scientific theory raised a distinction between traditional thought and popular sentiment of this era. Garland E. Allen (1984) expressed that these theories share some common foundation and usually served similar functions in the broad social context of their times.¹¹⁹

In 1906, Robert Bennett Bean, an instructor in anatomy at the University of Michigan and author of "Some Racial Peculiarities of the Negro Brain," conducted a study of "Caucasian and Negro brains" and concluded that there was a difference in sizes and shapes.¹²⁰ Bean was sympathetic to social Darwinism. He posited that the Caucasian brain was larger than the Negro brain, supporting the claim that Whites were more intelligent than Blacks.¹²¹ In September 1906 Bean wrote an article in the *Century Magazine* entitled "The Negro Brain." In it he said,

The Caucasian and the Negro are fundamentally opposite extremes in evolution. Having demonstrated that the Negro and the Caucasian are widely different in characteristics, due to a deficiency of gray matter and connecting fibers in the negro brain . . . we are forced to conclude that this is [sic] useless to try to elevate the negro by education or otherwise except in the direction of his natural endowments.¹²²

118. Martin N. Marger, *Race and Ethnic Relations: American and Global Perspectives 8th ed.* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2009), 13.

119. Allen, "Roots," 141.

120. Robert Bennett Bean, "Some Racial Peculiarities of the Negro Brain," *American Journal of Anatomy*, vol. 5, no.4 (1906), 353, accessed April 2, 2016 https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/handle/2027.42/49594/1000050402_ftp.pdf?sequence=1

121. Baker, *Savage*, 123; Robert Bennett Bean, "The Negro Brain," *Century Magazine* 72 (1906): 784.

122. Ibid.

In the Du Bois manuscripts there is a typescript draft of citations and passages entitled “Race Capacity,” written by an unidentified author on the mental capacity, intellectual development, educational progress, and opportunities of the Black American that reflects scientific interest in the Negro.¹²³ It states that the Negro “has the same intellectual qualities, speaks the same language, practices the same arts, sings the same song, thinks the same thoughts and can and does admit of the same kind of education.”¹²⁴

Henry Fairfield Osborn, Professor of biology at Columbia University in 1916, asserted that race accounts for “all the moral, social and intellectual characteristics and traits.”¹²⁵

By 1916, scientific racism had gained additional support from the field of psychology. Psychologist Lewis Terman (1916) and colleagues “perfected” the Stanford Binet or intelligence quotient (IQ) tests. Taylor (1981) indicated that their tests demonstrated that children whose parents were in certain professions, such as education or business, had a “superior mental ability.”¹²⁶ The results buttressed the heredity argument that superior mental ability and intelligence were determined by human genes. This conclusion validated racist thinking and beliefs which Taylor (1981) identified as “ability was inherited; the greatest ability was to be found in the upper-classes; the upper classes included few blacks.”¹²⁷ The intelligence testing movement motivated Du Bois to

123. W.E.B. Du Bois (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. Race capacity, ca. 1903. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed September 1, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b226-i297>.

124. Ibid.

125. Michael P. Levine and Tamas Pataki, *Racism in Mind* (Cornell University Press, 2004), 6.

126. Taylor, “Challenge,” 453.

127. Ibid.

challenge this thought process that had restricted the rights of the Black race.¹²⁸ Caroline Taylor (1981) highlighted Du Bois's thoughts and evidence of his abhorrence for the psychologists in the scientific community who supported the notion of Black inferiority.

Du Bois said,

Have you noticed, brethren, that since the afflatus of postwar "science" and the great ex-cathedra utterances of those mighty scientists [psychologist William] McDougall of Harvard and what-you-may-call-him [probably psychologist Carl C. Brigham] of Princeton—that that since all this flare up and proof of Negro "inferiority" by "intelligence" tests, there has dropped a significant silence? . . . Well, here is one of the reasons: In Louisville, Kentucky they have been testing school children . . . white and black. And then? Well and then, silence; Silence! [After two inquiries from Du Bois, the superintendent replied that the results would not be published.] Du Bois said . . . What is wrong? Why all this heavy secrecy? . . . If the truth must be known, those damned tests went and came out wrong! In other words, instead of proving white children superior they actually proved—but no: We cannot write it; it's too awful! ¹²⁹

Although a few Blacks were considered to be of rare stock and intelligent,¹³⁰ it did not preclude the race from the dominant theory of scientific thought on racial inferiority.¹³¹ Inferiority was considered an incurable human deficiency that the Negro race could not escape. Science simply proclaimed that Negroes were unintelligent; a concept that Du Bois believed had perpetuated deep-rooted hatred and a misinterpretation of the human identity.¹³² If a Black person possessed signs of mental capability beyond what was considered to be "normal" for the Negro race, based on the standards put forth by scientists, that person was said to have been a product of miscegenation or must have had one drop of White blood in his veins.¹³³ Strict in its thought and method, science

128. Bean, "Racial Peculiarities".

129. Taylor, "Challenge," 458.

130. Ibid.; Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*; Smedley, *Race in North America*.

131. Ibid.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid.

precluded any justification for the success of the Negro other than the idea of biological integration with the White race.¹³⁴

In 1922, for 10 cents, readers could purchase the newsletter “The World Tomorrow” to read about the myth of racial inferiority, the contributions of Blacks to society, and various topics on religion.¹³⁵ Adolphus Herbert Miller, professor of sociology at Oberlin College, contributed the article “The Myth of Racial Inferiority,” in which he discussed the claims of race inferiority in society.¹³⁶ He directly challenged the notion that Blacks were of an inferior race and expanded on the ideas of doubters such as Du Bois, Schomburg, and Woodson¹³⁷ Moreover, he took the initiative to include in his curriculum in his college academic department a course on race problems, unique among American colleges in the 1920s.¹³⁸ The newsletter included articles written by other notable contributors, such as Du Bois, that addressed the notion of race inferiority.

Contributors to “The World Tomorrow” included Dorothy Canfield, an early-twentieth-century well-known novelist and author of the book *The Brimming Cup*; Jesse Faucet, literary director of *The Crisis* magazine edited by Du Bois; Leslie Pickney Hill, Principal of the Cheney Institute for Colored Youth at Cheyney, Pennsylvania; Charles S. Johnson, Director of Research and Investigations for the National Urban League for Social Service Among Negroes; Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League; Florence Kelly, a well-known writer, lecturer, and worker on

134. Ibid.

135. Fellowship Press Inc., *The World Tomorrow* W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, vol. 3, no. (1922), 68, accessed April 5, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b167-i124>.

136. Ibid.

137. Ibid.

138. Ibid.

social problems; Mary E. McDowell, Head of the University Settlement of Chicago; Edward T. Ware, President of Atlanta University; and L. Hollingsworth Wood, President of National Urban League, Vice Chairmen of the Board of Trustees at Fisk University, and a member of the Board of Trustees at Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School on St. Helena's Island, South Carolina.¹³⁹ Du Bois made a list of tentative topics and entitled it "The Negro's Economic Problem," in an article that he wanted to publish in the newsletter.¹⁴⁰ The list includes, "The Negro World, Buying a Southern Farm, Making a Living in the North, Theory and Practice of Labor Movement, Economic Cooperation among Negroes, The Foundations of Justice, and What Should be the Focus of Negro Education?"¹⁴¹

Some years later, in 1929, Du Bois and Boas returned to the examination of the idea of intelligence testing. In a letter dated 14 February 1929, Boas wrote to Du Bois that an ongoing study about "intelligence testing among Negroes" was being conducted.¹⁴² Boas described the test, suggesting that a delay was necessary until all information was collected before drawing any conclusions with regard to the study.¹⁴³ Boas said,

We are at present time carrying through on the significance of intelligence testing among Negroes. The purpose is to investigate a community in detail in regard to its social background and to prepare test accordingly, so as to be able to correlate

139. Ibid.

140. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. The Negro's economic problem, January 1923. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed January 5, 2017, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b024-i053>.

141. Ibid.

142. Franz Boas, Letter from Franz Boas to W. E. B. Du Bois, February 14, 1929. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed March 5, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b181-i223>.

143. Ibid.

social environment and what psychologist please call, intelligence. Later on we are intending to cross the tests and use what is found suitable in the Negro community among our city children. This study is being carried on at present time, but will not be finished until at least a year from now. Might it not be best to defer any statement until we have this data in hand? Franz Boas, 1929.¹⁴⁴

Du Bois responded to Boas in a letter dated 15 February 1929, telling him that he would like to hear the results of his study and he asked whether Boas could write an article in *The Crisis* on one of his subjects.¹⁴⁵ As a display of his gratitude, Du Bois wrote,

“Thank you very much for your letter of February 14th. I shall be delighted to have the results of your present investigation, but before that, couldn’t you write us just a word, on one of the subjects suggested?”¹⁴⁶

Although beliefs in race inferiority were scientifically disproven based on conclusions of the shared origins of human creation, this theory had taken hold in the human consciousness and sustained power throughout history.¹⁴⁷ Each era has had a period of dominant racist theory. According to James Morris Blaut (1992), between 1850 and 1950 the dominant racist theory was based on a scientific or biological argument in support of White superiority.¹⁴⁸ The racist theories of the early nineteenth century were primarily based on historical arguments grounded in the idea of culture or cultural history.¹⁴⁹ For example, Du Bois asserted that the influence of early Ethiopian rulers on Egyptian and Greek culture stands today as mute evidence of the height to which

144. Ibid.

145. Ibid.

146. Ibid.

147. Smedley and Hutchinson, “Racism in the Academy”.

148. James Morris Blaut, “The Theory of Cultural Racism,” *Antipode*, vol. 24, no. 4, (1992): 289-299, accessed April 3, 2015, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8330.1992.tb00448.x/abstract>.

149. Ibid.

Ethiopia's civilization had risen.¹⁵⁰ With an insatiable lust for wealth power and comfort, the White world pursues relentlessly its economic subjugation and political dominion of Blacks in Africa and elsewhere, Du Bois argued.¹⁵¹

Well into the early twentieth century, the meaning of race had been socially constructed and sustained not by science but by historical social, economic, and political processes.¹⁵² Efforts such as the Negro History Movement recognized that race had emerged as the dominant form of identity in those societies where it functioned to stratify the social system. This phenomenon was embraced by scientific theorists and used to justify their argument of Black intellectual inferiority.

To validate his ideas with regard to race superiority—something that he had been personally questioning since his days at Harvard University, Du Bois travelled abroad to meet with world leaders to discuss the topic of race and science. This was made evident through archival letters of his communications with Franz Boas referenced throughout this study. These meetings supported his quest to challenge scientific racist ideology on Black intellectual inferiority. To understand fully the significance of the rejection by Du Bois of the social scientific theory on Negro inferiority, Morris (2015) argued that a social scientific theory needed to be applied to develop an understanding of the larger context with regard to power structures of the larger society within the structures of

150. Editorial, "Dr. DuBois Raps 'Nordic Superiority' in Address," *The Chicago Defender (National Edition)* (1921-1967), Feb 18, 1939, accessed June 4, 2016 <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.Libraries.rutgers.edu/docview/492539271?accountid=13626>.

151. Ibid.

152. Michael Omi, and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States* (Routledge, 2014); Smedley, "Race" and the Construction".

politics, economics, and race.¹⁵³ Morris (2015) applied the theoretical framework of French Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu to explain this phenomenon.¹⁵⁴ Morris (2015) noted that Bourdieu's book written in 2004—"Science of Science and Reflexivity"—serves as a framework to explain why Du Bois's social scientific theories were rejected.¹⁵⁵ Morris (2015) highlighted that, according to Bourdieu, science is positioned within a "distinct space, the scientific field."¹⁵⁶ In the urban environment, Du Bois conducted investigations, collected evidence, networked with inhabitants, and formulated scientific outcomes.¹⁵⁷ Morris (2015) argued that the discourse within the scientific field is indeed contradictory in nature to the perspectives of science and should not have applied to Du Bois and his social scientific pursuits.¹⁵⁸ Morris (2015) noted Bourdieu's comments"

The idea of the field . . . leads one to call into question the irenic vision of the scientific world, that of a world of generous exchanges in which all scientists collaborate towards the same end. This idealist vision . . . is contradicted by the facts: what one observes are struggles, sometimes ferocious ones, and competitions within structures of domination. The "communitarian" vision fails to grasp the very foundation of the scientific world as a universe of competition for the "monopoly [sic] of the legitimate handling" of scientific goods, in other words and more precisely, of the correct method, the correct findings, the correct definitions of the ends, objects and methods of science.¹⁵⁹

Despite these obstacles of dominant social scientific rejection, Du Bois continued to challenge the theories of scientific racism and joined the movement to educate the Black race on Negro history and culture to counter the claims of science.

153. Morris, *Scholar*.

154. Ibid.

155. Ibid.

156. Ibid.

157. Ibid.

158. Ibid.

159. Ibid., 181.

CHAPTER 2: THE FIRST UNIVERSAL RACES CONGRESS: AN INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE ON DU BOIS'S SCIENTIFIC THINKING, 1911

Of the two thousand international meetings that have taken place in the last seventy-five years there have been few that have so touched the imagination of the Universal Races Congress this summer. Such a meeting may be viewed in many lights: as a meeting of widely separated men, as a reunion of East and West, as a glance across the color line or as a sort of World Grievance Committee. Perhaps it was in part something of each of these. There was, one thing that this congress could do in inestimable importance. Outside the discussion of racial problems, it could make clear the present state of scientific knowledge concerning the meaning of the term "race." This the congress did and this was its most important work.¹ *W.E.B. Du Bois August 24, 1911*

Five years after hearing the speech given by Franz Boas at Atlanta University in 1906, which Du Bois proclaimed as "a sudden awakening" and "an important moment in his life," Du Bois joined Franz Boas and other leading men at the First Universal Races Congress in London on 26 through 29 July 1911.²

The notion was that the elites were the "purifying moving force in history" that would ultimately use their power of intellect to fight against scientific racist beliefs that had resulted in the racial oppression of Blacks throughout American and global history.³ In support of this claim Morris (2015) wrote, "The leaders of an oppressed people one generation removed from slavery embraced an intellectual discipline as a weapon of liberation."⁴ Du Bois, himself a descendant of slaves, fit the category of men whom he described as the "Talented Tenth" who would use their intellectual discipline on the domestic and international stage as a weapon to free his people.

1. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, "The First Universal Races Congress," *The Independent*, (1848-1921) 71, no. 3273, Aug 24, 1911: 401, Accessed May 2, 2016, <http://Search.Proquest.Com/Docview/90591299?Accountid=13626>.

2. Ibid.; Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*, xxxi.

3. Lewis, *Biography of a Race*, 206.

4. Morris, *Scholar*, 59.

At the Congress, Du Bois served as the Honorary Secretary on behalf of the United States as he was recognized for his contributions to the Black race.⁵ Known as one of the most profound international platforms to address the issue of race and science, the Universal Races Congress was attended by leading men in the world.⁶ Du Bois and some of the most influential leaders of the time were invited. According to the archived documents the invitation to the First Universal Races Congress read as follows,

If any reader of this letter is planning to be in England this summer, the Congress would heartily welcome him to its sessions, and if he would drop a line to Frederick Lynch, secretary for the United States, 13 E. 124th St., New York, he will be glad to give him a letter to the general secretary G. Spiller, 63 S. Hill Park, London, during the Congress at the University of London, who will register him as a delegate.⁷

Upon reflection, Du Bois concluded that the “most important work” of the Congress was its emphasis on the scientific findings with regard to the “Negro problem,” with particular focus on the anthropological view on race.⁸ An article published in the 14 September 1911 issue of the *New York Observer and Chronicle* said that the “palatial” Central Building of the University of London had witnessed one of the most “inspirational” occasions in history.⁹

5. Du Bois, “The First Universal Races Congress,” *Independent*; “Universal Races Congress,” *New York Observer and Chronicle*, Jul 06, 1911; Elliott Rudwick, “W. E. B. Du Bois and the Universal Races Congress of 1911,” *The Phylon Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (1959): 372-78, doi:10.2307/273133, accessed December 30, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/273133>; “Universal Races Congress,” *New York Observer and Chronicle (1833-1912)* 89, no. 37, (Sep 14, 1911): 339, accessed April 14, 2016, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/136728926?accountid=13626>.

6. Ibid.

7. “Universal Races Congress,” *New York Observer and Chronicle*, Jul 06, 1911: 31.

8. Rudwick, “W. E. B. Du Bois and the Universal Races Congress of 1911,” *The Phylon*.

9. “Universal Races Congress,” *New York Observer and Chronicle*, Sep 14, 1911: 339.

A review of the original archive of the Congress program indicates that the Congress took place over the course of “nine half-day sessions.”¹⁰ The sessions were described in the program as follows:

1. Fundamental Considerations—Meaning of Race and Nation; a definition of tribe race and nation, anthropologic view of race, sociological view of race, the problem of race equality.¹¹ G. Spiller, England: Many races are, at the present time, treated or rather mal-treated as inferior races.¹² Are there any sound arguments in favor of this supposed inferiority?¹³ The common standard provided by university diplomas shows us almost all races, even the majority of those which are regarded as inferior, represented successfully, in the universities of Europe and America.¹⁴ Equal in intellectual capacity, these races have proved by their intrepidity, activity and ingeniousness in war, hunting, cultivation of the soil, and commerce, that they are not inferior to the others in the spirit of initiative.¹⁵

2. Conditions for National Self Government and Common Tendencies toward Parliamentary Rule¹⁶

3. Conditions etc.¹⁷

4. Peaceful Contact Between [Civilisations]¹⁸

10. Universal Races Congress. Universal Races Congress program, ca. July 1911. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed December 27, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b007-i062>.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

5. Special Problems in Inter-racial Economics¹⁹
6. The Modern Conscience in Relation to Racial Questions²⁰
7. The Modern Conscience (continued) ²¹
8. Positive Suggestions for Promoting Inter-Racial Friendliness²²
9. Positive Suggestions (continued) ²³

Du Bois took time off from his responsibilities at *The Crisis* in Harlem to seek guidance on the “Negro question” of race superiority and decided to attend the Congress and join other leading men with whom he shared a common vision.

Du Bois’s attendance inspired a sense of honor and appreciation in knowing that there were others, scientists and anthropologists, who agreed that Blacks were not inferior to the White race. This is made evident in his personal hygiene in preparation for the Congress. On 15 July 1911, nine days before the Congress in preparation for his attendance, he purchased from Newman and Sons Tailors a “grey cheviot morning coat and vest, a pair of fancy worsted trousers, a grey worsted lounge jacket suit, and a brown cheviot worsted jacket suit.”²⁴ Du Bois was honored to serve as the Honorary Secretary—due to his dedication and service to the Black race—on behalf of his nation. Morris (2015) wrote,

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Newman and Son. Newman and Son, Tailors, July 1911. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed December 20, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b007-i048>.

Du Bois's school sought to wage this ideological struggle at the scientific level by producing findings undermining political domination. After all, it was science that had trumpeted black inferiority, providing scientific legitimacy for those dedicated to black oppression.²⁵

The men of the Congress convened to disqualify beliefs in black oppression and thus analyzed the meaning of race that had for centuries caused the persecution of “colored” people worldwide.²⁶ Du Bois attended the Congress while he was editor of *The Crisis* and based on the evidence of his attendance it can be argued that this international experience fueled his desire to pursue his work to educate the “city Negro” in Harlem. Du Bois argued that, during his time as editor, *The Crisis* “led in an [endeavor] to make American Negroes stand up for their rights, talk frankly and insistently about their wrongs, and use every lawful method of fighting race prejudice.”²⁷ Du Bois said that he would raise his race “by becoming renowned in social science and literature,” and his attendance at the Congress is exemplary of his renunciation.²⁸ Like Du Bois, many scholars had already generated a band of commentary for generations prior to concept of the Congress.

One year prior to Du Bois's attendance at the Congress, Ms. Emma F. Wallace had written an article published in the 14 May 1910 issue of the *New York Times* entitled “The Case of the Negro.”²⁹ In it, she offered a response to the race question with regard to the Black race's ability to assimilate within a White Anglo Saxon society.³⁰ Wallace said,

25. Morris, *Scholar*, 186.

26. “Universal Races Congress,” *New York Observer and Chronicle* Jul 06, 1911, 31.

27. Du Bois, *On the Present and Future*, 1.

28. Lewis, *Fight*.

29. Emma F. Wallace, “A Solution of the Race Question,” *New York Times* (1857-1922), (May 14, 1910), accessed June 5, 2016, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/97051086?accountid=13626>.

30. Ibid.

“The Negro admits as a mass inferiority by the very nature of his ambitions and his ideals all borrowed from the outward show of the white man.”³¹ In her comments, Wallace defended the ability of the Negro to assimilate into “White” (American) culture and to be treated with dignity and respect, implying that Blacks were equal to the White race.³² However, some believed that to clearly understand the magnitude of the issue of race differences and scientific theories on race and science necessitated a global platform to be heard. The First Universal Races Congress offered a much clearer definition of the race and science issue and a worldview perspective on the “Negro problem.” Du Bois further investigated this international perspective; his concern was to absorb the objectives of the meeting, which read as follows,

The object of the Congress will be to discuss in the light of science and the modern conscience, the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the West and those of the East, between *so-called* white and *so-called* colored peoples, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most-friendly feelings, and a heartier co-operation.³³

There were several reviews and restatements “in popular terms of the science in the matter of human races,” as Du Bois said, Von Lanke, Sergi, and other worldwide leaders made light of the concept of race as a scientific category drawing upon broad racial lines³⁴ Du Bois described the meeting in an editorial he wrote two months following the Congress in the 14 September 1911 issue of the *New York Observer and Chronicle* as “one of the most remarkable meetings of the times” in that, its representatives from all races convened as equals and worked cooperatively to initiate a “general relations subsisting between people of the East and the West, with a view to

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. “Universal Races Congress,” *New York Observer and Chronicle* Jul 06, 1911, 31.

34. Du Bois, “The First Universal Races Congress,” *Independent*.

encouraging among them, a fuller understanding, a more friendly feeling and heartier cooperation.”³⁵ Du Bois gave a speech at the Congress entitled “The Negro in America.”³⁶ He gave a speech with the same title seven years later in Harlem, which covered the following topics -Africa, The Negro Race, The Slave Trade, The West Indies and South America, The Colonies, The Cotton Kingdom, Emancipation and Recent Development-.³⁷ The speech given at the Congress was described by the attendees as “the most effective and inclusive address at the Congress.”³⁸ National leaders expressed gratitude and accolades for Du Bois’s inspirational words. They said, “Of the 2000 international meetings that had been previously held in the last 75 years, there have been few that have so touched the imagination as the URC [Universal Races Congress] of this summer.”³⁹ Through speeches and presentations, the Congress made clear the present state of scientific knowledge.

One speaker, Professor von Luschan, highlighted that the majority of participants at the Congress had “quite lost its “raison d’être” and “had become subject to philosophical speculation rather than of scientific research.”⁴⁰ Von Luschan argued that

35. “Universal Races Congress,” New York Observer and Chronicle (1833-1912) 89, no. 37. (September 14, 1911): 339, accessed April 14, 2016, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/136728926?accountid=13626>.

36. Ibid.

37. Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Syllabus of lectures to colored working girls, ca. July 11, 1918, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed March 30, 2017, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b011-i261>.

38. Ibid.

39. Du Bois, “The First Universal Races Congress,” *Independent*, August 24, 1911, 401.

40. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois and David Levering Lewis, *WEB Du Bois: A Reader*, (Macmillan, 1995), 45.

the number of races in the world was not a significant matter.⁴¹ “It is of no more importance to know how many races there are than to know how many angels dance on the point of a needle!”⁴² The hindrance of the “colored” and White racial relations was viewed as an impetus across the globe. Described as one of the “best” planners of the Ethical Cultural Society, Gustave Spiller, the organizer of the Congress, had labored for two years to develop this international platform.⁴³ He sought to ensure that the Congress offered a clear and concise purpose to arm national leaders with ideas on how best to address the national issue of scientific racism.⁴⁴

Named the World Grievance Committee, the Congress offered an opportunity for him and the other leaders to represent their respective countries and to bring to the forefront their notions on race and science.⁴⁵ “Such a meeting may be viewed in many lights: as a meeting of widely separated men, as a reunion of East and West, as a glance across the color line or as a sort of world grievance committee.”⁴⁶ Felix Adler, Professor of Political and Social Studies at Columbia University, had first suggested an international congress on race at a meeting of the International Union of Ethical Societies at Eisenbach in 1906, five years prior to the event.⁴⁷ The idea that bore fruit in 1909, The

41. Phil Zuckerman, *The Social Theory of WEB Du Bois* (SAGE Publications, 2004), 27.

42. Ibid.

43. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. The Races Congress. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries. (July 1911) accessed April 25th 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b216-i037>.

44. Ibid.

45. Du Bois, “The First Universal Races Congress,” *Independent*, August 24, 1911.

46. Ibid.

47. Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics*, (Cambridge University Press Archive, 1990), 44.

First Universal Races Congress, in turn started a movement of world leaders who believed that science had distorted the truth of the Negro race.

Once in a while a man voices an idea at once so simple and so tremendous that it makes an epoch. Such is likely to be Dr. Felix Adler's suggestion of a Congress of the world's races. At the Moral Education Congress in London in 1906, Dr. Adler proposed such a Congress, and in 1911 July, the first congress will be held in the University of London, London, England.⁴⁸

Adler urged the Congress to address two world problems that were at the forefront of history: "the relation of the East and West, and the relation of the White and colored races."⁴⁹

According to Adler, the race problems of 1911 were "curiously" related.⁵⁰ He noted that they involved the question of contact between civilizations such as the European and the Chinese, the question of international and interracial trade, the problem of ethics between the "colored and the white race," and the fundamental question as to what constitutes a race.⁵¹ Overseeing the proceedings was the Chairman, Rt. Hon. Lord Weardale; the Vice Chairman was Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., and the Honorable Secretary was Mr. G. Spiller, 63 South Hill Park, London, N.W.⁵² Morris wrote,

Yet, as I have argued, Du Bois, beginning in the late nineteenth century, advanced and supported with his scholarship the idea that races were socially created categories and that, despite the scientific racism of the day, blacks were not racially inferior. . . . The anthropologist Lee Baker has asserted that Du Bois

48. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. The First Universal Races Congress, ca. 1911. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed October 29, 2016. <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b212-i023>.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. Universal Races Congress. World Conference for Promoting Concord between all Divisions of Mankind, ca. 1911, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed April 10th, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b007-i078>.

“anticipated ideas of cultural relativism and the critique of ideas of racial inferiority that emerged from anthropologists at Columbia University during the 1920’s.”⁵³

The call to urgency was issued in cooperation with national leaders to incite a movement to address the “Negro problem” and to answer the claims of race and science. Serving as a guide for Du Bois’s quest to solve the “Negro problem” in the United States was a document entitled “Suggested Activities for Committees, Secretaries, and Supporters.” This document was used at the Congress. It listed twenty-one suggestions to implement change in “race understanding.”⁵⁴ Points 13, 14 and 15 encompassed the approach that Du Bois had taken took in Harlem. They read as follows:

Begin, if necessary, Inter-Racial Associations, Clubs, Free Reading Rooms, etc. but think primarily of permeation, promote Reading and Discussion Classes in colleges, associations etc., in connection with the volume of Congress papers, supply the volume of Congress papers to Free Libraries and other desirable institutions, and generally promote its circulation.⁵⁵

Described as a “truly inter-racial” and “one of the most unique gatherings,” Congress attendees came from India, China, Japan, Turkey, Persia and Egypt, including writers such as Sir Sydney Olivier, K.C.M.G., Sir Charles Bruce, G.C.M.G, and Sir Harry Johnston, G.C.M.G.⁵⁶ The U.S. contributors in attendance were Professor Felix Adler, Professor P. S. Reinsch, and Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University; Professor W. Lett Lauck and Frederick C. Croxton of the United States Immigration Commission; and Mr. Edwin D. Mead of Boston.⁵⁷ Dr. Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyea) presented a paper on

53. Morris, *Scholar*, 218.

54. “World Conference,” Du Bois Papers.

55. Ibid.

56. “Races, First Universal Congress of 1911,” *Religious Education* 6 Apr 01, 1911: 243, accessed April 4, 2016, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1296944095?accountid=13626>.

57. Ibid.

“The American Indian” and Du Bois presented a paper on the “Negro in America.”⁵⁸

Since his first encounter with Boas at Atlanta University in 1906, when he heard the speech that he called “a sudden awakening,” Du Bois had been inspired to look further into the issue of race and science to defy how history had defined the “Negro in America.” As stated by Caroline Taylor (1981), “If the Negro was not as American science defined him, then American society’s treatment of him was unconscionable.”⁵⁹

Other papers that addressed the question of race and science were presented by General Legitime of Haiti and Dr. Lacerda of Rio de Janeiro- and more importantly the United States did not have a representative of its Native peoples at the Congress.⁶⁰ The *New York Times* reported on 21 April 1911, three months prior to the Congress, that the Controller of Treasury rejected the use of the “Indian appropriation” so an American Indian could attend the Congress.⁶¹ In other words, it was decided that the Indian appropriation could not be used to cover expenses for the “First American” to attend the Congress. The article indicated that aborigines from all parts of the earth were expected to attend “but the American red man will be absent.”⁶² Du Bois and the other attendees observed how the Indian American was subjected to the same treatment as Blacks in the United States.

58. Ibid.

59. Taylor, “Challenge”.

60. Races, “First Universal Congress of 1911,” *Religious Education*.

61. “No Indian at Race Congress,” *New York Times 1857-1922*, Apr 21, 1911, 3, accessed May 10, 2016,

<http://search.proquest.com/docview/97160927?accountid=13626>.

62. Ibid.

Du Bois was among the representatives of more than 50 countries and more than thirty presidents of parliaments.⁶³ Reflecting on his experiences while attending such an “epoch” event, Du Bois wrote,

As I sat in the great hall of the University of London, I wondered how many in the audiences of five, six or seven hundred who daily braved the sweltering heat of a midsummer meeting realized how epoch making many of the words quietly spoken there were, and how far they went toward undermining long and comfortably cherished beliefs. They spoke with full realization of the prevalent attitude of Europeans towards other races.⁶⁴

Also in attendance were the majority of the members of the Parliament Court of Arbitration, the delegates to the second Hague conference, twelve British governors, eight British premiers, more than forty colonial bishops, 130 professors of international law, leading anthropologists and sociologists, officers and the majority of the Council of the Inter-parliamentarian Union, and other distinguished representatives. Renowned representatives of more than twenty civilizations gave presentations on the race groups of concern and special contributions made by each nation to the world.⁶⁵ The presenters were Felix von Luschan and Von Ranke of Germany; Sergi of Italy; Myers, Lyde, and Hayden of England; and Boas of America, all well known. Among the speakers were the scholars Seal from India and Lacerda from Brazil.⁶⁶ Scientists Finot of France and Reinsch of America presented; the central premise of their comments highlighted the significance on national views on race and science.⁶⁷ Professor Felix von Luschan, the first professor of anthropology at the University of Berlin, who wrote the

63. “Universal Races Congress,” *New York Observer and Chronicle* Jul 06, 1911.

64. Du Bois, “The First Universal Races Congress,” *Independent*, August 24, 1911, 402.

65. *Ibid.*

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.*

Anthropological View of Race, Du Bois described as reluctantly having referred to race inferiority as a “separate racial development.”⁶⁸ Von Luschan was later to reject the notion of race superiority and accepted the equality of the races.⁶⁹ Smith (2002) noted that, “Luschan rejected correlations between human physical and mental characteristics, thereby demolishing facile notions of ‘superior’ and ‘inferior’ peoples based on color and culture.”⁷⁰ Based on Du Bois writings on the Congress described in this study, Du Bois saw this as a signal to open-mindedness on thoughts of scientific racism. Although known, as contradictory at times Von Luschan, as Smith (2002) a “liberal imperialist,” who had been invited to the Congress because his views on race superiority were seen as more “liberal” than those of the other German scientist.⁷¹

Three years following the Congress, Du Bois and von Luschan remained in communication. As evidence, Du Bois expressed to von Luschan in a letter his strong desire to discuss further the issue of the “Negro problem”.⁷² Based on his social scientific study of the Philadelphia Negro (1899), Du Bois knew that “Blacks were not what American science said that they were” and needed von Luschan’s expertise to challenge this argument.⁷³ Despite von Luschan’s well-known tendency for inconsistency on the

68. Ibid.

69. John David Smith, “W.E.B. Du Bois, Felix Von Luschan, and Racial Reform at the Fin De Siècle,” *Amerikastudien / American Studies*, vol. 47, no. 1 (2002): 23-38. <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/41157700>.

70. Ibid., 25.

71. Ibid., 30.

72. W.E.B. Du Bois, 1868-1963. Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Prof. Felix Von Luschan, December 21, 1914. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed April 21, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b008-i138>.

73. “The Black Man In New York: Miss Ovington’s View That The Negro Would Rise Save For Race Prejudice,” *New York Times (1857-1922)*; Jul 2, 1911, accessed October 23, 2016, <http://Search.Proquest.Com/Docview/97134313?Accountid=13626>.

race superiority question, Du Bois considered von Luschan's work to be a possible influence on combating scientific racism in the United States.⁷⁴ Du Bois cited von Luschan as "an expert on African history and culture to justify that Africa was the cradle of world civilization."⁷⁵ Based on von Luschan's "liberal" remarks on race at the Congress, Du Bois viewed this as a sign of hope.⁷⁶ Du Bois left the Congress in disbelief that von Luschan was open to challenging the question of race superiority.⁷⁷ Du Bois was compelled to investigate further the race and science question to pursue his quest to educate the "city Negro" on Black history and culture. He did not want von Luschan to underestimate the severity of the issue, so he made sure to clarify the status of the Negro in the United States.⁷⁸ Four years following his attendance at the Congress, Du Bois wrote in a letter dated 21 December 1914 to von Luschan,

I have heard that you are in this country and I trust very much that I may see you before you return home. I am afraid that you are getting a one-sided view of the Negro problem. You must remember that in America it is arranged that foreigners should see the American side of the race difficulties. I can supply you with a good many figures and can also disabuse your mind of the assumption that American Negroes are contented. You will remember me as one of your speakers at the Races Congress."⁷⁹

Within six months, von Luschan had responded by writing to Du Bois to request his participation in a heredity study. In a letter dated 17 July 1915, von Luschan expressed to Du Bois that he wanted to inquire about a study of heredity while visiting in New York and he invited Du Bois to a lecture. Von Luschan wrote,

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid., 24.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

78. Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Prof. Felix Von Luschan, December 21, 1914. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers.

79. Ibid.

Hoping that you might remember me from the “Universal Races Congress,” London 1911 and from my paper published in the Spillern Report on this Congress I beg to tell you that Mrs. v. Luschan and myself are now in New York and that we want to study some problems connected with Heredity. We would both have a great interest to study a great number, perhaps 100 coloured families, studying their pedigree and if possible measuring and describing every single available number of such families. Such research would certainly prove not only scientific interest but would perhaps be . . . of some practical . . . value, but we are both aware that such work can only be made with the support and even only with the enthusiastic support of the coloured people. I now venture to ask you, if you are here in touch with such coloured and half-cast families and if you would be so kind as to introduce us to such families that would themselves talk interest in our research work. We shall go to St. Louis and New Orleans in about a week and will stay and will stay in the South for about a month and a half in that we would be back home in New York probably with the beginning of March. So there would be plenty of time for your kind assistance. Meanwhile I would be very much obliged to you if you would kindly help me in another way: An American painter coming from the South, told me a few days ago, that a great part of the coloured people in some of the Southern states came from South Africa and were real Tulu’s. Did you ever hear such statement and how could it be verified in scientific and definitive way. I am sure, that this is no man in the world that is more competent as such a question as yourself and I would be very much obliged for your opinion on this matter. I know, that some ships with coloured people Sansibar Coast, but never before I had heard, of real Tulu’s brought to America. I am planning a lecture with . . . on Thursday January 11th 8:15pm in Brooklyn in the Inst. of African and Science. I know this is rather far from N. Y. City but in case you should like to hear the lecture, I enclosed a card, asking to admit two. You would ride with the Brooklyn Subway express till for the East Station, Atlantic Avenue and walk one fourth North to the Academy.⁸⁰

Du Bois found in von Luschan a man with an open-minded approach to the race question. Professor von Luschan, in the early stages of his career, had worked under Adolph Bastian, a German ethnographer, and Rudolph Virchow, a German anthropologist, at the Royal Museum of Ethnology (Museum für Völkerkunde), which was established in 1873 and opened in 1886.⁸¹ Although von Luschan was a member of

80. Felix von Luschan, 1854-1924. Letter from Felix von Luschan to W. E. B. Du Bois, July 1, 1915. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries. accessed June 5, 2016. <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b009-i090>.

81. Smith, “W.E.B. Du Bois, Felix von Luschan”.

the German Society for Racial Hygiene, in his writings he rejected the “rising ideas of scientific racism” and stressed the equality of the human races.⁸² Du Bois noted von Luschan’s assertion,

Mankind is one: fair and dark races, long and short head, intelligent, and primitive, all come from one stock. Favorable circumstances and surroundings, especially a good environment, cause one group to advance more quickly than another.⁸³

Professor von Luschan promoted cultural relativism and challenged established philosophies of “superior” and “inferior” peoples based on race.⁸⁴ According to von Luschan, “People differed because of environmental, historical, social and, less significantly, biological forces.”⁸⁵ He argued that the so-called “primitive” races were not essentially inferior to the so-called “civilized” races.⁸⁶ Moreover, he questioned: “I am still seriously convinced that certain white men may be on a lower intellectual and moral level than certain coloured Africans.”⁸⁷ Considered to be contradictory at times, von Luschan later labeled both the colored and the White race as each inferior in some respects.⁸⁸ Opposed to the genetic inferiority argument, von Luschan based his theory of inferiority on behavior classifications instead of genetic makeup.⁸⁹ Du Bois viewed this apparent evolution of von Luschan as progress. As noted by John David Smith (2002), it was in 1882 that von Luschan considered “men as one species, and the differences as just

82. Ibid.

83. Du Bois, “The First Universal Races Congress,” *Independent*, August 24, 1911, 401.

84. Smith, “W.E.B. Du Bois, Felix von Luschan.”

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid., 24.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid., 37.

a variety of one and the same species.”⁹⁰ In London, von Luschan repeated his remarks before the Congress; Du Bois judged this the most “promising meeting of racial theorists assembled.”⁹¹

Boas, who first inspired Du Bois in 1906 with a speech at Atlanta University and who attended the Congress, was an active member of the scientific community in Harlem, New York.⁹² As a German-born anthropologist, he was deeply rooted in the philosophical institutions of his native land and was a prominent opponent of scientific racism.⁹³ Dr. von Luschan presented an anthropological view on race that Du Bois witnessed at the Congress. His comments were in line with Du Bois’s social scientific studies conducted at Atlanta University. He said,

By what criterion can we distinguish between “savage races” and “civilized races”? Colour? Beauty? Cleanliness? Decency? Ability to write? Power of abstract? And Reflection? Science is abandoning these points of view and recognizes the monogenetic origin of humanity. White races and Black races, dolichocephalic and brachycephalic all of them come from the same stock, and inter-marrying in all directions. Circumstances, the environment have caused some to advance more rapidly than others. When this is recognized we may distinguish three principal varieties, the ancient Indio European race, the African race, and the Asiatic race of the east, diverging from each other in the course of thousands of years, but all of the same stock and intermarrying in all directions. There has always and everywhere been a constant mingling in consequence of invasion, conquest, commercial relations.⁹⁴

Boas and von Luschan, both respected by Du Bois, had met as young men when von Luschan was working as an assistant at the Museum of Ethnology (Museum für

90. Smith, “*W.E.B. Du Bois, Felix Von Luschan*,” 24.

91. *Ibid.*, 24.

92. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*.

93. *Ibid.*

94. Universal Races Congress, First Universal Races Congress pamphlet, 1911, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries: 3, accessed December 27, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b007-i068>.

Völkerkunde).⁹⁵ There, the two developed a close friendship and found that they held similar philosophies on scientific racism, as depicted in their writings.⁹⁶ Both men made a significant impression on Du Bois.⁹⁷ As scientists of European descent, both viewed the “Negro question” as one of the most “troubling issues” in America. This was groundbreaking in the eyes of Du Bois, as it buttressed his challenge to face the “Negro problem” in Harlem.⁹⁸

Many years later, John David Smith (2002) made an analysis of the writings of anthropologist George W. Stocking, Jr. Smith noted Stocking took into consideration the significance of the Negro question and the issue of scientific racism, as it weighed heavily on the merits of American society. According to Smith, Stockings wrote, “Boas’s critique of racism was without a doubt more systematically developed.”⁹⁹ There appeared to be no solution to the problem in the near future;¹⁰⁰ however, for Du Bois, with acknowledgement by Boas and von Luschan, this qualified the notion that scientific racism inaccurately defined the ability characteristics of the Negro race.¹⁰¹ In the Gustav Spiller papers on inter-racial problems the communications report at the Congress, recorded Boas and Seal highlighting that emerging theories of “the old idea of the absolute stability of racial types must evidently be given up; and with it the belief in the

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid.

97. Ibid.

98. Smith, “W.E.B. Du Bois, Felix von Luschan,” 29.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid.

heredity superiority of certain types over others.”¹⁰² Du Bois wrote of his participation in the discussion on the consideration that of race as based on unchangeable accomplished facts.¹⁰³ Du Bois said,

Especial insistence was made against regarding races as unchangeable accomplished facts; they were in the words of Boas, and Seal, “growing developing entities,” and the growing idea of the absolute stability of racial types must evidently; be giving up; and with the belief in the heredity superiority of certain types over others.¹⁰⁴

Like von Luschan, Du Bois wrote, “In physique, said Seal, quoting Weisbach “each race has its share of the characteristics of inferiority”¹⁰⁵ and that it was unreasonable to think that humans could be grouped according to scales of physical characteristics.¹⁰⁶ Other anthropologists in attendance at the Congress agreed and emphasized that physical and social environment were the main contributors to race differences, not biology.¹⁰⁷

When Du Bois attended the Congress, he met with world leaders on the problem of ethics between the colored and White races and discussed the fundamental question of race superiority. Du Bois wrote of his recollections of the meeting, “The proofs of these assumptions have been repeatedly pointed out; the high civilizations of the whites, the lack of culture among the blacks the apparent capacity for self rule in many non Europeans, and the stagnation of Asia.”¹⁰⁸

102. Gustav Spiller, ed. Papers on inter-racial problems: communicated to the First Universal Races Congress, held at the University of London, July 26-29, 1911, vol. 1. PS King & Son, 1911: 4.

103. Du Bois, “The First Universal Races Congress, *Independent*, August 24, 1911.

104. Ibid., 402.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid.

Serving as the Honorary Secretary on behalf of the United States, Du Bois examined the issue with several international leaders. His attendance and participation in the Congress make evident his desire to gain direction on how best to approach the predominant issue of the day: the question of Black intellectual inferiority. Exemplified by his attendance at the Congress, Du Bois strived to address the race question related to science that had contributed to the oppression of the Negro race for generations.¹⁰⁹

Du Bois wrote,

There were practically no reports of new anthropological knowledge. There were however, several reviews, and restatements in popular terms of the present dicta of the science in the matter of human races, expressed with a clearness, force and authority that deserve especial attention.¹¹⁰

Every race and nation was represented at the Congress by some of its leading men. Leaders from around the world received invitations to the meeting. The Congress was described as a “success” in that representatives from all races convened “as equals.”¹¹¹ They worked cooperatively to address the issue of science and race prejudices and to create a more positive and amicable relationship between the “Western nations and other peoples of the earth.”¹¹²

Du Bois was aware that scientific belief in racial inferiority and superiority in the Negro and White races was built on the assumption of differences between the races. He highlighted in his writings that the Whites signified the “higher nobler stock” and the

109. “Universal Races Congress,” *New York Observer and Chronicle* Jul 06, 1911.

110. Du Bois, “The First Universal Races Congress,” *Independent*, August 24, 1911, 401.

111. *Ibid.*

112. *Ibid.*

Blacks the “lower meaning, meaner race.”¹¹³ The disenfranchisement of American Negroes, the subjection of India, and the partition of Africa all emerged from the same or similar notions about the races that science used to justify discrimination and that Du Bois would later challenge.¹¹⁴ A typed draft of a 1911 article that explained the discussions that took place included the following:

For everyday purposes we may conveniently divide mankind into the white, black and yellow families. All history tells the sad tale of their wars and jealousies; and later history also tells the tale of a dawning sense of one-ness. The white conscience awakening to its duty calls to the black and yellow bretheren to make closer acquaintance and render mutual faith and mutual aid, once virtues of the parish, hence-forward virtues of the planet.¹¹⁵

The anthropologists in attendance at the Congress did not hesitate to state their views on the common ideology that Europeans held toward the Negro race and other races, that the Law of Nature justified human slavery, conquest, enforced ignorance, dishonoring of women, and exploitation of children, with the conclusion that non-Europeans must be ruled because they were unfit for self-governing.¹¹⁶ Du Bois travelled overseas seas with an intent to examine White European rule and control of capitalist societies. To capture this intention, Morris (2015) wrote, “As Du Bois surveyed the globe, he focused on a specific phenomenon that enabled European societies to build capitalist empires: the colonization, exploitation, and domination of peoples of color.”¹¹⁷

Boas and von Luschan had significant influence on Du Bois’s scientific thinking and his desire to pursue the education of the Negro race on Black history in Harlem. Du

113. W.E.B. Du Bois. “The First Universal Races Congress,” *Independent*.

114. *Ibid*.

115. Du Bois, “The First Universal Races Congress,” ca. 1911.

116. *Ibid*.

117. Morris, *Scholar*, 155.

Bois wrote that the Congress documented its opinion with regards to race differences by “urging the vital importance at this juncture of history of discontinuance in race prejudice, as tending to inflict on human in calculable harmed, and as based upon generalizations unworthy of an enlightened and progressive age.”¹¹⁸ By the early 1900s, Du Bois had emerged as a prominent leader in the scientific community and pursued his quest to follow the direction set by the Congress. Morris (2015) wrote,

Du Bois’s scientific school rejected the grand theorizing of nineteenth century sociology and embraced empirical research utilizing inductive method. The novel conceptual frame of Du Bois’s scientific school maintained that social conditions generated by racial prejudice and discrimination were dominant in determining racial outcomes. This argument directly challenged the dominant paradigm—scientific racism—which maintained that racial inequality resulted from genetics and inherited racial traits. In contrast, at a time when races were considered natural, Du Bois’s school viewed them as socially constructed categories and held that they could not be ranked according to natural hierarchies.¹¹⁹

Du Bois became a strong proponent of educating the “city Negro” on Black history and culture to challenge the notion that Blacks were intellectually inferior to the White race. Du Bois believed that following systematic attempts during slavery to dehumanize and delegitimize the African peoples, the era of scientific racism had strengthened its efforts, thus calling for leaders to educate Blacks on their history.

Racism in the early twentieth century was grounded in scientific theory. Du Bois worked with Boas and von Luschan at the First Universal Races Congress to combat this theory. In the abstract of papers from the first session of the Congress, entitled “The Meaning of Race, Tribe and Nation, Dr. Brajandranath Seal, from India, said,

Let us consider the morphological characters which distinguish races; most of them useful as they are discriminating between different physical types, do not in

118. W.E. Burghardt, Du Bois, “The First Universal Races Congress,” *Independent*, 403.

119. Morris, *Scholar*, 185.

the least establish the superiority or inferiority of the races in question; every race has its share of inferior characters; the Caucasian type for example is at the opposite extreme to the ape in regard to the nose, but diverges from the human type, and approaches that of the ape in regards to the development of the hair'.¹²⁰

Du Bois recorded the comments from Gustav Spiller, the secretary of the Congress. From the papers submitted to the Congress and from his own studies, Gustav stated that a fair interpretation of the scientific evidence would support these propositions. Du Bois said,

It is not legitimate to argue from differences in physical characteristics to difference in mental characteristics.¹²¹

Physical and mental characteristics of races are not permanent, nor are they modifiable only thru long ages. On the contrary they are capable of being profoundly modified in a few generations by changes in education, public sentiment, and environment generally.¹²²

The status of a race at any given time offers no index as to its innate or inherited capabilities.¹²³

During the sixth session, Du Bois spoke on the Negro race in the United States. In his speech he said,

The negroes number about 10 million in the United States most of them descend from former slaves. They live under the present time under a system of theoretical liberty, but it is restricted in practice by certain legal dispositions toward family life, in so far as they are enabled to enjoy it, and to education. They have churches of their own. About two hundred thousand of them are farmers, and fifty thousand are engaged in commerce or the liberal professions. Their situations is most distressing, in the south, where they suffer incapacity, injustice in the courts of law, economic restrictions, discourtesy in public, etc. But seventy five percent of

120. Universal Races Congress, First Universal Races Congress pamphlet, 1911, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed January 5, 2017.

<http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b007-i068>.

121. "First Universal Races Congress," The Independent (New York, N.Y.), ca. 1915. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). accessed August 5, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b163-i006>; Gustav Spiller, ed. Papers on inter-racial problems.

122. Ibid.

123. Ibid.

the negroes live in the south. One theory proposes that they should emancipate themselves by acquiring wealth, but it would seem that intellectual emancipation should proceed hand in hand with economic independence.¹²⁴

These comments and the display of this type of confirmation from others both supported and strengthened Du Bois's own input, which was valued by the attendees.

Due to his highly praised participation at the Congress, Du Bois was invited to attend the second Races Congress held in Paris in 1915 four years after this first Congress.¹²⁵

However honored Du Bois was by the invitation, he had to pass on making a commitment to attend.¹²⁶ He sent his regrets to Joseph Booth concerning his inability to visit England and the Congress. On 12 June 1914 Du Bois wrote to Booth,

Your kind letter and Mr. Dube's reached me too late for me to think to go to England. Possible if I had had a few month's notice I might have arranged. Please, begin, however, and arrange a very large and representative delegation for the Races Congress Paris 1915. I should be glad to hear from you at any time.¹²⁷

Despite his inability to attend the Races Congress in Paris in 1915, he offered input on the proofs that were developed for the program.¹²⁸ In a letter dated 12 June 1914, he wrote to Jules Rais.

I thank you very much for the proofs of the program of the Races Congress in 1915. If possible I shall be present but this is by no means certain. I think it would be well to set the exact date of the meeting as soon as possible.¹²⁹

124. Ibid.

125. Ibid.

126. Ibid.

127. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Joseph Booth, June 12, 1914, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed August 5, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b007-i212>.

128. Ibid.

129. Du Bois, "The First Universal Races Congress," *Independent*, August 24, 1911, 402.

Du Bois supported the suggestion to hold a Races Congress in India. Honored by his experience at the Races Congress in London in 1911, he sought to spread this idea to new territory. Full of insight on race and science and much better equipped to develop the framework needed to educate his people on Black history, Du Bois wrote to H. G. E. Zacharias on 17 February 1922,

I think a Races Congress in India would be a very excellent thing and I should be very glad to say so in *The Crisis*. Of course unless it could get tremendous influence back of it the English government would object and other government passports. I should be very glad to do anything I could to further such a movement.¹³⁰

Years later, as a guest speaker at the University of Chicago's Rockefeller Memorial chapel, Du Bois proclaimed that prejudice and economic oppression could not be defended through logic or fact. He stated that history was replete with evidence pointing to the contributions of the Black man in world civilizations and proceeded to examine the scientific term *Nordic superiority*. He concluded, "The attempt to evaluate a man's intellectual capacity through the color of the skin is an absolute absurdity."¹³¹

Du Bois corresponded with people from all parts of the world, offering information and advice concerning race problems. He had not long resided in Harlem when he attended this First Universal Races Congress of 1911 and he laid claim to some of the most notable contributions in history that would change the trajectory of the manner in which Blacks were educated on Negro history and culture for generations.

130. Ibid.; 402.

131. "Dr. Du Bois Raps 'Nordic Superiority' in Address," (1939, Feb 18). *The Chicago Defender (National Edition) (1921-1967):E6*, accessed August 5, 2016, accessed June 4, 2016.

<http://Search.Proquest.Com.Proxy.Libraries.Rutgers.Edu/Docview/492539271?Accountid=13626>.

CHAPTER 3: THE AGE OF THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE:

DU BOIS AND THE 135TH STREET BRANCH LIBRARY

The Harlem Renaissance was the name given to the cultural, social, and artistic explosion that took place in Harlem between the end of World War I and the middle of the 1930s. During this period Harlem was a cultural center, drawing black writers, artists, musicians, photographers, poets, and scholars. Many had come from the South, fleeing its oppressive caste system in order to find a place where they could freely express their talents. . . . W.E.B. Du Bois encouraged talented artists to leave the South. Du Bois, then the editor of *THE CRISIS* magazine, the journal of the NAACP, was at the height of his fame and influence in the black community. *THE CRISIS* published the poems, stories, and visual works of many artists of the period. The Renaissance was more than a literary movement: It involved racial pride, fueled in part by the militancy of the “New Negro” demanding civil and political rights. The Renaissance incorporated jazz and the blues, attracting whites to Harlem speakeasies, where interracial couples danced. But the Renaissance had little impact on breaking down the rigid barriers of Jim Crow that separated the races. While it may have contributed to a certain relaxation of racial attitudes among young whites, perhaps its greatest impact was to reinforce race pride among blacks.¹

Du Bois had been living in Harlem for one year when he attended the First Universal Races Congress in 1911. This was a time during the early stages of the Harlem Renaissance in which a cultural movement of striking literary, artistic, and musical contributions made by Du Bois and other Black leaders from across the nation ensued.² As a Harlem resident, it was a period for Du Bois to participate actively in the effort to challenge, as Du Bois stated, “how the silence and neglect of science” had suppressed and distorted the truth on the history of the Black race.³ He flourished in the urban environment to offer community support and to “reinforce race pride among blacks.”⁴ The renaissance brought on increased publication opportunities for aspiring and new writers, myriad social networks, and most important, development of a new cultural

1. Wormser, PBS, “The Harlem Renaissance (1917-1935).”

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.; Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*, xxxi.

4. Ibid.

awareness of which the Black race had been robbed.⁵ Living in Harlem during this time provided an opportunity to learn more about what it meant to be Black in America. It provided an opportunity for Blacks to be educated outside of the schools on Negro history and culture. Du Bois became an integral part of this movement.

During the Harlem Renaissance, Du Bois, as a resident, engaged the scientific community on both domestic and international fronts. The words spoken by Franz Boas in 1906, “Few today are interested in Negro history because they feel the matter already settled: The Negro has no history,”⁶ sparked a realization in Du Bois that to combat the conclusions of science, Negro history should not be ashamed of its African past. He participated in the library’s book clubs, speaker forums, and theater movement to educate Blacks outside of the schools to carry out this realization.⁷

Alan D. Morris (2015) contended that W. E. B. Du Bois made a unique contribution to American sociology in the early years of the twentieth century. The contribution, founded on the idea that sociology was an empirical science, consisted of producing community studies and theoretical formulations based on empirical methodology, which guided Du Bois to address the “Negro problem” in Harlem. Du Bois said that he would raise his race by “becoming renowned in social science and literature.”⁸ His role during this period in Harlem was to educate the masses on Negro

5. Ethelene Whitmire, “Breaking the Color Barrier: Regina Andrews and the New York Public Library,” *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 42, no. 4 (2007): 409-21, accessed March 3, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25549439>.

6. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*, xxxi.

7. Ibid.

8. Lewis, *Fight*, 398.

history and culture to vindicate Africa and people of African descent from the White racist “pseudoscientific scholarship” of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁹

The early establishment of a professional working relationship with Arturo Schomburg, Library Curator at the 135th Street Branch Library, prior to moving to Harlem played an integral part in his ability eventually to utilize the urban space for his own agenda.¹⁰ Sinnette (1989) implied in her book that the relationship between Du Bois and Schomburg could have influenced Du Bois’s connection to the 135th Street Branch Library.¹¹ Her research supports the conclusion that the two men had a common belief in the collection and dissemination of Black history and culture as evidence to combat scientific racism and the belief in Black intellectual inferiority. They worked together to develop written materials that are identified later in this study.¹²

Du Bois’ relationship with Schomburg, described as a “lasting association,” began in 1904, five years prior to Du Bois’s move to Harlem in 1909, while Du Bois was residing in Atlanta and conducting social scientific studies on the urban Black for Atlanta University.¹³ Through the years before, during and after Schomburg’s position as curator of the 135th Street Branch, the two maintained frequent communication via letters.¹⁴ Schomburg would contact Du Bois and vice versa via letter and encouraged him regarding a possible partnership to make public materials related to Black history and

9. Taylor, “Challenge,” 459.

10. Bean, “Racial Peculiarities”.

11. Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*.

12. Ibid.

13. Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*.

14. Ibid.

culture.¹⁵ In one of his correspondences, Schomburg offered his services to gather materials for publishing.¹⁶ Schomburg, known as the “Black bibliophile” and “collector” of the early twentieth century, shared a vision with Du Bois and studied the present and past history of the Black race.¹⁷ Coincidentally, within one year following their initial acquaintance in 1905, with the goal of providing Black history and cultural studies to accommodate the new mass Black population outside of the schools, the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library was established.¹⁸

The sometimes adversarial aspects of the relationship between Du Bois and Schomburg might have been due to the significant differences in their educational preparation.¹⁹ Du Bois was a scholar with a doctorate from Harvard University; Schomburg, who was considered an amateur as an historical writer, had not earned any degree.²⁰ He had attended high school, although there were no records of him obtaining a diploma and he was self-taught.²¹ Nonetheless, Du Bois and Schomburg had a mutual respect and worked toward a common goal.²² As did Du Bois, Schomburg devoted his life’s work to educating the Black race on Black history and culture to challenge

15. Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, 1874-1938. Letter from Arthur A. Schomburg to W. E. B. Du Bois, ca. July 15, 1930. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed December 2, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b187-i245>.

16. Ibid.; Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*.

17. Ibid.

18. Jenkins, “*A White Librarian in Black Harlem*”.

19. Ibid.; Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

scientific racist ideology in Harlem.²³ He was committed to dispelling the notion that Blacks were intellectually inferior to the White race.

In 1909, at the start of the migration of Blacks from the South to cities, Du Bois left Atlanta and moved to Harlem. Within a year of his arrival, he co-founded the NAACP (in 1906) and secured a job as head communication director and editor of the organization's magazine, *The Crisis*. He served as editor from 1910 to 1930.²⁴ The magazine, which played a major role in stimulating Blacks to demand racial equality, was an outgrowth of the miniature magazine called *The Horizon* ("the sun is rising").²⁵ Prior from 1907 to 1910, Du Bois had published an issue of *The Horizon* in Washington, DC, with two colleagues.²⁶ Mrs. Graham Du Bois wrote in her journal of this experience,

In conjunction with L. M. Hershaw and F. H. M. Murray, Du Bois published from 1907 to 1910, a small magazine called *The Horizon*. It served as something of an organ for intellectuals who had been a part of the Niagara Movement. *The Horizon* ceased publication when *The Crisis* was born in the fall of 1910.²⁷

To get the first copy of *The Crisis* published, Du Bois worked diligently with a White executive officer of the NAACP, William E. Walling of Stamford, Connecticut.²⁸ In his letter dated 19 August 1910, Du Bois told Walling that he had had a successful meeting with Mr. Villard on the "publication scheme" of the magazine and that all that

23. Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, 1874–1938, *Contemporary Black Biography*, Encyclopedia.com, accessed November 22, 2016, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/education/news-wires-white-papers-and-books/schomburg-arthur-alfonso-1874-1938>.

24. Elliott M. Rudwick, "WEB Du Bois in the Role of Crisis Editor," *The Journal of Negro History* 43, no. 3, 1958: 214-240.

25. Ibid: 236.; Du Bois, "On the Present and Future," 1.

26. Ibid.

27. Graham, Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 40.

28. W. E. B. DuBois (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to William E. Walling, August 19, 1910. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed September 1, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b004-i010>.

was needed was approval by the “Executive Committee.”²⁹ The NAACP Meeting Minutes dated 11 October 1910 indicate that the Executive Committee reviewed the impending publication of *The Crisis*, its committee structure, and all other general organizational business that needed to be addressed at that time.³⁰ The committee met at the executive offices of the NAACP at 20 Vesey Street, New York.³¹ The members present at the meeting, as noted in the minutes, were Mrs. Keyser, Miss Ovington, Mrs. McClean, Dr. Bulkley, Mr. Du Bois, Dr. Holmes, Dr. Brooks, Dr. Mossell, Dr. Powell, Dr. Sinclair, Mr. Villard, and Dr. Waller.³²

Mr. Villard in the Chair. Minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. Mr. Du Bois reported for the Department of Publicity and Research. He stated that the editorials of the *Crisis* had been sent by mail to the Executive Committee and that the whole manuscript was ready for inspection.³³

Located in Suite 610 at 20 Vesey Street in New York City, *The Crisis* seemed an appropriate name for its publication, as it had signified the extremely critical condition of race relations.³⁴ Mrs. Graham Du Bois (1978) wrote of her husband’s position at *The Crisis*, “The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People opened its

29. W. E. B. DuBois (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to William E. Walling, August 19, 1910. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed September 1, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b004-i010>.

30. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Meeting Minutes of the Executive Committee of the NAACP, October 11, 1910. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 1, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b004-i017>.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.; Rudwick, “W.E.B. Du Bois in the Role of *Crisis* Editor”.

34. “The *Crisis*: A Record of the Darker Races,” vol. 2, no. 1 Du Bois, W. E. Burghardt, ed. New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1911-05, accessed December 12, 2016, <http://library.brown.edu/pdfs/1308146968781125.pdf>.

offices in New York City at 20 Vesey Street. Here, Du Bois was given office space for the Crisis and his small staff.”³⁵

Du Bois first lived in the Dunbar Housing Cooperative (also known as the Dunbar Apartments) among the elites of the pre-renaissance period, twenty blocks from the 135th Street Branch Library.³⁶

He brought Nina [Du Bois’s first wife] and Yolanda [his daughter] to New York where they moved into temporary housing in Brooklyn with a former Wilberforce student Charles Burroughs. Later they moved into New York City where they took an apartment in the new Paul Lawrence Dunbar Housing Cooperative [located at 246 West 150th Street, New York, NY]. It was the beginning of a long association.³⁷

The Dunbar Apartments, in which Du Bois resided with his first wife, Nina, was named after the Black poet Paul Lawrence Dunbar.³⁸ The Dunbar Apartments were built to accommodate the growing Black population in Harlem.³⁹ The structure consisted of six buildings; it was New York’s first garden-style apartment complex. It initiated the movement to build tenements in Harlem to accommodate the post-World War II population shift to New York City. Nancy C. Curtis (1996) noted, “It was the first large cooperative in New York built for Black residents.”⁴⁰ Curtis (1996) described the six structures as containing 511 apartments, occupying “an entire block” in Harlem.⁴¹ As did

35. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 42.

36. Nancy C. Curtis, *Black Heritage Sites: An African American Odyssey and Finder’s Guide* (American Library Association, 1996); T. Gentry, “Paul Laurence Dunbar,” In *Encyclopedia of the Harlem Renaissance*, edited by Sandra L. West, 259-260, Holloway House Publishing, Infobase Publishing, 2003.

37. Ibid.; Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 42.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., 344.

41. Ibid.

Du Bois, Black American “achievers” once lived in the apartments.⁴² Built by John D. Rockefeller in 1926 to 1928, the Dunbar Apartments once were occupied by such notables as Countee Cullen, an award-winning poet; A. Phillip Randolph, who led the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and who was a civil rights activist; Paul Robeson, actor and stage performer; Bell (Bojangles) Robinson, film actor and dancer; and Matthew Alexander Henson, the first Black Arctic explorer.⁴³

In 1909, the first time that he moved to Harlem, he left Atlanta due to funding difficulties at the Sociological Laboratory at Atlanta University.⁴⁴ Morris (2015) noted that Du Bois seemed to confirm this when he wrote to *The Inquirer* thirty years later, in 1939. He said in the article, “I left Atlanta because my work of scientific investigation of the Negro problem did not find sufficient financial support.”⁴⁵ At Atlanta University, a continued financial strain was placed on his ability to conduct his studies on the Negro race.⁴⁶ Morris (2015) described the manner in which Du Bois functioned as a sociologist within a racist society when most of his studies were unsupported, resulting in the termination of his efforts.

Du Bois operated on the periphery of American higher education in Atlanta, as he battled intellectual obscurity and a dearth of resources. Few elite scientists were aware of his pioneering sociological laboratory or the sociology department he had developed there, even though it was only the third established in the country. Du Bois’s pioneering contributions were remarkable despite the chronic funding shortages he confronted while working in the hinterlands of higher education.⁴⁷

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. Baker, *Savage*; Morris, *Scholar*.

45. Baker, *Savage*, 187.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., 185.

Based on his desire to educate Blacks beyond industrial education, as was argued by arch opponent Booker T. Washington, Du Bois did not garner the same level of support from White philanthropists for his research studies. White financial backers had chiefly favored the model of industrial educational training for Blacks, as offered at Tuskegee University under Washington's direction.⁴⁸ Morris (2015) wrote in support of this analysis, "The centerpiece of Du Bois's scholarship was an account of his historical political confrontation with Booker T. Washington regarding effective routes to black liberation."⁴⁹

However, the model developed by Washington ignored the future of Blacks in cities, in particular.⁵⁰ It mostly focused on Blacks who had resided in the rural South. Morris wrote (2015),

His difficulties raising research funds arose not only from his marginalized position but from ideological factors: his race perspective differed from that of elite white founders and Booker T. Washington. White funders were comfortable with founding Booker But Du Bois's bedrock principle that black people were not inferior and should be treated as social equals and that science could be utilized to prove these propositions was not palatable to white funders.⁵¹

Du Bois moved to Harlem during the early stages of the mass migration of the Black population from the South to northern cities, three years following his "sudden awakening" based on Boas's speech. He relocated to the urban Black Mecca in the United States to carry out his realization that to educate Blacks on their Negro history and culture that had been silenced and neglected by science was vital to change the trajectory of the race.

48. Ibid.

49. Morris, *Scholar*, xiii.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., 185.

When he arrived in Harlem, the demographics of the city were changing rapidly due to Blacks fleeing the South in search of opportunities in northern cities. This period, known as the Great Migration, opened a window of opportunity for Du Bois to reach the “urban” Black population in massive numbers. His goal was to position himself at the forefront of this movement.

In 1910, Du Bois gave a speech on the current conditions of Blacks in cities. He spoke of the migration of “Black Americans” to urban areas and the results of their economic and racial conditions.⁵² He explained what had transpired at the dawn of the decade in 1900, ten years prior to his speech. Du Bois said to the audience, “[In] 1900 twenty-three percent of the Negro population or about two million people lived in cities and towns.”⁵³ He noted that about one and a half million Black Americans lived in cities of “eight thousand or more inhabitants; while in the large cities of one hundred thousand there were about 650,000 persons of Negro descent.”⁵⁴ He drew a comparison between Blacks and Whites living in cities and concluded that due to their poor condition in cities, Blacks were better suited to remain in rural areas.⁵⁵ Du Bois said, “As compared with the white population, therefore, the Negroes are essentially a country people and there are those among them who argue that they should remain as such.”⁵⁶ Du Bois focused

52. Du Bois, *The city Negro*, ca. 1910, Du Bois Papers.

53. *Ibid.*, 1.

54. *Ibid.*

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*

attention on Harlem, located in the heart of Manhattan and considered to be one of the most beautiful and healthful sections of the city.⁵⁷

Mrs. Graham Du Bois (1978) referred to this second move to Harlem when he returned in 1934 to join the NAACP as “necessary.” In her journal she said, “It was *necessary* for Dr. Du Bois to relocate his residence to New York City.”⁵⁸ She noted her husband’s comments on his second transition to Harlem and hints to the Harlem Renaissance.⁵⁹ She wrote,

I was now on the staff of the NAACP so I made finding an apartment for my idol my special project. I was fortunate. . . . Only recently had important Blacks municipal judges, musicians, city officials; and the building presented a clean polished elegance.⁶⁰

Mrs. Graham Du Bois noted that the top floor apartment was reserved for her husband and that he resided in this building for the next six years. She recalled his comments on his residential accommodations:

I had set my mind on 409 Edgecombe, a building physically, and psychologically, at the top of Harlem. . . . Through the windows of the sitting room and bedroom was a magnificent view of the Hudson River, the Palisades, the entire span of the George Washington Bridge, and far below, blocks of city streets.⁶¹

It is important to note that Du Bois lived in Harlem from 1909 until the mid-1930s, during which time he served as editor of *The Crisis Magazine*, attended the First Universal Races Congress in 1911, and while he pursued his contributions at the 135th

57. Special to the Washington Post, “Negroes Establish A World Capital In New York’s Harlem.” The Washington Post (1923-1954), Mar 01, 1925, accessed March 4, 2016, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/149597805?Accountid=13626>, E4.

58. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 70.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid., 70.

61. Ibid.

Street Branch Library. All of these events are intertwined as they depict an era in which Du Bois actively engaged to educate the race on Negro history and culture.

Relative to this study is his position as editor at *The Crisis*, as this information provides insight into the link between Du Bois and the 135th Street Branch Library. *The Crisis* was the link between Du Bois, Ernestine Rose and Arturo Schomburg. Schomburg however, had known and worked with Du Bois on endeavors concerning *The Crisis* and seeking assistance with his own educational preparation to become an historian, before his position at the library from as early as 1904.⁶² After years of establishing himself amongst the writers and historians of the time, Schomburg would eventually become library curator from 1932 until his death in 1938.⁶³ Miss Rose, who served as head librarian from 1920 to 1942 sought Du Bois's work at *The Crisis* for the purposes of the library.⁶⁴ Du Bois and Regina Andrews Anderson, first assistant librarian at the 135th Street Branch in 1924, had also established a connection with Du Bois.⁶⁵ As made evident through archival letters to be further explained in this study, all of these relationships led to an eventual partnership to become one of the most notable contributions of Du Bois to the 135th Street library's Negro history and culture educational pursuits-The KRIGWA PLAYERS Little Negro Theatre.

62. Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*.

63. Ibid.; New York Public Library. Letter from New York Public Library (Ernestine Rose) to W. E. B. Du Bois, October 4, 1922, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed April 10, 2016 <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b020-i014>.

64. "Miss Ernestine Rose Appointed." *The Chicago Defender (Big Weekend Edition)* (1905-1966), 2, Jun 19, 1920. Accessed April 4, 2016, <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/docview/493422730?accountid=13626>.

65. Whitmire. "Breaking the Color Barrier".

Many writers consulted Du Bois on his analysis of the “urban Negro problem” or the “city Negro” in Harlem.⁶⁶ Du Bois said that, as editor, he “led in an [endeavor] to make American Negroes stand up for their rights, talk frankly and insistently about their wrongs, and use every lawful method of fighting race prejudice.”⁶⁷ From 1910 to 1930, as editor of *The Crisis*, based on archival letters, Du Bois was consistently in touch with the library’s staff to realize his purpose, formulated after hearing Boas’s speech in 1906, which he categorized as the “sudden awakening” regarding “how silence and neglect of science” had suppressed and distorted Negro history, thus calling for an urgency to educate the race on their Negro history and culture.⁶⁸ Du Bois exercised his self-proclaimed “editorial independence” and wrote liberally of the accomplishments, mistreatments, and social order against Blacks across the country.⁶⁹

In an effort to educate the community on Black issues, something that the Harlem Renaissance was attempting to overshadow, Du Bois used the power of the stage to educate the masses on the Negro problems of America.⁷⁰ Mrs. Graham Du Bois (1978) wrote about how in 1934 the NAACP Board of Directors reflected on Du Bois’s work on *The Crisis*.

In 1934 the Board of Directors of the NAACP said that, “the ideas he [Du Bois] propounded in *The Crisis* and in his books and essays transformed the Negro world as well as a large portion of the liberal white world, so that the whole problem of the relation of black and white races has ever since had a completely new orientation. He created what never existed before, a Negro intelligentsia, and

66. Mary White Ovington, 1865-1951. Letter from Mary White Ovington to W. E. B. Du Bois, October 7, 1904. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed December 1, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b004-i254>.

67. Du Bois, “On the Present and Future,” 1.

68. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*.

69. Du Bois, “On the Present and Future,” 1; Lewis, *Fight*.

70. Ibid.

many who have never read a word of his writings are his spiritual disciples and descendants.⁷¹

During his time as editor of *The Crisis* (1910–1930), Du Bois proclaimed that his articles in the magazine were used to refute scientific racist theories of Black inferiority. Du Bois said, “This is the lie which *The Crisis* is here to refute. It is a lie, a miserable and shameful lie, which some black men have helped . . . to spread and been well paid for their pains.”⁷² Whites’ assumptions about the Negro demanded refutation.

Du Bois knew of the gravity of this period, which was to reclaim the race and thus he concluded that this was much more than an artistic movement; it was a time of the emancipation of the race and an opportunity to build on their “cultural capital,” a term coined by Pierre Bourdieu (1986).⁷³ For Bourdieu, cultural capital reinforces social class and schools unevenly and distributes cultural capital across socioeconomic groups, thereby perpetuating the domination of those in the “upper class,” for example, Whites during this period of predominant scientific racist theory.⁷⁴ Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital and social reproduction—reproducing social inequalities in society—when applied to race and class equality and how they relate to particular forms of cultural knowledge (music, art, and literature) are passed on by families and schools.⁷⁵ There are three forms of capital: financial, cultural, and social; this study highlights cultural capital.⁷⁶ The three forms of cultural capital are the embodied state, objective state, and

71. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, xi.

72. Taylor, “Challenge,” 455.

73. Ibid.; Imre Szeman, and Timothy Kaposy, *Cultural Theory: An Anthology* (John Wiley & Sons, 2010).

74. Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital (1986),” In *Cultural theory: An Anthology* eds. Imre Szeman and Timothy Kiposy (John Wiley & Sons, 2011), 81-93.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.

institutionalized state. Whether or not capital is embodied, it is hidden in the manner in which an individual adopts it and in what that person may choose to do with it in the embodied state of capital.⁷⁷ In the long term, it may be influenced by a family member who acquired an education, as the value of the capital is not determined by the possessor of the embodied state.⁷⁸ The objectified state is the type of cultural capital in the form of cultural goods. There exists capital in pictures and objects, but the manner in which we interpret them is what determines their value.⁷⁹ Institutionalized state of capital is a way to convert capital. The worth of social and economic capital, depending on who is in the networks, is measured in terms of hierarchy and power structure. For capital that is institutionalized, it is presumed that each person will get the same capital; however, with regard to schooling, there is a difference.⁸⁰ In terms of schooling, Bourdieu did not make direction; however, his most recent work focuses more on changes in schools to accommodate and draw on this concept of capital and to be more critical in terms of what is taught and what is valued.⁸¹ According to Bourdieu, although it is in the realm of possibility to have this capital separate because of capitalism, it is all defined by economic autonomy; therefore, there is no definition in a capitalistic system that does not relate to capital.⁸²

When considering the accumulation of cultural capital as it pertains to Du Bois and his mission to educate Blacks in Harlem, early on in his career, he sought to explain

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid.

the “color line,” as it related to the daily life of Black Americans in cities,⁸³ arguing that racial inequality in the United States was the direct result of the heritage of slavery, not biology, a theory that was in direct opposition to that held by most White sociologists of the time.⁸⁴ Based on Du Bois’s studies in the *Philadelphia Negro* that he published in 1899, his interest in the effects of urbanization on Blacks in cities was significant in his approach to understanding the Black experience in cities.⁸⁵ As evinced in his writings that Du Bois focused his attention on urban racism, social/spatial discrimination, and urban violence in the form of limited educational opportunities for Blacks.⁸⁶

Due to urban growth and massive industrialization, Harlem, as other cities across the nation, had become a concentration of families with low socioeconomic status who lived in segregated inferior neighborhoods.⁸⁷ This section of the study uses Harlem as a prototype to discuss the history and development of urban populations in the United States. The study explores the changing composition of demographics and examines the life of men and women in Harlem. This was of particular focus to Du Bois as he developed his sociological theory of Blacks in cities.

Arguably, Harlem is a prime example when discussing the history and development of urban populations in the United States, as it has contributed to the rapid expansion of industrialization and massive urbanization for Blacks in cities. Based on his social scientific study of Blacks published in the *Philadelphia Negro* of 1899, his speech on the “city Negro” of 1910 and other writings, Du Bois sought to understand the

83. Baker, *Savage*, 111; Du Bois, *Autobiography of W.E.B Du Bois*; Morris, *Scholar*, 1; Du Bois, *Souls*; Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk in Nathan Huggins*, 368.

84. Morris, *Scholar*; Du Bois and Eaton, *Philadelphia Negro*.

85. Du Bois and Eaton, *Philadelphia Negro*.

86. *Ibid.*

87. Osofsky, *Ghetto*.

political, social, and economic processes and forces that limited the freedoms of Black urban citizens and the ways in which those citizens confronted these constraints. Du Bois made a conscious decision to enter this urban environment. His wife she stated in her journal, “It was *necessary* for Dr. Du Bois to relocate his residence to New York City.”⁸⁸

In addition to highlighting Du Bois’s efforts to carry out his realization to explain “how the silence and neglect of science” had suppressed and distorted Negro history, this chapter describes the issues in the history of urbanization and cities and how they related to Du Bois and to Harlem during the renaissance period. Also highlighted are the growth and development of diverse groups and the ethnic community of Harlem, the ethnic profiles of the neighborhood, and the major geographic influences that were shaped by the Great Migration and the effects on the Harlem public schools.⁸⁹ Morris (2015) supported the position that, once Black migrants who had fled the South reached northern cities, most were victims of exploitation and other forms of structural violence that hindered their ability to make a smooth transition to urban centers: “The darker races that Europeans colonized usually consisted of agrarian populations exploited within industrializing societies.”⁹⁰

To accommodate this massive growth of the Black population during time of the renaissance, in January 1905 the New York Public Library expanded its role to include the 135th Street Branch Library to serve the population in Harlem as an urban space for

88. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 1978, 70.

89. N. Lemann, *The Promise Land: The Great Black Migration and How it Changed America*, (NY: Vintage Books, 1991); W.J. Wilson, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (NY Knopf, J., 1996); Jay MacLeod, *Aint No Makin’ it: Aspirations and Attainment in a Low Income Neighborhood*, Third Edition (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2008); Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*.

90. Morris, *Scholar*, 155.

education on Negro history and culture. Four years prior to Du Bois moving to Harlem, the Harlem branch opened its doors in 1905 at a period when the neighborhood that had once been predominantly Jewish had become, within little more than a decade, almost fifty percent Black.⁹¹ As a resident of Harlem, Du Bois was there to witness up close the manner in which the four-year-old expansion of the library functioned in its role in the Harlem community as an urban repository and a center for Black studies-an urban space to educate the Black race. As Harlem became the home to an increasing number of Blacks who had migrated from the South, there was increased demand to accommodate the historical and cultural needs of the African Diaspora community. To secure this accommodation, Du Bois and others built a legacy of social and cultural capital to support the new migrants in their quest for freedom.⁹²

During this period the library expanded to support the largest concentrations of Black Americans in Harlem, and Du Bois viewed this as the ideal location to enhance what he had considered to be a “sudden awakening” when he heard Boas speak in 1906, saying, “You need not be ashamed of your African past.”⁹³ Therefore, with his targeted mission to educate the race on Negro history and culture, Du Bois, known as the forefather of social scientific study on urban Blacks, called the Black intelligentsia to a meeting of the minds in this one common urban space to provide the evidence that Blacks

91. Dodson, “The Schomburg,” 74-82.

92. William EB Du Bois, *The Correspondence of WEB Du Bois: Selections, 1877-1934*. (University of Massachusetts Press, 1973.)

93. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*, xxxi.

were not of an inferior race, as science had defined them.⁹⁴ Others joined him in his pursuits to educate the Black race on Negro history and culture.

In addition to a lack of education on Negro history and culture, Blacks had historically faced structural violence based on urban racism in their day-to-day lives.⁹⁵ However, Locke (1925) proclaimed that the Harlem experience was different. “The Harlem Renaissance transformed social disillusionment to race pride.”⁹⁶ Despite the social and political setbacks that had contributed to the oppression of the race for generations, Locke (1925) regarded the renaissance movement as the opportunity for Blacks to reclaim their race and fight against the scientific racist beliefs that had dominated social discourse. Similarly, Du Bois observed the period of growth in Harlem as a time of literary engagement and intellectual fostering of a new Black identity or, as put eloquently by Locke (1925), a “spiritual Coming of Age” that had given the Harlem community the “first chances for group expression and self determination.”⁹⁷

Du Bois contended that an education of Negro history and culture could challenge scientific beliefs about race inferiority, as it would correct the historical accounts of the Black race. He viewed Harlem as the location to pursue this charge. To support his own social scientific conclusions and challenge the scientific principles that had been established by Robert Ezra Park at the Chicago School of Sociology, Du Bois moved to Harlem to participate in the Harlem Renaissance movement, where in addition to *The Crisis* and NAACP, he used the 135th Street Branch Library to challenge “how silence

94. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*; Morris, *Scholar*.

95. Lewis, *Biography of a Race*.

96. Ibid.; Michael J. O’Neal, *America in the 1920s* (Infobase Publishing, 2009), 51.

97. Gates and Jarrett, *The New Negro*, 114.

and neglect of science” had suppressed and distorted Negro history and culture.⁹⁸

The library, in its role in the Harlem community as an urban repository and a center for Black studies, served as an urban space for education to accommodate the educational needs of the growing Black population in Harlem outside of the schools, aided by Du Bois. Based on communications between Du Bois, Head Librarian Ernestine Rose, and Library Curator Arturo Schomburg, Du Bois used the library to connect with the Harlem community and to provide evidence that Blacks were not intellectually or culturally inferior to the White race.⁹⁹

Due to his social scientific studies on the “city Negro,” Du Bois was viewed by some Whites who had worked as advocates of social change as an expert on the outcomes of Black Americans in cities.¹⁰⁰ Du Bois knew better than most that the need to challenge the notions of science on race inferiority required a keen insight on matters that affected this population. Du Bois’s research undertakings on the study of Blacks in cities for the purposes of challenging scientific racist beliefs were widely recognized. Mrs. Graham Du Bois (1978) wrote in her journal regarding Du Bois’s comments,

Du Bois said of the 13 years that he spent at Atlanta University, and of the ten-year cycle of published studies that covered every aspect of the American Negro’s life. Du Bois said, “For the next twenty five years there wasn’t a book published on the Negro problem that didn’t have to depend upon what we were doing at Atlanta University. Ours was the first institution in the United States, white or black, that had any course on the history of the American Negro or on Negro history in general.”¹⁰¹

98. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*, xxxi.

99. Ibid.

100. Letter from Mary White Ovington to W. E. B. Du Bois, October 7, 1904. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers.

101. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 27.

There is evidence that numerous scholars consulted Du Bois regarding his analysis of the “city Negro” and the conditions under which Black Americans had lived in the urban environment. For example, on 7 October 1904, five years prior to Du Bois moving to Harlem, while he was still residing in Atlanta, White social worker and social advocate Mary White Ovington wrote a three-page letter to Du Bois seeking his scholarship and mentoring on the issues of the urban Black in America. In her letter she requested that he send her copies of “Atlanta bulletins” from the university that spoke to his studies on the “urban Negro problem” to help her in writing a “fellowship” paper on the conditions of Blacks in New York. She offered compliments on his scholarship.¹⁰² Ovington spoke admirably of Du Bois for his efforts to solve the “Negro problem”. She commented on his work on the Atlanta conference in 1906 and acknowledged that fact that he had invited Boas to speak. Ovington said,

Despite the ugly buildings and the seedy-looking campus, I found it perfect, for here white and colored met on a complete equality and one became unconscious of race.¹⁰³

Miss Ovington expressed her respect and envy of Du Bois’s work and noted in her letter that she was overwhelmed in reading his study of the Philadelphia Negro, published in 1899, and doubted her own ability to conduct such a study.

Your work in Philadelphia overwhelms me whenever I take it up which is very often, because I know that I cannot do anything like that. But perhaps it would be foolish for me to try even if I could. The conditions in New York are not unlike those in Philadelphia, and what I feel that I should try for is an understanding of the colored people and an endeavor to formulate with their help schemes for the betterment of the poor among them.¹⁰⁴

102. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*.

103. Zumwalt and Willis, “Franz Boas,” 43.

104. Letter from Mary White Ovington to W. E. B. Du Bois, October 7, 1904. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers

Miss Ovington, an advocate for the cause of racial equality, was influenced by Du Bois's research published in *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899). According to Morris (2015), in addition to the Philadelphia study, she was impressed by his articles in the *New York Times* and the sociological laboratory that he had developed at Atlanta University.¹⁰⁵

Ovington was pursuing her own social scientific study and published *Half a Man: The Status of the Negro in New York*. Her focus was the socioeconomic status of Blacks in New York City.¹⁰⁶ She focused on the social conditions of Black women in New York City and dedicated a chapter of her book to report these findings.¹⁰⁷ The chapter was entitled "The Colored Woman as Breadwinner." She compared and contrasted the types of employment gained by Black women versus those gained by White women in New York City.¹⁰⁸ She described the jobs of Black women as mostly "domestic work or menial tasks".¹⁰⁹

If the Negro civilization of New York is to be lifted to a high level, the white race must consistently play a finer and more generous part toward the color woman. There are many inherent difficulties against which she must contend. Slavery deprived her of family life, set her to daily toil in the field, or appropriated her mother's instincts for the white child. She has today the difficult task of maintaining the integrity and purity of the home. Many times she was succeeded, often she has failed, sometimes she has not even tried. A vicious environment has strengthened her passions and degraded her from earliest girlhood. Beyond any people in the city she needs all the encouragement that philanthropy, that human courtesy and respect, that the Fellowship of the workers can give,—she needs her full status as a woman.¹¹⁰

105. Morris, *Scholar*, 2015.

106. Ibid.; Mary W. Ovington. *Half a Man: The Status of the Negro in New York*. (New York: Long Man's, Green, 1911).

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid.

109. Ovington, *Half a Man*, 168-69.

110. Ibid.

Based on her studies, Ovington concluded that racial barriers and race discrimination had been the causes of the lack of employment opportunities for Blacks in New York City.¹¹¹ Ovington had served on the Committee of Social Investigations with Franz Boas of Columbia University, and after 1910 would work with Du Bois at the NAACP while he was editor of *The Crisis*, where she served as the secretary. In an editorial dated 2 July 1911 entitled, “The Black Man in New York: Miss Ovington’s View That the Negro Would Rise Save for Race Prejudice,” Miss Ovington offered her opinion on the issue of race and science and concurred with the philosophy posited by Du Bois and Boas.¹¹² In her interpretation of the manner in which science had defined the Black race Ovington said, “Blacks were not what American science said they were.”¹¹³ According to Morris (2015), in support of this claim, the Atlanta School of Sociology was guided by scholarly principle (in which Mary Ovington concurred), maintaining that sociological and economic factors, not biology, were the primary reasons for race inequality.¹¹⁴

It is apparent that Du Bois’s research undertakings on the problems of the “city Negro” were widely known and respected. However, what he would find to be his “sudden awakening” to change the trajectory of the race was what he had heard from Boas’s 1906 speech, which prompted his motivation to take a different approach to solving the “Negro problem,” as suggested by Boas: Educate Blacks on Negro history

111. Ibid.

112. Editorial, “The Black Man In New York,” *New York Times*, July 2, 1911, 3.

113. Ibid., 3.

114. Morris, *Scholar*.

and culture to refute the claims of science. As Boas had stated, “You need not be ashamed of your past.”¹¹⁵

Du Bois, awakened to the possibilities, responded to this debate with his work in Harlem and at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library. As a resource to exhibit the evidence to show that Blacks were not of an inferior race, as science had defined them. Du Bois used several channels, including the library, to meet this challenge. However, as stated by Morris (2015), “Du Bois’s bedrock principle that black people were not inferior and should be treated as social equals and that science could be utilized to prove these propositions was not palatable to white funders.”¹¹⁶

This must not be forgotten. Du Bois posed the question that had prompted Black leaders to discredit scientific racism and Black intellectual inferiority: “How far shall American Negroes remember and preserve their history, keep track of their ancestry, build up a racial literature, and group patriotism?”¹¹⁷ Du Bois answered these questions with an urgent call to disprove that Blacks were inferior to the White race and used the 135th Street Branch Library, located in the center of the urban environment, to do it.

The document distributed at the First Universal Races Congress in 1911 entitled “Suggested Activities for Committees, Secretaries, and Supporters” could have served as a guide for his efforts. It listed twenty-one suggestions to implement for change in “race

115. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*, xxxi.

116. Morris, *Scholar*, 185.

117. Daniel Walden, ed., *W.E.B. Du Bois: The Crisis Writings* (New York: Fawcett 1972), 81.

understanding.” The particular points on the list numbered 13, 14, and 15 encompassed the approach taken by Du Bois.¹¹⁸ They read as follows:

They should start if necessary, Inter-Racial Associations, Clubs, Free Reading Rooms, etc. but should think primarily of permeation. They should promote Reading and Discussion Classes in colleges, associations etc., in connection with the volume of Congress papers. They should supply the volume of Congress papers to Free Libraries and other desirable institutions, and generally promote its circulation.”¹¹⁹

These aforementioned activities suggested at the Universal Races Congress strongly buttress the guided efforts that Du Bois used at the library to address scientific racism and the belief in Black intellectually inferiority.

From its inception, as a result of needing an urban space to accommodate the educational needs of the Black southern migrants in Harlem, the 135th Street Branch Library had played a pivotal role in addressing the issue of educating Blacks on Negro history and culture. Outside of the Harlem schools, the library was the main source for the true history of the Black race and its contributions to American and international society. The history books used in the school system often presented one-sided descriptions in favor of the dominant race and condemned the Negro or excluded Black contributions altogether. Lewis (1995) recorded Du Bois’s thoughts in his book. He wrote,

Suppose the only Negro who survived some centuries hence was the Negro painted by white Americans in the novels and essays they have written. What would people of hundred years say of black Americans? Now turn it around. Suppose you were to write a story and put in the kind of people you know and like and imagine. You might get it published and you might not. And the “might not” is still far bigger than the “might.” The white publishers catering to white

118. Universal Races Congress, “World Conference for Promoting Concord between all Divisions of Mankind,” ca. 1911.

119. Ibid.

folk would say, “It is not interesting,” to white folk, naturally not. They want Uncle Tom’s, Topsyies, good “darkies,” and clowns.¹²⁰

Du Bois travelled to schools and libraries throughout Harlem and across the nation and observed the omission and distortion of the story of the Black race. Based on work by Du Bois and Boas alike, there was a lack of clear evidence that the scientific theory of Black intellectual inferiority was credible, and Du Bois was fervent in his mission. Carter G. Woodson (2015) claimed that theories on Negro inferiority were “drilled” into Black pupils in virtually every classroom.¹²¹ Dr. L. D. Reddick, curator of the 135th Street Branch Library, later named the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature, conducted a study of the racial attitudes displayed in the textbooks of the Harlem public schools.¹²² Reddick reported that there were pictures of the Negro as a “happy slave, strumming a banjo.”¹²³ “While the history books of this city are not as vicious as those found in the Deep South, they do nonetheless contain much anti-Negro propaganda.”¹²⁴ Clayton Pierce (2017) discussed the application of the term *caste education* in the work by Du Bois.¹²⁵ Pierce’s central argument is that caste education played a central role in Du Bois’s understanding of the political and social goals of a

120. Lewis, *Harlem Renaissance Reader*, 102.

121. Jeffrey Aaron Snyder, “Progressive Education in Black and White: Rereading Carter G. Woodson’s Mis-education of the Negro,” *History of Education Quarterly*, 55, no. 3, 2015, 273-93.

122. “Race Ridicule by Text Books In N.Y. Scored,” *The Chicago Defender (National Edition)*, 1921-1967, 1939: 3. Accessed July 3, 2016, Retrieved from <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/docview/492627947?accountid=13626>.

123. *Ibid.*, 3.

124. *Ibid.*

125. Clayton Pierce, “WEB Du Bois and Caste Education: Racial Capitalist Schooling From Reconstruction to Jim Crow,” *American Educational Research Journal*, 54, no. 1_suppl (2017): 23S-47S.

racial capitalist society.¹²⁶ This argument can be applied to the caste system of control in schooling when the masses attempted to silence and distort Black history by omitting Negro history and culture from textbooks, thereby highlighting the need to educate the race outside of the school system at urban spaces as the 135th Street Branch Library. To buttress this point Pierce (2017) said,

Material control of African American schools, funding, teachers, curriculum, buildings, books, and so on also entailed teaching “a determined psychology of caste,” which “in every possible way it was impressed and advertised that the white was superior and the Negro an inferior race. This inferiority must be publically acknowledged and submitted to”¹²⁷

Du Bois’s caste analysis on education serves as an example in this study of how such a system that was “designed to extract economic value from the Black American population and enforce their political status as second-class, biologically inferior citizens has controlled”¹²⁸ could hinder the ability of a population to progress and rise out of the oppressed forces that scientific racism had on schooling. Dr. Franklin E. Frazier of Howard University pointed out that “it is the task of both the historian and the sociologist to correct through scientific research the distorted view of the Negro held by Americans generally.”¹²⁹ The “scientific racism” proposed by several educational statisticians, psychologists, politicians, and others justified disparities in Black educational

126. Ibid.

127. Ibid., 38s-39s.

128. Ibid., 33s.

129. “Race Ridicule by Text Books In N.Y. Scored,” *The Chicago Defender (National Edition)*, 1921-1967, 1939: 3, ccessed July 3, 2016, accessed <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/docview/492627947?accountid=13626>.

achievement, attributing differences to “genetic and hereditary” deficiencies, family pathology, and skull size among Africans.¹³⁰

Du Bois knew of the historical factors with regards to Harlem public schools that underlined the motivation behind the efforts by himself and many Black leaders to educate Black Americans outside of the schools on Negro history and culture. This is evidenced in his speech entitled “the city Negro.” In the 1900s, segregation in the public schools in Harlem was outlawed and the state of New York elected to uphold this legislation and integrate the schools.¹³¹ As the Harlem Black American population increased, the schools enrolled a greater number of Black children in schools with the White children.¹³² However, due to the increased enrollment, the schools became overcrowded.¹³³ Although some schools were integrated, many schools remained

130. Anthony John Lugo, *Schomburg: Cultural Education and Empowerment*-Essay published by The Autodidact Project. (2004), accessed April 14, 2016, <http://www.autodidactproject.org/other/schomburg1.html>.

131. Ira De A. Reid, “Mirrors of Harlem-Investigations and Problems of America’s Largest Colored Community,” *Soc. F.* 5 (1926): 628, accessed August 5, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3004631>; James Baldwin, *The New Negro in New York: An Informal Social History 1626-1940* (New York, NY: Praeger Publishers, 1969); Howard, K. Beale, “The Needs of Negro Education in the United States,” *The Journal of Negro Education*, 3(1) (1934): 8-19, accessed January 7, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2292137>; L. Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience 1876-1980*, (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1988); T.J. Curran, “Assimilation and Nativism,” *International Migration Digest*, 3(1), 15–25, (1966), accessed January 5, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3002916>; Arthur P. Davis, “Growing Up in the New Negro Renaissance: 1920-1935,” *Negro American Literature Forum*, 2(3), 53-59, accessed January 6, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3041374>; C. Kaestle, *The Evolution of an Urban School System: New York City 1750 – 1850* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973); H. Donald Henderson, “The Effects of the Migration upon the Migrants Themselves,” *The Journal of Negro History*, 6(4) (1921): 445-457, accessed January 6, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2713654>.

132. Baldwin, *New Negro*; Cremin, *American Education*; Davis, “Growing Up”.

133. Kaestle, *The Evolution*.

segregated due to resistance and refusal by White school principal to integrate their schools.

The environment of the integrated schools was not conducive to a healthy learning environment. Internal factors such as verbal abuse and harassment from other students affected the ability of the Black children to attend school and to learn.¹³⁴ The schools that remained segregated were located in dilapidated buildings and received limited funding for building repairs.¹³⁵ The traditional schools for Blacks in cities were in poor structural condition, located in poor neighborhoods, poorly staffed; they did not serve as an adequate alternative to assisting the African American population.¹³⁶

A letter written by Lucile Spence, secretary of the Permanent Committee for Better Schools in Harlem, to Governor Herbert Lehman in 1937 urged the Governor to support the work of the New York State Temporary Commission on the Condition of the “Urban Colored Population,” saying that immediate intervention by the state was needed to address the issue of funding inequities and discrimination in the Harlem public schools.¹³⁷ In the document she requested that the Governor offer state funds to investigate the conditions of the Harlem schools.¹³⁸

In addition to the broken public school system, a major external factor such as home life was found to be a condition with which many Black American children of

134. Ibid.

135. Ibid.

136. Ibid.

137. Newark Historical Society, Archival Collections, Spence, L. 1937, Letter from Lucile Spence to H. Honorable Governor Lehman, December 18, 1937.

138. Ibid.

Harlem had to contend.¹³⁹ Single-parent households were common during this period and many of the children who were raised in them had to bear some financial responsibility of the family. Children had to work, for example, in menial jobs on the street until late hours to make financial contributions to the home.¹⁴⁰ This in turn presented a truancy problem, as the children would be too exhausted to attend school. Delinquency among youth was rampant, adding to the existing problems of the public schools.¹⁴¹ The conditions that made Harlem susceptible to delinquency were poverty, overcrowding, unsanitary housing, and inadequate health care for families.¹⁴²

Black American youth had inconsistent and poor school attendance.¹⁴³ For example, the majority of Harlem children did not attend school on a regular basis as their families frequently moved or the children left school to obtain jobs. “Three-fourths of all the [Negro] pupils registered in one Harlem school, transferred to some other before the end of the school year. Some schools experienced a “100 percent turnover.”¹⁴⁴ Unfortunately, for many migrant families, poverty and family instability interfered with the child’s ability to attend school. Some families did not send their children to school because they were too poor to provide clothing for them.¹⁴⁵

Due to the increased numbers of people living in the city, conditions such as economic depression, low wages, and lack of jobs made poverty a factor that affected the

139. Reid, “Mirrors”; Baldwin, *The New Negro*; Beale, “Negro Education”; Cremin, *American Education*; Curran, “Assimilation”; Davis, “Growing Up”; Kaestle, *Evolution*.

140. Reid, “Mirrors”; Baldwin, *The New Negro*; Beale, “Negro Education”.

141. Cremin, *American Education*; Curran, “Assimilation”; Davis, “Growing Up”; Kaestle, *Evolution*.

142. Reid, “Mirrors”; Baldwin, *The New Negro*.

143. Ibid.; Beale, “Negro Education”; Cremin, *American Education*; Curran, “Assimilation”; Davis, “Growing Up”; Kaestle, *Evolution*.

144. Ibid.; Osofsky, *Ghetto*, 148.

145. Osofsky, *Ghetto*.

lives of many Harlem residents.¹⁴⁶ The conditions during the migration in Harlem left many families in low socioeconomic status and victims of generational poverty.¹⁴⁷

Harlem was home to one of the largest group of impoverished Black Americans in the country. As a result, the educational system was on a continual decline.¹⁴⁸

Du Bois provided an excellent analysis of the condition of the Harlem public schools in his speech on “the city Negro.” He said,

The first Negro school in the United States was opened of the United States was opened at the beginning of the 18th century in Manhattan. Yet the Negro plots of 1907 and 1712 brought tremendous opposition against Negro education in general. When the Negro school was continued up until the mid 18th century and New Negroes arrived, a third Negro plot again nearly overwhelmed it and it took the brave fighting of Black men in the Revolutionary War to overcome the strong sentiment of this time. In 1777 the right of suffrage was extended to New York Negroes and they began to push forward. Ten years later, they had a large free school, the slave trade was prohibited from the state and the Free African society founded. Notwithstanding this new life, color discrimination against them grew and became so great that they had to withdraw even from some of the churches and start a church of their own. Again, in the war of 1812, Negroes fought under Perry and Chauncey, and one-half of McDonough’s men at Lake Champlain were Negroes; two thousand Negro soldiers were called for and the Negro school on William St., had two hundred pupils. And on the heels on this pressing forward came the burning of that school, and the restriction of Negro suffrage by property qualifications which applied to them alone. Later the education of the Negroes increased and a larger Negro school was opened on Mulberry Street, having five hundred pupils. In 1820 Lafayette visited the school and his chief surprise was not at the excellent conduct of the pupils but of the spread of color prejudice in the United States, since the day when he fought side by side with black men for the freedom of white men in this land. . . . The public school society in 1834 took the Negro schools under their supervision and the same year saw the beginning of riots against Negroes, both in New York and Philadelphia and Negroes were refused even the opportunity to ride on the street cars in some cases to act as, drayman, and the legislature refused to remove restrictions on their voting. . . . When Governor Ward Hunt recommended the passage of the black laws which would have forbidden even the settlement of any blacks or mulattos within the City of New York and would have placed further restrictions on those already here, the charge of unthrift was utterly disproven by a statement showing

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid.

148. Ibid.

that everywhere the conditions were the worst in New York, Brooklyn, Williamsburg.¹⁴⁹

To combat the historical factors that played a part in the caste education that Blacks received in Harlem, as made evident in his communications (cited later in this study), Du Bois pursued a relationship with the 135th Street Branch Library to ensure that Black history and culture received due recognition, exhibited in his work with the library. He believed that, based on his own social scientific studies, it was necessary to invalidate scientific racist thinking at every level.

Although history has played on the side of the controversial scientific community of the time, Du Bois's ideas were heard and respected by many. He garnered support of other Black leaders and of White leaders who shared his vision. Through his work at the 135th Street Branch Library, Du Bois used his ingenuity and talent to educate the masses on Black history in various ways. It is evident to scholars of the time that, once a race had challenged this common dominant ideology, the issues of race prejudice, discrimination, and segregation would no longer maintain dominance and thereby limit the potential for Blacks to gain full acceptance in American society.

Therefore, once Du Bois had learned of the library's significance, particularly during the Harlem Renaissance, he viewed this urban space as vital to the education of Negro history and culture to the Black race. As Harlem became the center of history and culture for Black artists and scholars, the 135th Street Branch Library transformed to accommodate its new audience.

Du Bois, along with Locke (1925), proofread Schomburg's drafts so his work

149. Du Bois, *The city Negro*, ca. 1910, Du Bois Papers.

could be considered for publication in scholarly journals and newspapers.¹⁵⁰ Based on her research, Sinnette (1989) discovered that Locke was the first Black to be awarded a prestigious Rhodes scholarship, which in turn debunked the common belief in innate Black intellectual inferiority, a belief that the Negro Society for Historical Research had worked to combat.¹⁵¹

Schomburg migrated to New York City in 1891, eighteen years prior to Du Bois, and became immediately involved in the movement. Schomburg and John Edward Bruch were instrumental in founding The Negro Society for Historical Research in New York City in 1911, two years after Du Bois had relocated to Harlem.¹⁵² The significance of this organization was that it marked the first time that African, West Indian, and Afro-American scholars had joined forces in a single organization to combat racist ideology, in line with Du Bois's philosophical underpinnings.¹⁵³ The major goal of the Negro Society for Historical Research was to collect useful historical data related to the Negro race, books written by or about Negroes, rare pictures of prominent men or women, letters of noted Negroes or White men friendly to the Negro, African curios of native manufacture, and so forth.¹⁵⁴ The society's purpose, as indicated in the preamble of its constitution, was "to show that the Negro race has a history which antedates that of the proud Anglo-Saxon race."¹⁵⁵ The five founding officers are Arturo Schomburg; John Edward Bruce (also known as a bibliophile and "Bruce Grit"); David Bryant Fulton, the society's librarian,

150. Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*.

151. Ibid.

152. Ibid.

153. Ibid., 43.

154. Delores P. Aldridge, and Carlene Young, eds. *Out of the Revolution: The Development of Africana Studies* (Lexington Books, 2000), 461.

155. Ibid., 461.

W. Wesley Weekes; and William Ernest Braxton, the latter two mostly unknown to the historical field. All pledged to “gather through books and manuscripts and all the historical data possible within their limited means to support their claims as to the antiquity of Negro history and civilization.”¹⁵⁶

To enlighten, teach, and instruct Blacks on their own history and achievement was paramount to the organization. N. Barnett Dodson, on 21 October 1911, wrote an article in the *Lexington Standard* that presented a biographical summary of the organization’s birth.¹⁵⁷ In her article she said,

Several months ago, Arturo Schomburg of New York City, and J. E. Bruce of Yonkers discussed at the latter’s residence, in Yonkers the feasibility of establishing a society with a limited membership for the purpose of gathering information from books and through correspondence of historical value to the Negro race. Their ideas agreed, and a number of men known to be interested in work of this character were invited to attend a meeting in Yonkers not long ago at which time the plans of Messrs. Schomburg and Bruce were outlined and cordially approved by those present and the society was organized. The name Negro Society for Historical Research was adopted and a full compliment of officers, was elected as follows: John E. Bruce, president; A.A. Schomburg, secretary-treasurer; Prof W.W. Weeks, musical director; David B. Fulton, librarian; W.E. Braxton, art director. Membership in the society is limited to twenty active members, and the entrance fee is \$10, with a monthly tax of 25 cents.¹⁵⁸

Although Schomburg was not formally trained as a historian and therefore lacked the required writing skills to become an accomplished historian Schomburg overcame his obstacles that had initially prevented him from earning respect as a legitimate writer and

156. Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*, 42-43; John Edward Bruce papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Sc Micro R-905, accessed January 25, 2016, <http://archives.nypl.org/scm/21872>; “The Lexington Standard Lexington,” *Kentucky*, October 21, 1911, First Edition, 1, accessed January 25, 2016, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/5099664/negro_society_for_historical_research/.

157. Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*; *ibid*.

158. “The Lexington Standard Lexington,” *Kentucky*, October 21, 1911, First Edition, 1, accessed January 25, 2016, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/5099664/negro_society_for_historical_research/.

accomplished “amateur historian.”¹⁵⁹ The skills that Schomburg had honed through assistance from Du Bois contributed to his ability to write and gather collections to donate to the 135th Street Branch Library. Based on the time period of their relationship and the communications between the two of them, this conclusion can be drawn.

Schomburg began a quest to collect historical artifacts and books in his Brooklyn home. What started as the “Negroid collection,”¹⁶⁰ as described by head librarian Ernestine Rose, would become an exhibit of archives that included items collected and written by Schomburg himself. Schomburg later sold his collection to the New York Public Library for \$10,000.¹⁶¹ In 1926 the library added the Schomburg collection to the special collection division, later renamed the Division of Negro Literature, History and Prints.

At a certain point in his career, much of Du Bois’s work at *The Crisis* was intermingled with activities at the 135th Street Branch Library. Schomburg and Mrs. A. W. Hunton, organizer of the National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs, were the first two Blacks to submit articles that Du Bois accepted and published in *The Crisis*.¹⁶² According to correspondence between Schomburg and Du Bois dated May 1911, even prior to Schomburg’s becoming the library curator, he had submitted articles to *The*

159. Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*, 42-43; John Edward Bruce papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Sc Micro R-905, accessed January 25, 2016, <http://archives.nypl.org/scm/21872>; “The Lexington Standard Lexington,” *Kentucky*, October 21, 1911, First Edition, 1, accessed January 25, 2016, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/5099664/negro_society_for_historical_research/.

160. Plan for Establishing a Department of Negro History, Literature and Art, March 25, 1924.

161. Ibid.; Luxenberg, “Schomburg”; Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*, 109; Jenkins. “*A White Librarian in Black Harlem*”.

162. Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*.

Crisis.¹⁶³ The working relationship between the two men continued to develop during Du Bois's time in Harlem as an editor.

Schomburg had submitted an article entitled "The Fight for Liberty in St. Lucia," which Du Bois published on page 33 in the seventh issue of *The Crisis*.¹⁶⁴ In the July 1912 issue (Volume 4, No. 3), Du Bois published Schomburg's article on a Black Cuban fighter named General Evaristo Estenoz.¹⁶⁵ Four years later, Schomburg submitted his third article, on what he described as a "great painter" named Sebastian Gomez, a Spanish mulatto. The article was published in the 1916 edition of *The Crisis IV*.¹⁶⁶ In 1922, six years later, Du Bois published a biographical sketch on Schomburg in which he described Schomburg's private archival collection in his Brooklyn home.¹⁶⁷

In 1913 at Cheney Institute in Pennsylvania, Schomburg delivered a major address to a class of Black teachers who were attending a summer session.¹⁶⁸ Targeting students through formal education, Schomburg's speech was later published for the public and members of the Negro Society for Historical Research. This was the first of

163. Ibid., 109.

164. NAACP, "Meeting Minutes".

165. *The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races*, vol. 4, No. 3: Education Number Du Bois, W. E. Burghardt (editor), New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1912-07:143-144, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://library.brown.edu/pdfs/1305565044718754.pdf>; Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*

166. NAACP, "Meeting Minutes," *The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races*, vol. 11, no. 3: The New Year Number. Du Bois, W. E. Burghardt (editor). New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1916-01, accessed December 13, 2016, <http://library.brown.edu/pdfs/1288961688118875.pdf>.

167. Ibid.; *The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races*, vol. 11, No. 3: The New Year Number. Du Bois, W. E. Burghardt (editor). New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1916-01, accessed December 13, 2016, <http://library.brown.edu/pdfs/1288961688118875.pdf>.

168. Sydney Don Polite, *Arturo A. Schomburg: Redefined Revolutionary Afro-Puerto-Rican Black Historian*, (Williams College: Unpublished Dissertation, 2013), accessed February 22, 2016, <http://library.williams.edu/theses/pdf.php?id=646>.

Schomburg's two key statements on the importance of offering Negro education in public schools and universities, an idea that would spearhead public schools' and universities' acceptance and adoption of a Black history curriculum.¹⁶⁹

Based on the letters between Du Bois and Schomburg, Du Bois shared with Schomburg the experience of international travel. It is evident that to enhance their knowledge and understanding of the world, both men had travelled on various occasions to Europe.¹⁷⁰ This helped them to gain knowledge to address scientific racist theories in the United States and formulate an approach to educating the race on Negro history and culture.¹⁷¹ The depth of their knowledge was exhibited in their contributions to the library.¹⁷² As editor of *The Crisis*, Du Bois clearly had an interest in Schomburg's international travels and requested that he submit an article.¹⁷³ Du Bois wrote to Schomburg on 23 October 1926, the year in which he initiated the KRIGWA Players Negro Theater at the 135th Street Branch Library, inquiring about submission of another article on his work in Europe.

I understand that you are back from Europe and as I am back myself I should be very glad to meet you sometime and talk over experiences. Did you not bring something that you could arrange for publication in THE CRISIS MAGAZINE? I hope you will not forget us. ¹⁷⁴

Du Bois published Schomburg's articles through 1931.¹⁷⁵

169. Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*.

170. Ibid. New York Public Library. Letter from New York Public Library (Arturo Schomburg) to W. E. B. Du Bois, October 4, 1922. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed March 4, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b020-i014>.

171. Ibid.

172. Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*.

173. Ibid.

174. Ibid.

175. Ibid.

In that same year, 1926, the library added the Schomburg collection to the special collection division, which was later renamed the Division of Negro Literature, History and Prints. This element of the library not only met the needs of the Harlem community as an urban repository and a center for Black studies; it attracted many from outside New York City to seek an education on the Negro past to witness the evidence contrary to what they had been taught. In addition, The KRIGWA Negro Theatre was born.

Schomburg was born 24 January 1874 in San Juan, Puerto Rico.¹⁷⁶ His father, Carlos Federico Schomburg, was a Mestizo merchant whose father was German and whose mother was a Taino Indian.¹⁷⁷ His mother was María Josefa, a Black African midwife from St. Croix whose mother was from the Danish Virgin Islands.¹⁷⁸ Arturo was primarily raised by his mother and therefore developed his racial identity through the lens of Africa.¹⁷⁹ Sinnette explained that Schomburg's "fifth-grade teacher is said to have told him that Black people have no history, no heroes and no great moments."¹⁸⁰ Based on his work in his professional life to educate the masses on Negro history and culture, this served as a motivator for him to defy all beliefs that Blacks were intellectually inferior and not capable of achievements to the highest level on par with Europeans.¹⁸¹ To dedicate the majority of his adult life to educating the Black race was of the utmost importance.

176. Ibid; Lugo, "Schomburg".

177. Ibid.

178. Ibid.

179. Ibid.

180. Ibid., Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*, 13.

181. Ibid.

According to Sinnette (1989), Schomburg dedicated the majority of his life to defending the Negro race by producing historical documents.¹⁸² In 1925 Schomburg wrote in “The Negro Digs Up His Past” that the “Public Library of Harlem housed a special exhibition of books, prints, pamphlets, and old engravings that simply said to skeptic and believer alike, to scholar and school child, to proud Black and astonished White, Here is the Evidence.”¹⁸³ The library promoted a binding “of the northern urban Black community by promoting history among members of a newly emergent Black middle class and the Black masses.”¹⁸⁴ During the decades of the early twenty-first century, efforts to push against scientific racism reached a peak in the form of Negro history clubs, history contests, and crusades for public school Negro history courses. “Situated as it is in the center of an area practically given to a Negro population of 125,000,” the library housed the “evidence” that Du Bois used to educate the Harlem community.¹⁸⁵

John H. Thompson discovered the Mwalimu School, located down the block from Du Bois’s Harlem at 409 Edgecombe Avenue and in the vicinity of the 135th Street Harlem Branch Library.¹⁸⁶ Similar to the 135th Street Branch, this establishment was pivotal in providing education on Black history and culture in the “greatest Negro city in the world.”¹⁸⁷ The Mwalimu School was co-founded by a twentieth-century icon named Manet Harrison Fowler, a Black American singer, musician, and educator from Fort

182. Ibid.

183. Ibid.

184. Benson, Brier, and Rosenzweig, “Presenting the Past,” 334.

185. “Library Aids Negroes,” *New York Times*, 33.

186. John H. Thompson, “AFRICA,” *The Chicago Defender* (National Edition) (1921-1967), May 13, 1939, 13 accessed February 10, 2016, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/492569040?accountid=13626>.

187. Ibid., 13.

Worth, Texas.¹⁸⁸ Fowler completed her bachelor's degree and graduated from the Tuskegee Institute in 1913.¹⁸⁹ She was a musician and relished the art of music as she studied at the Chicago College of Music.¹⁹⁰ She co-founded the Texas Association of Negro Musicians in 1928 and in turn established what was known as the Mwalimu School in Texas, which later relocated to Harlem.¹⁹¹

The school was affiliated with the Harlem Renaissance and provided educational opportunities in the arts for the Harlem community. Located in the center of Harlem, the school had five classrooms "crammed with Liberian art, such as carvings of sacred bush cats, ebony Crocodiles, totem tables, ebony statuettes and hand woven country and table clothes."¹⁹² The exhibit in this school was targeted to show the nation that African culture was enduring and had been in the world since the beginning of civilization. As curator of the 135th Street Branch Library, Schomburg offered his expertise to the school to ensure that its exhibits and historical archives were authentic.¹⁹³

Du Bois observed the manner in which Schomburg's background and experience had enhanced his ability to produce authentic archival research. Schomburg, self-taught historian and called by some a vindicationist historian, collected items that were used to vindicate Africa and people of African descent from the White racist "pseudo-scientific" scholarship of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁹⁴ During this time Afro-

188. Manet Harrison Fowler Papers, James Weldon Johnson Collection in the Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, accessed April 3, 2016, <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/fa/beinecke.fowler>.

189. Ibid.

190. Ibid.

191. Ibid.

192. Thompson, "AFRICA," 13.

193. Ibid.

194. Taylor, "Challenge".

American intellectuals recognized the racist academic history that had burgeoned, from the “Teutonic,” George Bancroft, author of *History of the United States from the Discovery of the Continent* (1869), to the “scientific” William Bailey Dunning, co-founder in 1915 of the Columbia University School of Dental and Oral Surgery, both of whom had validated scientific beliefs of Black inferiority.¹⁹⁵

In response, Blacks had participated in redefining what it meant to be a Negro. They engaged in the educational process in the form of public forums, historical societies, and arts and literary scholarship to combat the notion of Black intellectual inferiority. According to Taylor (1981), by 1929 Du Bois was pleased that the credibility of scientific racism had been reduced within the scientific community.¹⁹⁶ Taylor (1981) noted that Dubois argued, “scientific definitions were illogical and unsupported assumptions of a closed system, derived from a laughable methodology, and interpreted by biased investigators.”¹⁹⁷ His rebuttal to these scientific claims of Black intellectual inferiority gave him the re-assurance that science had wrongly defined what it meant to be a Negro and that the scientific conclusions were wrong.¹⁹⁸ Therefore, in this same spirit, those who were interested in incorporation of Negro history in American culture to dispel the scientific theory of Black intellectual inferiority rose to the occasion.

195. Benson, Brier, and Rosenzweig, “Presenting the Past”; Edmund Frank Lindop, Jr. “The Nationalism of George Bancroft.” Order No. EP59630, (Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Southern California, 1950), accessed March 3, 2016, <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/docview/1641128283?accountid=13626>; Special to The New York Times, “WILLIAM DUNNING LONG AT COLUMBIA.” *New York Times* (1923-Current File), Jul 23, 1959, March 5th 2016, accessed <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/docview/114756813?accountid=13626>.

196. Taylor, “Challenge”.

197. Ibid., 459.

198. Ibid.

To a society that denied the humanity of the Negro and appeared skeptical about his ability to achieve, similar to Du Bois, Schomburg set out to prove his own worth and that of the people with whom he felt in common.¹⁹⁹ To challenge the idea that Blacks were intellectually inferior, Schomburg felt it necessary to document Black history and place it on exhibit for the world to see as evidence that the race was indeed of equal competence.²⁰⁰ Blacks' contributions and accomplishments were proof of their intellect and capabilities. This would surely change the perceptions and beliefs regarding the ability of the Negro and would improve race relations throughout the country.

Franklin F. Hopper (1878–1950), who had originally joined the New York Public Library in 1914 as Chief of the Order Division, served as Chief of the Circulation Department of the 135th Street Branch Library (later known as The Branch Libraries) from 1919 until his appointment as Director in 1941 through his retirement on 30 September 1946; along with Schomburg, he was a member of The Associates of Negro Folk Education.²⁰¹ This organization was developed to promote a project for preparation of materials on Negro history and culture for adult education groups.²⁰² Eugene Kinckle Jones, advisor on Negro affairs to the Department of Commerce, served as chairman of the organization.²⁰³ Through their participation, Schomburg and Hopper worked alongside leaders such as Du Bois to produce historical documents that revealed the truth of the Negro race. Schomburg announced,

199. Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*.

200. Ibid.

201. Franklin F. Hopper Records, The New York Public Library Archives, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, <http://archives.nypl.org/nypla/4947#overview> ; “Race Ridicule,” 3.

202. Ibid., 3.

203. Ibid.

I am here with a sincere desire to awaken the sensibilities, to kindle the dormant fibres in the soul, and to fire the racial patriotism by the study of the Negro books. We often feel that so many things around us are warped and alienated. Let us see, if we cannot agree to arrange a formula or create a basic construction, for the establishment of a substantial method of instruction for our young women and men in the material and the useful. The object of this paper is not to revolutionize existing standards, but simply to improve them by amending them, so that they will include the practical history of the Negro Race from the dawn of civilization to the present time. We are reminded that the earliest instruction was imported orally and this system is still found extant in Africa and among other Oriental nations. It is useful, because it trains the mind to list and retain. The modern school with its many books, but without systematic lectures, turns out many graduates who are lacking in retentiveness and no sooner than the sound of the words has left their teachers' lips, the subject has been forgotten; and if they are called upon to explain the theme, it is reduced to an incomprehensible mass of meaningless words. The university graduate is wont to overestimate his ability, fresh from the machinery that endows him with a parchment and crowns him with knowledge, he steps out into the world to meet the practical men with years of experience and mother wit. It is a contrast, the professional man with the veneer of high art, and the acquaintance with the best authors, and up to date histories demanding recognition. All these books take their proper places when applied to the white people, but when applied or measured up to the black people, they lack the substantial and the inspiring. They are like meat without salt, they bear no analogy to our own; and for this reason it would be a wise plan for us to lay down a course of study in Negro History and achievements.²⁰⁴

Although their relationship was conflicting at times, Du Bois respected

Schomburg's views, as Schomburg was known as the "the Sherlock Holmes of Negro history."²⁰⁵ Like Du Bois, who had partnered with many prominent Black writers and educators in his career, Schomburg worked with a group of Puerto Rican nationalists in New York City who were notable philosophers and creative writers.²⁰⁶ Eugenio María de

204. Arthur Schomburg, "Racial Integrity: A Plea for the Establishment of a Chair of Negro History in our Schools and Colleges" (New York: The Negro Society for Historical Research Occasional Paper no. 3, 1913), 5-6. A copy of this paper can be obtained in the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York.

205. Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*, 2.

206. Nicolás Kanellos and Helvetia Martell. *Hispanic Periodicals in the United States, Origins to 1960: A Brief History and Comprehensive Bibliography*. (Houston, Tex.: Arte Publico Press, 2000), 216-219, accessed September 2, 2015, https://catalog.Libraries.rutgers.edu/vufind/catalog_search.php?record=1523743.

Hostos, Ramón Emeterio Betances, Lola Rodríguez de Tió, and Luis Muñoz Rivera were noteworthy figures in the “independence movement” and contributors to “exile” publications.²⁰⁷ These publications were translated to English and targeted to influence Puerto Rico regarding U.S. governmental policies.²⁰⁸ Schomburg also co-founded *Los Dos Antilles*, where he “delivered eloquent speeches that would be printed in the newspapers circulated throughout the exile communities and smuggled into Puerto Rico.”²⁰⁹

It is evident that as a supporter of clubs and organizations that assisted expatriates in New York, Schomburg was a strong advocate for the rights of people of African descent in Harlem. Schomburg set out to prove not only his own self-worth as a man of Puerto Rican and African descent but also the worth of the people with whom he most identified: the Negro race.²¹⁰ Schomburg said, “The Negro has been a man without a history because he has been considered a man without a culture.”²¹¹

Du Bois engaged the renaissance as adults and school children organized history clubs to supplement the limited education about the Negro race that was taught in schools.²¹² It was believed that, to combat the theory that Blacks were inferior and thus had no history and culture, students must be introduced to their own race history and culture through formal and informal education, as implied by Boas in his speech in 1906 at Atlanta University. To encourage the Negro community to develop racial pride and

207. *Ibid.*, 10, 19.

208. *Ibid.*

209. Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*; Rodrigo Lazo, *Writing to Cuba: Filibustering and Cuban Exiles in the United States* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2005), 74.

210. *Ibid.*

211. Schomburg, “The Negro Digs Up His Past,” 672.

212. “Library Aids Negroes,” *New York Times*.

acceptance of the White community as intellectual equals, further research on the accomplishments and contributions was needed.

Living in Harlem had provided Du Bois with unlimited access to the study of the “city Negro,” to which he would devote most of his life’s work to challenge scientific racist theories. Through his efforts, Black Americans acquired a fundamental awareness that, to enact social and political change, they needed to be educated on their race, origins, roots, development, and accomplishments to challenge the theories of scientific racism and Black intellectual inferiority.

Based on his speech “the city Negro,” Du Bois was keenly aware of the density in Harlem that had once been highly populated by European immigrants who immigrated to cities from Ireland, Germany, Italy, Holland, France, England, and other countries throughout Europe.²¹³ The constant flow of immigrants filled the growing cities with new populations who were always willing to live in the oldest, substandard housing in order to gain a foothold in mainstream society. Immigration during the early twentieth century had a profound impact in the development of cities.

The Germans and Irish were among the earlier immigrants and much later came the Jews, Italians, Polish, Slavics, Hungarians, and other groups.²¹⁴ The majority of the immigrants were poor and of low socioeconomic status and worked as manual laborers.²¹⁵ Prior to the Great Migration, the early influx of European immigrants created tensions in the community.²¹⁶ Increased populations and the emergence of the Black migrants created

213. Du Bois, *The city Negro*, ca. 1910, Du Bois Papers.

214. Ibid.; Joseph F. Healey, *Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Class: The Sociology of Group Conflict and Change* (Pine Forge Press, 2011).

215. Ibid.

216. Ibid.

tensions among the groups.²¹⁷ Their issues provided the origin for the urbanization of cities.²¹⁸

Based on his social scientific research, Du Bois had determined that human agency, not biology, was the key factor that defined the “Negro problem”—a theory that was strongly rejected by most White sociologists of the day. Morris (2015) noted,

The combination of social conditions that came to be known as the Negro problem encapsulated the struggles between whites and former slaves, who, as free persons competed for jobs and demanded socially quality. Because a stiff white resistance to black aspirations, Du Bois, at the beginning of the 20th century concluded that the major unasked question of whites regarding Blacks laws: how does it feel to be a problem? Du Bois answered “being a problem is a strange experience, peculiar even for one who has never been anything else, save perhaps in babyhood and in Europe”. . . .Thus, America faces serious challenges regarding social relations between immigrants, Blacks, Native born whites during the period of rapid industrialization.²¹⁹

Du Bois entered the environment in the middle of these conflicts with attempts to join the Harlem Renaissance movement to change the trajectory of this population. It was necessary for the Du Bois and the 135th Street Branch Library to respond adequately to social class poverty and racial-cultural differences that had persisted throughout the last century.

Essentially a conveyor belt of persons trying to enter American society, these immigrants played a role in building the “Good City” physically with their labor, but also by filling subordinate roles in the service industries and putting pressure on the housing

217. Ibid.

218. Ibid.

219. Morris, *Scholar*, 7, 8.

market.²²⁰ This pressure allowed the veteran immigrants to migrate to improved housing.²²¹

However, in the early 1900s, the time period to which Du Bois referred in his speech, the social landscape had changed and the area had quickly become populated with free Blacks from the South. This period, known as the Great Migration, sparked an interest in cities for Du Bois and other Black intellectuals and based on the high influx of the Black population served as an ideal location to investigate the problems of the “city Negro” educate the masses on Negro history and culture. The years between World War I (1914–1918) and the Great Depression (1929–1941) were a time of massive industrialization that brought on rapid urbanization and an increase in the Black population in cities across the nation.²²² Between 1920 and 1930 in particular, thousands of African Americans left the South and settled in Harlem in hopes not only of economic opportunities but also a more racially tolerant and inclusive environment.²²³ Gottdiener and Hutchinson (2011) wrote, “At the turn of the last century, the mechanization of agriculture, coupled with the immense increase in industrialization with its job opportunities, both pushed and pulled Blacks off southern farms and into northern factories.”²²⁴

An article in the *Washington Post* in 1925 described this upper Manhattan area as “a great Mecca.”²²⁵ The article described it as, “In one square mile a little north of Central

220. Healey, *Race, Ethnicity, Gender and Class*.

221. Ibid.

222. Osofsky, *Ghetto*.

223. Ibid.; Du Bois, *The city Negro*, ca. 1910, Du Bois Papers.

224. M. Gottdiener and R. Hutchinson, *The New Urban Sociology*, (Westview Press: Boulder: Colorado, 2011), 186.

225. “Negroes Establish a World Capital In New York’s Harlem,” E4.

Park in New York City lives more negroes than have ever before been gathered in the history of the world.”²²⁶ The article presented a clear description of the Black migration experience and life in Harlem to illustrate the changing demographics and social landscape critical to this study.²²⁷

Jump Two Generations, 1903: A railroad ticket and a suitcase, like a Baghdad carpet, transport the Negro from the cotton field to the farm to the heart of the most complex urban civilization,” writes Alain Locke, professor of philosophy at Howard University, under whose supervision the number was prepared. Here, in the mass, he must and does survive a *jump of two generations* in social economy and of a century or more in civilization. Meanwhile the Negro poet, student, artist, thinker by the very move that normally would take him off at a tangent from the masses finds themselves in their midst. . . . [“Within Harlem’s seventy or eighty blocks, for the first time in their lives,”] says WAY. Domingo of the West Indies, colored people of Spanish, French and Dutch, Arabian, Danish, Portuguese, British and native African ancestry or nationality meet and move together. Here they have their first contact with one another, with larger numbers of American Negroes and with the American brand of race prejudice.²²⁸

Du Bois had closely observed the manner in which Black people in Harlem had settled, assimilated, and lived. In his eyes, based on his social scientific study of urban Blacks published in the *Philadelphia Negro* (1899), Blacks were the victims of oppression that had compromised their ability to gain social capital equal to that of Whites and to be viewed as equals in urban society.

By 1910, one year after Du Bois moved to Harlem, the national rate of population growth in cities had nearly doubled within a 10-year span.²²⁹ This proliferation enhanced cultural fears amongst the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant and European immigrants who had been living in the urban neighborhoods. European immigrants from Ireland,

226. Ibid., E4.

227. Ibid.

228. Ibid.

229. Nativity of the Population for Urban Places Ever Among the 50 Largest Urban Places Since 1870: 1850 to 1990, accessed February 9, 2016, <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab22.html>.

Germany, Italy, Holland, France, England, and other parts of Europe originally populated America's cities.²³⁰ The social landscape challenged the notion that Blacks were on equal footing with Whites. This environment was an ideal location for Du Bois to study the Black race to build his argument against scientific racism and apply what he had learned from the Philadelphia study on the urban Negro. A place that, during the early twentieth century, had attracted thousands of Blacks from the South, Harlem was the focal point for much of Du Bois's work between 1906-1932. The migration of Blacks to Harlem generally began around the 1890s, simultaneous with the burgeoning of cities.²³¹ In Harlem, Blacks were engaged in a re-evaluation of what it meant to be Black in America and where the Negro race fit in to a contemporaneous American history.

During the early 1900s, migration to Harlem had expanded at such a rate that the 1910 census reported that 50.1 percent of Manhattan's Black American population was living north of Eighty-Sixth Street.²³² The African American population in the Harlem vicinity rose from 4.8 percent in 1870 to 24.3 percent in 1900.²³³ Between 1900 and 1910 the San Juan Hill neighborhood expanded so quickly that it became the largest Black migrant section in Manhattan.²³⁴ All throughout 1910, Blacks continued this movement. Blacks already living in Manhattan had shifted their residential pattern and moved up to the Harlem district. The greatest increases in 1900 were in the neighborhoods north of Eighty-Sixth Street.²³⁵ Between 1910 and 1920, the Black population in Harlem increased

230. Cremin, *American Education*.).

231. Osofsky, *Ghetto*.

232. Seth M. Scheiner, "The Negro in New York City, 1865-1910" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, New York, 1963).

233. Ibid.

234. Ibid.

235. Scheiner, "The Negro in New York City, 1865-1910".

by 66 per cent.²³⁶ During a 10-year span from 1920 to 1930, the Black population increased from 91,709 to 152,467.²³⁷ It then expanded by 115 per cent to 327,706.²³⁸ Between 1920 and 1930, Whites began to flee the Harlem area.²³⁹ During this period, 118,792 Whites fled Harlem and 87,417 Negroes moved into the neighborhoods.²⁴⁰ By 1930, 164,566 Blacks, approximately 72 per cent of Manhattan's Black population, lived in Harlem.²⁴¹ Due to the ongoing process of outward migration and eventual suburbanization, the immigrant and migrant populations shifted drastically. These data demonstrate the continued growth of the Black population in Harlem. Table 1 shows the continued population growth in the cities in general.²⁴²

E. Franklin Frazier, in his ecological study of Harlem, said,

In contrast to the Negro community in Chicago with a spatial pattern determined almost entirely by the ecological organization of the larger community, the radial expansion of the Harlem Negro community from its center, the area in which Negroes first settled, can be represented by five zones, similar to the pattern of zones of a *self-contained city*.²⁴³

In an article published by *The Washington Post*, Harlem was described as “a Negro colony within a community,” “a city within a city,” and “the greatest Negro city in the world.”²⁴⁴ However, during the early twentieth century, fewer Black Americans had

236. Osofsky, *Ghetto*; Du Bois, *The city Negro*, ca. 1910, Du Bois Papers.

237. Ibid.

238. Ibid.

239. Ibid.

240. Ibid.

241. Census-Nativity of the Population (1850).

242. Ibid.

243. E. Franklin Frazier, “Negro Harlem: An Ecological Study,” *American Journal of Sociology* 43 (1), University of Chicago Press (1937): 72, accessed February 12, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/2768234>.

244. “Negroes Establish a World Capital In New York's Harlem,” E4.

TABLE 1. Comparison of New York City population to total United States population in urban cities, 1900–1930

| Year | Total population, United States | Total population, U.S. cities (> 2,500) | Population in New York City | Percentage New York City population of total U.S. urban population |
|------|------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|--|
| 1900 | 76,212,168 | 30,214,832 | 3,437,202 | 11% |
| 1910 | 91,972,266 92,228,496 | 42,064,001 | 4,766,883 | 11% |
| 1920 | 105,710,620 106,021,537 | 54,253,282 | 5,620,048 | 10% |
| 1930 | 122,775,046 123,202,634 | 69,160,599 | 6,930,446 | 10% |

Note. U.S. Census Bureau. Selected Historical Decennial Census Population and Housing Counts United States, 1790-1990.

resided in cities than European immigrants. When Blacks made an eventual transition to urban areas, they were in search of improved educational and occupational opportunities. The migration of Blacks to the North significantly shifted the distribution of the Black population in the United States as a whole. These urban issues remain a major factor in inner cities today. This population shift produced an urban ghetto: an environment of racism, discrimination, extreme poverty, lack of healthcare, poor education, vile housing, and lack of employment. The streets were unkempt and filled with garbage, the sewage system in the tenements was inadequate or nonexistent, and living conditions were overcrowded beyond normal tolerance.²⁴⁵ There was a higher incidence of disease and

245. Ibid.; Census-Nativity of the Population (1850); National Center for Health Statistics (US), Division of Vital Statistics, United States. National Vital Statistics Division, United States. National Office of Vital Nativity of the Population for Urban Places Ever Among the 50 Largest Urban Places Since 1870: 1850 to 1990, accessed

death related to unsanitary conditions in the tenements. Alain Locke (1925) provided a depiction of the Harlem migration in his book *The New Negro*.

[Harlem] is not a quarter of dilapidated tenements-but is made up of new apartments- and handsome dwellings with well paved and well lighted streets. It has its own churches, social and civic, centers, shops, theaters and other places of amusement. A stranger who rides up magnificent seventh-avenue on a bus or in an automobile must be struck with surprise at the transformation, which takes place after he crosses one hundred and twenty fifth-street. Beginning there, the population suddenly darkens and he rides through 25 solid block where the passersby, the shoppers, those sitting in restaurants, coming out in theaters standing in doorways and looking out of windows are practically all Negroes and then he emerges where the population as suddenly becomes white again.²⁴⁶

The ethnic make-up of Harlem is critical to this study, as the conflicts between racial and ethnic groups were often racially, culturally, and religiously based, which was a factor in Du Bois's decision to settle in Harlem. Du Bois had conducted studies in the city based on his publication *The Philadelphia Negro*, which suited best his work to reach the masses of a population, which represented the economically, educationally, and politically disadvantaged. In it he said that he sought to highlight that "Negro problems are problems of human beings; ungrounded assumptions or metaphysical subtleties."²⁴⁷

Professor Karl Johnson, author of *Police-Black Community Relations in Postwar*

Philadelphia: Race and Criminalization in Urban Social Spaces, 1945-1960, lectured on his insight into this historical issue. He said,

W.E.B. Du Bois was very effective in the Philadelphia Negro study because he did face to face survey and conducted a valid sociological study. He was able to analyze and conclude that the reasons why blacks did not progress during the early 20th century was due to white racism or segregation-and a lack of education

February 9, 2016,

<http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab22.html>; Statistics, and United States, Bureau of the Census, Vital Statistics Division, Vital statistics of the United States, vol. 1. United States Bureau of the Census, 1984.

246. Locke, *The New Negro*, 301.

247. Du Bois and Eaton, "*The Philadelphia Negro*," iv.

of their condition. Blacks that were affluent could not move out into affluent areas and gain better facilities. There was still a race system working against them. Each race was designated to a certain type of job in the mainstream—which essentially was based on race. Du Bois looked at the city of Philadelphia because prior to the widespread migration it was a city of immigrants, long type whites, older blacks and former slaves who lived there and also southern migrants. You had an entire mix of society as in Harlem, New York. Du Bois analyzed everything he saw that blacks were rejected from due in fact because of their race. Blacks could not go to the movies, there were limited or no job opportunities, and housing discrimination was prevalent. These are just some of the urban issues blacks had faced in cities across the nation. Du Bois used data and face to face surveys to conduct his studies in Philadelphia. If you go to the Philadelphia police blog—it lists the mini race riots at a time when whites would attack blacks if they tried to move into the white neighborhood within the urban space. Also, blacks were unable [to use] the public swimming pools no matter the urban neighborhood in which they lived. They were prejudice against the race. Ironically, however, the city—the urban city reflects America—all types of people come to Philadelphia and New York City---the city is said to be a microcosm of “America”---New York City is the “Metropolis” and Philadelphia was the “second city” until Chicago later took over. Du Bois knew that to better educated the race on black history so they could gain an understanding of black problems this could lead to change for the black and white community. His work at the Schomburg was critical to this cause. His time spent in Harlem was crucial, especially during the Renaissance. But even there blacks did not escape urban racism and discrimination, violence, and many other limitations.²⁴⁸

Although the demographics of Harlem may have served as a benefit to some, many White residents resisted the expansion of Harlem’s Black population for several reasons.²⁴⁹ First, the myth of scientific racism had dominated the discourse and influenced people’s racial worldview.²⁵⁰ Second, the attribution of Black intellectual inferiority had been sustained for centuries and perpetuated the belief that Blacks were intellectually

248. Johnson, “W.E.B. Du Bois’s Fight for Change in Urban America,” (lecture).

249. Fendrich R. Clark, “W. E. B. Du Bois and the Rhetoric of Social Change, 1897–1907: Attitude as Incipient Action.” (PhD dissertation, Duquesne University, 2009), 28, accessed September 1, 2016,

<http://search.proquest.com.proxy.Libraries.rutgers.edu/docview/304878670?accountid=13626>.

250. Ibid.

inferior to the White race and did not deserve to be viewed as equals.²⁵¹ Third, in Harlem, Whites feared drastic decreases in property values, which served as an economic deficit for many White families.²⁵² Fourth, racial tension between the races was strong, based on the belief that Blacks were of an inferior race and therefore of a lower socioeconomic status.²⁵³ Fifth, it was thought that the newly settled migrants would pollute the neighborhood and bring about vice and violence to the European immigrants.²⁵⁴ Mrs. Graham Du Bois (1978) wrote,

Rioting broke out in cities across the United States in the years between 1915 and 1920. A particularly brutal riot took place in East St. Louis, Illinois in 1917. The NAACP organized a parade to protest the terrorization of Black communities, and the “Dyer anti-lynch” bill was introduced to Congress in 1921. In the front line of parade are Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, Reverend Hutchins Bishop, and Jack Neil, prominent New York realtor.²⁵⁵

In 1909, the year in which Du Bois had arrived in Harlem, he had entered a world of social exclusion among the Blacks in the urban environment. As made evident in this study, Harlem had transformed into a segregated neighborhood that fit under the indices of segregation. Massey and Denton (1988) offered five distinct dimensions of geographic variations characterized Harlem: (a) unevenness—Blacks were distributed throughout New York City, overrepresented in Harlem and underrepresented in other sections of New York City, which led to varying degrees of unevenness; (b) isolation—Blacks were distributed across the community, so that their racial isolation was ensured by virtue of rarely sharing a neighborhood with Whites; (c) clustered—Black neighborhoods may be tightly clustered to form a large contiguous enclave or scattered about in checkerboard

251. Ibid.

252. Ibid.

253. Ibid.

254. Ibid.

255. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 50.

fashion; and (d) concentrated—Blacks may be concentrated in a very small area or settled sparsely throughout the urban environment; and (e) centralized—Blacks may be spatially centralized around the urban core or spread out along the periphery.²⁵⁶ In his speech “The city Negro,” Du Bois gave a depiction of the Black experience in New York in 1900, nine years prior to his move to the city. Du Bois said,

When Governor Ward Hunt recommended the passage of the Black Laws which would have forbidden even the settlement of any blacks or mulattos within the city of New York and would have placed further restriction on those already here, the charge of unthrift was utterly disproven by a statement showing that everywhere conditions were the worst, in New York, Brooklyn and Williamsburg, the Negro had increased twenty five percent in population. . . . If now this group of people had been allowed to rise in the community according to their desert, and if economic and political opportunities had been freely opened to them, large numbers of them would have arisen out of the way of the new emigrants who poured into the cities since the war.²⁵⁷

Blacks in cities may be spatially centralized around the urban core or spread out along the periphery. Dr. Karl Johnson (2004) offered his historical insight on the social space and racial divisions with urban cities, as this was important as to why Du Bois choose to settle in Harlem and work at the 135th Street Library during the Harlem Renaissance period. He said,

Also, within cities the black population is divided by class, skin color, relationships-family and personal---the black population is very mixed. Blacks from the south and Blacks who have been there a long period of time occupy cities. Class dynamics of blacks and a full array of institutions like black businesses, black barbers, black churches, black intellectuals therefore, have a full array of a black population in cities. You cannot say all blacks are low class. Some are high class some are low class. Du Bois in his research found that at every level Blacks were discriminated against by whites. . . . The city brings in every type of population in America - it is an immigrant city, it contains old whites, and old blacks who either descended from American slavery or who migrated from the south in search of better opportunities in urban spaces. Philadelphia for example was originally a capital-and it's a port. It is a city with

256. Massey and Denton, “The Dimensions”.

257. Du Bois, *The city Negro*, ca. 1910, Du Bois Papers, 8.

all classes of blacks. Du Bois saw that college educated and poor blacks were discriminated against at the same level as working class blacks. He proved that you could not say that any particular level determined whether you would face discrimination.²⁵⁸

The 135th Street Branch Library was surrounded by Black migrants who had arrived in Harlem to develop a culture and a new way of life within their own enclaves. Du Bois believed that what he brought to the community could flourish under the conditions in which he lived. This is evidenced based on his writings as shown in this study. Migrants who had no relatives or friends with whom to reside had no other course but to seek their own housing. Unfortunately, due to discriminatory housing policies, rental prices increased dramatically in the Black sections. Therefore, Blacks often lived in boarding houses or tenement buildings, which were congested and almost unlivable. The houses that Black Americans occupied were believed to be the worst in the neighborhood.²⁵⁹ The residential areas were segregated from most European immigrants. This contributed to an economic situation in the community in which indigence increased disproportionately in a population of newcomers. When Du Bois first arrived in Harlem in the early 1900s, the settlement house movement had begun. To accommodate the mass migration of Blacks from the South, Harlem had established settlement houses in the center near 135th Street.²⁶⁰

Surrounding the vicinity of the 135th Street Branch Library was the first settlement house, established in 1887. In the midst of a movement to accommodate the changing demographics, Du Bois observed the growing settlement movement in Harlem.

258. Johnson, "W.E.B. Du Bois's Fight for Change in Urban America," (lecture).

259. Reid, "Mirrors".

260. Arthur Holden C., *The Settlement Idea* (New York, NY: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1970): 14; Robert A. Woods, and Albert J. Kennedy, *Handbook on Settlement Houses*, (New York, NY: Arno Press, 1970.)

When Du Bois arrived in Harlem in 1909, the first settlement had preceded his arrival by 22 years. The goal was to serve the people and to bring about social change within the community.²⁶¹ The racial dynamics that changed in urban cities, such as racism and social composition, created pressures on the lower segments of real estate properties and housing was scarce in the area. The settlement houses were generally located in the impoverished urban neighborhoods through sections of New York City. Originally established for European immigrants who had settled in the poorest sections of cities, the settlement movement was an approach to combat the issues of the most penurious neighborhoods in cities.²⁶² The model of this establishment was to assign workers (synonymous to social workers) to live in the urban neighborhoods examine the daily lives of the needy.²⁶³ Generally, settlement workers came from middle-class to upper-class backgrounds. In general, there were 74 American settlements by 1897 (a period simultaneous to when Du Bois conducted the “first” social scientific study of the urban Black), 103 in 1900, and 204 in 1905.²⁶⁴ New York City had become one of the first major cities in the United States to experience such Black expansion and needed to participate in this movement. Reform efforts such as these during the early twentieth century into the Harlem Renaissance were implemented on an experimental basis, with attempts to alleviate some of the effects that Black Harlem residents had experienced due to urban racism based on scientific theory.²⁶⁵

261. Ibid.

262. Ibid.

263. Ibid.

264. Ibid.; Woods and Kennedy, *Handbook on Settlement Houses*, 6.

265. Ibid.; Woods and Kennedy, *Handbook on Settlement Houses*.

Based on the communications between Du Bois and the staff at the 135th Street Branch Library, he used his scholarship and creativity to educate the public on the accomplishments of the Black race. Admiring Rose's background and experience and willingness to work to improve the condition of the Black race, Du Bois fervently sought her for assistance to create a movement that would educate the masses on Black history and culture at the 135th Street Branch Library.

Ernestine Rose, the library's head librarian, described Harlem as the "greatest Negro city in the world," available equally to scholars, the man on the street, and schoolchildren of all races.²⁶⁶ On 19 June 1920, the *Chicago Defender* released this announcement:

Miss Ernestine Rose Appointed

The authorities of the New York Public Library have at last consented to more adequately adjust the library to the needs of this community by employing persons who are particularly adapted to the situation in Harlem. The first step in adjusting the library in order that it may more effectively meet the needs of the community was taken in the appointment of Miss Ernestine Rose as head librarian who will have our workers assisting her. The present change is the culmination of a movement started some time ago when representatives from the New York Urban League met New York Public library officials. The change was decided upon at a conference held some weeks ago with Franklin F. Hopper, chief of the circulation staff. Many suggestions were made, chief among them being that our workers understand the community better, had more sympathy for persons using the branch, and hence could more effectively meet the needs of the community. The suggestion was accepted, and beginning on July 1, our girls will enter the service of the New York Public Library, a vocation hitherto closed to all persons of color. It may be well to note that this is in keeping with the policy of the Urban League, in that it tries to get persons represented on all staffs of organization where they are barred, especially where we are concerned.²⁶⁷

266. *The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races*, December, 1978, vol. 85, no. 10 Whole Number 757, 33, accessed August 1, 2015, <https://books.google.com/books>.

267. "Miss Ernestine Rose Appointed." *The Chicago Defender (Big Weekend Edition)* (1905-1966), 2, Jun 19, 1920. Accessed April 4, 2016, <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/docview/493422730?accountid=13626>.

Miss Rose had been known for the development of services that catered to “ethnic” neighborhoods; she was sought by the New York Public Library to address the needs of the Harlem community by facilitating the enhancement of the library’s resources on Black history and culture. As a result of her efforts and strong commitment to the movement, Miss Rose extended herself to the Harlem community as the primary source of information on archival materials on Negro history and culture.²⁶⁸ She had already established her career in library science when she came to work for the 135th Street Branch Library.²⁶⁹

After Du Bois had been living in Harlem for nearly 20 years, Harlem continued to expand, with a need to accommodate a growing population of Black migrants. Du Bois was contacted on 10 May 1928 by Mr. G. Grolles, Director of The Settlement Music School located at 416 Queen Street in Philadelphia, who sought to make a connection regarding the availability of settlement houses in Harlem. In his letter to Du Bois, Grolles inquired as to whether Du Bois had any prior knowledge of settlement houses in Harlem.²⁷⁰ Grolles wrote,

As our neighborhood is changing largely to a colored population, I feel that it would perhaps be possible to make our art contact with our colored neighbors. In order to find the best approaches I wonder if I could be shown the developments, which are going on in Harlem? If convenient for you, I would be very glad to come to New York and spend a day or two at one of the colored settlements so that I could get acquainted and discuss my plans with those who know best. May I ask you to inform me at your earliest convenience, as I need to plan my work.²⁷¹

268. Ibid.

269. Ibid.

270. Settlement Music School. Letter from The Settlement Music School to W. E. B. Du Bois, May 10, 1928. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed April 1, 2017, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b045-i478>

271. Ibid.

Du Bois responded in a letter dated 15 May 1928,

There is a music school settlement in New York in the Negro district known as the Martin-Smith Music School. It is situated at 139 West 136th Street, N.Y. Mr. David Manis has been interested in teaching music to Negroes and might help you. I do not know of any other settlement houses in Negro districts. The 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library might give you some information. I am sorry not be able to give you more definite facts.²⁷²

Du Bois supported this progressive movement, the mission of which was in line with his thinking to address the “Negro problem” as exemplified by his writings on the subject of urban Blacks. When Blacks first migrated to New York City in search of relief from the scientific racist oppression that they had experienced in the South, Victoria Earle Matthews founded New York City’s first settlement in New York City, named The White Rose Mission, in February 1897,²⁷³ the same year that Du Bois had conducted his studies on urban Blacks (published in the *Philadelphia Negro* in 1899). Matthews, born into slavery in 1861 in Fort Valley, Georgia, was fair skinned and could pass for a White woman. Matthews was aware of and cherished her Negro heritage but she used her physical characteristics to pursue her cause.²⁷⁴ Her mission was to assist Black women and young girls who recently migrated to New York from the South. It is said that Matthews, considered a pioneer in this arena, predated the movement with the establishment of this facility.²⁷⁵

272. Ibid.

273. Steven Kramer, “Uplifting Our “Downtrodden Sisterhood”: Victoria Earle Matthews and New York City’s White Rose Mission, 1897-1907, *The Journal of African American History*, 91(3), (2006): 243-266, accessed March 15, 2014.

<http://www.jstor.org>.

274. Ibid.

275. Ibid.

Du Bois's mission to educate Blacks on Negro history and culture directly impacted the settlement house residents.²⁷⁶ Du Bois was aware of the problems experienced by Black women and young girls in Harlem and saw it as a part of the "Negro problem" that, due to scientific racist beliefs, had limited the freedoms of Blacks in cities.²⁷⁷ He catered to female Harlem residents.

Morris (2015) noted what Du Bois had said on the topic of women back in 1920, while living in Harlem.

What is today the message of these black women to America and to the world? The uplift of women is, next to the problem of the color line and the peace movement is, our greatest modern cause. When, now, two of these movements—woman and color—combine in one, the combination has deep meaning.²⁷⁸

As evidence of his commitment to the education of young women and girls on Negro history and culture in his quest to challenge scientific racism, Du Bois facilitated lectures in Harlem. He kept a "Syllabus of lectures to colored working girls" dated circa 11 July 1918, in which he outlined his proposed lecture topics for this particular audience: The syllabus reads as follows:

| | | |
|----------------------|------------|-------|
| EARNING A LIVING- | 8 Lectures | \$100 |
| 1. Necessity of work | | |
| 2. Nature of work | | |
| 3. Kinds of work | | |
| 4. Income | | |
| 5. Property | | |
| 6. Capital | | |
| 7. Wages | | |
| 8. Savings | | |
| ETHICS OF SPENDING- | 8 Lectures | \$100 |
| 1. Wants | | |
| 2. Spendthrifts | | |

276. Ibid.

277. Ibid.

278. Morris, *Scholar*, 220.

3. Misers
4. Luxuries
5. Necessities
6. Goods
7. Services
8. Ideals

CAREERS OPEN TO COLORED GIRLS- 1 2 Lectures \$150

1. Modern Division of Labor
2. Present Division of Labor among American Negroes
3. Farming
4. Sewing
5. Shop and Factory
6. Food Preparation
7. Clerks and Stenographers
8. Merchants
9. Artists
10. Actors
11. Teachers
12. Domestic and Personal Service
13. The Home

THE ORGANIZATION OF PLEASURE 9 Lectures \$125

1. The Philosophy of Pleasure
2. Drinking and Gambling
3. Physical Exercise
4. Music and Dancing
5. Social Intercourse
6. Travel
7. Theatre and Lectures
8. Reading and Study
9. Recreation and Health

THE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA 8 Lectures \$100

1. Africa
2. The Negro Race
3. The Slave Trade
4. The West Indies and South America
5. The Colonies
6. The Cotton Kingdom
7. Emancipation
8. Recent Development ²⁷⁹

279. Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Syllabus of Lectures to Colored Working Girls, ca. July 11, 1918, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special

This makes evident that, similar to Mathews, the education of women and girls on Negro history and culture was of interest to Du Bois. Educating this population was as crucial as ever during a time of scientific racist discourse that had affected the race for centuries. The approach that was taken by Du Bois to challenge scientific racism would be described by Morris (2015) as one that considered intersectionality in American society.²⁸⁰ Through his studies, Du Bois examined how race, class, and gender are considered when attempting to understand the social stratification and oppression under the systems within society.²⁸¹ He posited that this condition was caused by generations of scientific racist discourse that applied in particular to Black Americans. Morris (2015) wrote, “Race, class and gender have become central to sociological approach to seeking to understand social stratification in the contemporary world by explicating the interaction among these systems of oppression and showing how they are mutually reinforcing.”²⁸² Du Bois led the application of this theory to the sociological scientific studies of Blacks in cities and was considered to be the founder of this approach.²⁸³

Du Bois’s approach to the theory of intersectionality can be applied to his work to educate Blacks on Negro history and culture. With an interest in accommodating the Black migrant community including young women and girls, some of whom resided in the Harlem settlement houses, the Harlem tenements and the YWCA which surrounded the 135th Street Branch library, Du Bois engaged the movement to change the trajectory of this population. Du Bois said in his speech “the city Negro” in 1910,

Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed March 30, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b011-i261>.

280. Morris, *Scholar*.

281. *Ibid.*

282. *Ibid.*, 220.

283. *Ibid.*

We have today a peculiar congestion: a pressing down when the better class from the top, and a pressing in of the new untrained Negro at the bottom. Such a result calls for special social work, such as is represented by the Lincoln Settlement. The need for this social work throughout the land has been recognized, not simply by white people, but by Negroes themselves, and they have been in the last ten years hastening to cooperate. There are in the United States today some six social settlements outside of the Negro schools . . . which are largely settlements in character.²⁸⁴

Morris (2015) discussed how Du Bois considered the oppression of Black women and applied it to the notion of stratification within society and noted that Du Bois was the first sociologist to engage in intersectional analysis—the study of race, gender, and class and their effects on social structures—and noted that the analysis continues to be relevant to contemporary intersectionality theory.²⁸⁵ Morris cited Cheryl Gilkes as saying that “early in the history of sociology, W. E. B. Du Bois emphasized that gender, race and class intersected in the lives of black women to foster an important critical perspective or standpoint.”²⁸⁶

The 135th Street Branch Library, located within blocks of the White Rose Mission, provided support to women and girls who were the victims of oppression, and Du Bois worked to reach this population. Although Du Bois’s social scientific studies at Atlanta University were denied adequate funding, national recognition, and professional support needed to attain national recognition and respect in the field in comparison to the Chicago School, his hypothesis served as the foundation for future sociological studies on urban populations.²⁸⁷ Morris (2015) wrote, “While it [theory of intersectionality] has

284. Du Bois, *The city Negro*, ca. 1910, Du Bois Papers, 17-18.

285. *Ibid.*; Morris, *Scholar*, 220.

286. *Ibid.*

287. *Ibid.*

developed over the last three decades, its intellectual roots are to be found in Du Bois's work nearly a century ago."²⁸⁸

Also heartfelt and sensitive to the issues concerning the Black women migrants, Mathews followed her passion and founded a movement to extend assistance to this population.²⁸⁹ Du Bois understood this fervor as this supported his core belief in the improvement for the Black race evidenced by his well-documented accomplishments. Early in 1895, two years prior to when Du Bois would conduct his social scientific study on the "city Negro" in Philadelphia, Mathews suffered a tragic loss.²⁹⁰ Her son suddenly passed away at the age of 16 years old.²⁹¹ This incident served as a motivator for Mathews to dedicate her life to the improvement of Black women and girls in Harlem.²⁹² According to a description given by one of Mathew's colleagues, "Her heart turned in a special manner to children and young women."²⁹³

Based on her observations, Mathews concluded that there were "institutions for white girls and women, but for black girls and women there is nothing."²⁹⁴ Her motivator was to act on a vision to create a space for Black women and girls within the Harlem community. In an effort to research the problems experienced by Black women in the South, Mathews traveled to southern states and collected information on their living

288. Ibid., 220.

289. Ibid.; Kramer, "Uplifting."

290. Ibid.

291. Ibid.

292. Ibid.; Gerda Lerner, "Early Community Work of Black Club Women," *The Journal of Negro History*, 59(2), 158-167: 1974, accessed November 15, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org>; Ralph E. Luker, "Missions, Institutional Churches, and Settlement Houses: The Black Experience, 1885-1910," *The Journal of Negro History*, 69 (3/4) 1984: 101-113, accessed November 20, 2015 <http://www.jstor.org>.

293. Ibid.

294. Ibid., 244.

conditions.²⁹⁵ Because she was of very fair skin and could pass as a White, she was able to travel across the country without travel restrictions due to “perceived race.”²⁹⁶ When she travelled, what she found strengthened her intent to be a driving force in this arena and to make a change for the betterment of Black migrant women in cities.²⁹⁷ Along with Du Bois, she believed that Black women and girls in cities were subjected to dreadful conditions across the country.²⁹⁸ It is evident that scientific racist beliefs of black inferiority was so entrenched in the fabric of society that it not only targeted race, it cut across gender lines.

Du Bois was aware that Southern migrant women were enticed to travel to urban cities with false promises of honest employment.²⁹⁹ The women who migrated to the Harlem, for example, during the Great Migration expected to work in a honest domestic capacity; however, many of them were deceived by employment agencies and placed into an “immoral business,” such as prostitution, once they arrived.³⁰⁰ Considering the social conditions of the Blacks in Harlem at the time—poverty, joblessness, poor housing, and inadequate educational opportunities, and issues specific to young Black women and girls, Mathews set out to be an influential force in the effort to solve the “Negro problem” in urban centers.³⁰¹

295. Ibid.

296. Ibid., 246.

297. Ibid., 251.

298. Ibid.

299. Ibid.; Du Bois, *The city Negro*, ca. 1910, Du Bois Papers; Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*; Du Bois, *Souls*.

300. Ibid.

301. Gerda Lerner, “Early Community Work of Black Club Women.” *The Journal of Negro History*, 59(2), 158-167: 1974, accessed <http://www.jstor.org>, November 15, 2016;

In touch with Du Bois's greatest adversary, Booker T. Washington, on the subject of Black advancement on economic development and education for Blacks in America, Mathews wrote a letter to Washington stating her goals and her acceptance of his principles on the advancement of Blacks and the need for such work in New York City.³⁰²

In line with Du Bois's thinking, Mathews established her own settlement house for the purposes of offering literature courses on "race history." The settlement facility housed a library that contained a multitude of books on Black American history written by authors of African descent.³⁰³ This practice was strongly supported by Du Bois as he pursued his quest to challenge historical misconceptions of the Black race at the 135th Street Branch Library. In addition to providing shelter and offering vocational and domestic job training for the young Black women, Mathews at the White Rose Mission settlement offered classes specific to domestic work: sewing, dressmaking, millinery, and cooking.³⁰⁴

Mathews later expanded the function of the facilities to hold space for a kindergarten class, a reading room, library, gymnasium, and an area in which to conduct manual training for Black boys, the children of the mothers of the settlement house.³⁰⁵ Based on her work to address the social factors such as education for Black migrant women it can be concluded that Mathew's worked in tandem with the 135th Street Branch Library to ensure that Black women had access to Negro History and culture. The

Ralph E. Luker, "Missions, Institutional Churches, and Settlement Houses: The Black Experience, 1885-1910," *The Journal of Negro History*, 69(3/4), 101-113: 1984, accessed <http://www.jstor.org>, November 20, 2015).

302. Kramer, "Uplifting".

303. Ibid.; Guichard Parris and Lester Brooks, *Blacks in the City*, (Boston and Canada: Little Brown and Company, 1971).

304. Ibid.

305. Ibid.

settlement offered preparation in trade and professional courses such as typing, stenography, and bookkeeping.³⁰⁶ These services instilled in Harlem that Black culture was something of which to be proud. The goal, in common with Du Bois, was central to the mission of the White Rose Mission settlement. Mathews was influential in other settlement establishments, as both Blacks and Whites built on her efforts. It was proclaimed by many that the White Rose Mission was the first organization of its type to demand justice for Black American women and the community as a whole.

In tracing the movement of the White Rose Mission throughout Harlem, the structure had three locations in its first five years; by 1902, prior to Du Bois moving to Harlem, it had moved to 86th Street and provided room and board for \$1.25 per week.³⁰⁷ By 1918, however, the settlement had moved to 136th Street in Harlem, one block from the 135th Street Branch Library, where Du Bois was initiating his relationship to fight against scientific racism with Rose and Schomburg. The library served the patrons of the White Rose Mission and provided a space to partake in the efforts to educate the masses on Negro history and culture.

The National Urban League played a pivotal role in the twentieth-century Freedom Movement and was established by an industrial labors department to coordinate job opportunities for Black women to combat joblessness of Black migrants.³⁰⁸ The League also offered fellowships for training Black Americans in the field of social work

306. Ibid.

307. Ibid.

308. Ibid.; Eugene Knickle Jones, "Social Work Among Negroes," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 140 (287), 1928: 287-293, accessed December 10th 2015, <http://ann.sagepub.com/>.

to work in settlements and agencies such as the White Rose Mission.³⁰⁹ Like-minded individuals such as Edwin R. A. Seligmann of Columbia University, a writer and civil rights activist for Black Americans, served as its Chairman from 1911 to 1913.³¹⁰ Seligmann later worked with Du Bois at the NAACP from 1919 to 1932.³¹¹

In comparison to the other populations in New York City, including European migrants, Black Americans had the highest mortality rate. In 1890, 37.5 African Americans in every thousand died, compared to 28.5 deaths in the White population.³¹² Between 1895 and 1915, at the time Du Bois was residing in Harlem, the Black death rate in New York State exceeded the birth rate by 400 annually.³¹³ A study at Atlanta University, the institution at which Du Bois had conducted the “first” social scientific study of the urban Black, from 1923 to 1927 indicated that, during these years, Harlem’s death rate was 42 per cent higher than the rest of the city.³¹⁴

The Black family also suffered employment hardships. To pay for food, rent, and clothing, families had to work longer hours. However, the migrants earned lower wages than any other population in the district. Life was exceeding difficult for Blacks in Harlem. Steve Kramer (2006) said that, upon their arrival, Blacks found it extremely challenging to “secure employment in the higher grades of unskilled labor” and could

309 Ibid.

310. Ibid.

311. Ibid.

312. Ibid.; Osofsky, *Ghetto*; National Center for Health Statistics (US), Division of Vital Statistics, United States. National Vital Statistics Division, United States. National Office of Vital Nativity of the Population for Urban Places Ever Among the 50 Largest Urban Places Since 1870: 1850 to 1990, accessed February 9, 2016, <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab22.html>; Statistics, and United States, Bureau of the Census, Vital Statistics Division, Vital statistics of the United States, vol. 1, United States Bureau of the Census, 1984.

313. Osofsky, *Ghetto*.

314. Scheiner, “The Negro in New York City, 1865-1910”.

find work only in the occupations with the lowest wages.³¹⁵ In 1890, of 8,000 African American males in “gainful occupations,” only about 700 were in professional or skilled worker jobs.³¹⁶ Kramer (2006) discovered that in 1904 the “opportunity of the colored woman for supporting herself was much more restricted than that of the male portion of her race.”³¹⁷ The great majority was “confined to occupations of laundress, servant, waitress, and dressmaker.”³¹⁸ Ira De A. Reid (1927) found that most men were employed as elevator workers, porters, or longshoremen, revealing the disparate employment opportunities in Harlem for Blacks.³¹⁹

By the early twentieth century, most Blacks in Harlem were in a subordinate position. Professor William Julius Wilson (1996), in his book *When Work Disappears*, provided a modern perspective of the impact of joblessness in the urban neighborhood. “The consequences of high neighborhood joblessness are more devastating than those of high neighborhood poverty. A neighborhood in which people are poor, but employed is different from a neighborhood in which people are poor and jobless.”³²⁰

Intertwined within the time period of Du Bois’s work in New York City is the Great Depression, which was an important turning point for many residents of the city. However, it had a more profound effect on the Black community. The disproportionate rate of unemployment, coupled with discrimination, imposed new limitations on Blacks in Harlem and other cities across the nation.

315. Ibid.; Kramer, “Uplifting”: .

316. Ibid.; Nina Mjagkij and Margaret Spratt, *Men and Women Adrift: The YMCA and The YWCA in the City*, (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1997).

317. Ibid; Kramer, “Uplifting”, 246.

318. Ibid., 246.

319. Reid, “Mirrors”.

320. Ibid.; Wilson, W.J., *When Work Disappears*, xiii.

Wilson (1996) addressed the impact of racial discrimination and segregation in poor communities and linked it with the social conditions within the community.³²¹ He referred to this as “the new urban poverty,” a lower class community that is segregated with a high level of joblessness based on unemployment or dropping out of the labor force altogether.³²² He indicated that major contributing factors to joblessness in these poor communities included structural shifts in distribution, changes in occupational position (which require higher levels of education), and relocation of large plants, stores, and businesses.³²³ He pointed out that, where there is joblessness, which creates social exclusion, devoid of opportunities to utilize social network to enhance social capital, a feeling of being disconnected to what he called the “formal economy” is created and transforms into a feeling of apathy toward work that is passed on from generation to generation.³²⁴ He referred to this culture as being sustained through social interaction within the community, which in turn allows the poor class to adapt negative behaviors, which become means for survival in their community and therefore transforms into low esteem.³²⁵

In examining the historical, political, and economic development of urban landscape, Wilson’s (1996) work can be applied to Du Bois’s experience as he examined social structure and its relationship to joblessness in urban city communities. Wilson pointed out jobs in poor communities that had “disappeared” and affected the living

321. Ibid.

322. Ibid.

323. Ibid.

324. Ibid.

325. Ibid.

conditions and social conditions of the community.³²⁶ Wilson (1996) wrote, “Many of today’s problems in the inner-city ghetto neighborhoods—crime, family dissolution welfare, low levels of social organization, and so on—are fundamentally a consequence of the disappearance of work.”³²⁷

White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and European immigrants who had already settled in New York City did not welcome Black migrants. The newcomers were often blamed for problems such as crime, poor health, and poverty. Thus, welcoming of the new migrants was stalled by deep-rooted racism and discrimination. To well-established Americans, especially White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, the arrival of Black migrants was looked on with dismay.³²⁸ Most wished to close opportunities to the entire African American population. Thus, poverty, discrimination, poor health, and poor housing were interrelated conditions that became the central barriers to the Black community.

During the early twentieth century, when Blacks were settling in the community, they were perceived to be intellectually inferior to their European neighbors. Although their physical worlds were proximate, their social worlds could not be far enough apart.

From 1910 to 1930, during his time as editor of *The Crisis*, Du Bois worked feverishly with Schomburg, who held similar sentiments with regard to theories on race and science, and Ernestine Rose, who also believed that Blacks should be educated on their Negro history and culture at the 135th Street Branch Library. This is evident in the communications by Du Bois, Rose, and Schomburg. Schomburg and Rose stayed in frequent communication with Du Bois on matters of interest with regard to educating the

326. Ibid.

327. Ibid.; Wilson, *When Work Disappears*, xiii.

328. Ibid.

race. On 6 November 1920, while Du Bois was editor of *The Crisis*, Schomburg wrote to Du Bois to advise him that he was planning to loan him a pamphlet and requested that a notice about his Masonic Temple be placed in *The Crisis*.³²⁹ In a letter dated 25 March 1921 Schomburg thanked Du Bois for inviting him to the second Pan African Congress.³³⁰ Lewis (1994) wrote,

Du Bois had shaped and launched upon the rising tide of twentieth century nationalisms the idea of solidarity of the world's darker peoples, of the glories in the forgotten African past, of vanguard role destined to be played by Africans of the diaspora in the destruction of European imperialism, and finally as he grew older but more radical, of the inevitable emergence of a united and socialist Africa. . . . DuBoisian Pan-Africanism then, meant enormously more than the ethnic romanticism of roots traced and celebrated.³³¹

Du Bois and Schomburg stayed in frequent communication, reflecting their common purpose to set the record straight.

Ernestine Rose, head branch librarian, also valued Du Bois's contributions and frequently consulted him through letters on matters of the library. Rose often arranged for Du Bois to facilitate clippings, book evenings, history clubs, lectures, and forums.

In a letter dated December 1917, S. Zimand of the New York Public Library thanked Du Bois for his submission of clippings related to the Black race in New York City.³³² He expressed that the clippings would be of "great help" to the Library. "It was a

329. Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, 1874-1938, Letter from Authur Alfonso Schomburg to W. E. B. Du Bois, November 6, 1920, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, December 7, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b016-i148>.

330. Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, 1874-1938, Letter from Arthur A. Schomburg to W. E. B. Du Bois, March 25, 1921, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 7, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b018-i329>.

331. Lewis, *Biography*, 9.

332. New York Public Library, Letter from New York Public Library to W.E.B. Du Bois, December 21, 1917, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections

pleasant surprise to receive your generous contribution of clippings relative to the colored question.”³³³ In his reply to Zimand, Du Bois offered to send clippings each month. This is evidence of Du Bois’s eagerness to support the library for the purpose of educating the community on Black history and culture.

On 4 October 1922, Rose contacted Du Bois via letter, addressing him as “My Dear Dr. Bois.”³³⁴ This reflects the endearment that she must have felt toward Du Bois, which implies an amicable relationship between the two. She advised him that she welcomed his ideas and suggestions on a “statement” that she had written in a paper.³³⁵ In a letter dated 4 October 1922 Rose said,

I am enclosing the statement, which I have written for the papers. I should be glad to have any suggestions from you, which you so kindly offered to give. I should appreciate it very much if you could find it convenient to return this to me anytime before Saturday P.M. Thanking you I am.³³⁶

Rose never wavered in her commitment to include Du Bois in opportunities taking place at the 135th Street Branch Library. She knew that Du Bois was committed to teaching the masses on Black history and culture and that it was critical to the fight against scientific racist theories of Black intellectual inferiority. The relationship continued throughout Rose’s tenure as head librarian. On many occasions, Rose called on Du Bois to conduct a lecture at the library to teach the Harlem population on African history and culture. In one of Du Bois’s lectures on Black Americans, he began with a

and University Archives, accessed December 1, 2016,
<http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b010-i237>.

333. Ibid.

334. Letter from New York Public Library (Ernestine Rose) to W. E. B. Du Bois, October 4, 1922. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers.

335. Ibid.

336. Ibid.

discussion on the slave trade and ended with a list of notable accomplishments of the Black race in the areas of literature, science, and art,

1. Slave Trade
2. Growth and physique of the Negro American population including death rate, amalguration, etc.
3. Social history including slavery, emancipation, civil and political rights
4. Social conditions, including the distribution of the population, sex, age and conjugal condition, education, occupation, land and property, religion and crime.
5. Problems of racial contact, including discriminatory laws and customs and a general statement of the Negro problem.
6. The Negro in social leadership, literature, science and art
7. References and bibliography
8. Pictures ³³⁷

Du Bois took on this responsibility to lecture on the history of the race and offered his assistance whenever possible.

Rose and Du Bois were in frequent communication, planning book evenings and seminars at which Du Bois was to speak. On 5 January 1923 Rose invited Du Bois to speak at a book evening. ³³⁸

On October 9th you promised to give the Library a book evening sometime in January. These pleasant occasions are being held on Wednesday evenings. Could you give us either January 17th, January 24th? ³³⁹

Three days later, on 8 January 1923, Du Bois obliged her requests.

I can lecture for you either the 17th or 24th, if you let me know which date you prefer by return mail. ³⁴⁰

337. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Outline of lecture, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed September 10, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b178-i047>.

338. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, January 8, 1923-- Concerning scheduling a book discussion, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed March 7, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b022-i294>.

339. Ibid.

In addition to desiring his input on clippings, book evenings, history clubs, lectures and forums, Rose invited Du Bois to participate in meetings on development of the “Negroid” Department at the library, later named The Division of Negro Literature, History and Prints.³⁴¹

Rose requested that Du Bois attend a planning meeting to discuss the formation of the “Negroid Department” (which later become the Schomburg Collection) that she “tentatively” scheduled for 11 March 1924 at 8:30. She sought his approval of the meeting date to ensure his attendance.³⁴²

Although due to international travel to Europe Du Bois was unable to attend this meeting (as stated in a letter written by an “unidentified” correspondent dated 13 March 1924), Rose remained diligent in her efforts to keep him abreast and to include him in the latest projects of the library, as she knew of his fervent interest in the library’s role in educating the Harlem community.³⁴³ His wealth of knowledge on the subject of improving the education of the Black Americans was welcomed and respected. In her letter dated 25 March 1924 Rose again requested Du Bois’s presence at a planning meeting scheduled for 1 April 1924 to finalize a plan for the collection.³⁴⁴ However, as indicated in another piece of correspondence to Du Bois, due to inclement weather, Rose

340. Ibid.

341. Ibid.

342. Ibid.

343. Letter from unidentified correspondent to New York Public Library 135th Street Branch, March 13, 1924, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed November 30, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b026-i021>.

344. New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch, Letter from New York Public Library 135th Street Branch to W. E. B. Du Bois, March 25, 1924, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed January 5, 2017, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b026-i020>.

had to reschedule the meeting to 14 April 1924.³⁴⁵ This time Rose enclosed in her correspondence an outline of a proposed plan for the establishment of a Department of Negro History, Literature, and Art in library that was discussed at the meeting on Tuesday, 11 March 1924.³⁴⁶ She requested that Du Bois review the outline before she decided to move forward.³⁴⁷ (Appendix C contains the Outline of Plan to Establishing Department of Negro History, Literature, and Art.)

The plan described the “Negroid Department’s” purpose, location, funding, and programs: First, the *purpose*, as she explained it, would be to make readily available to the “permanent” public the use of a large representative body of materials on Negro culture, covering the history of the past and present events.³⁴⁸ Second, she noted that a *society or foundation* was needed to maintain a consistent use and active public support of the materials in the Negroid collection.³⁴⁹ Third, she noted that *place* should be a part of the plan, referring to the availability of storage space and the racial make-up of the staff for the collection.³⁵⁰ It was suggested in the outline that the materials be housed at the library unless the collection became too large and financially burdensome to manage, in which case an “independent building” would be needed to house the materials and a staff in charge of the collection would be a person of “color.”³⁵¹

The question of salary and of financial support, as well as the details of securing provisions for permanency and constant availability shall be settled by joint

345. Ibid.

346. Ibid.; Du Bois Papers “Letter from NYPL to Du Bois” March 25, 1924, Du Bois Papers.

347. Ibid.

348. Plan for Establishing a Department of Negro History, March 25, 1924, Du Bois Papers.

349. Ibid.

350. Ibid.

351. Ibid.

conference between the members of the Foundation and the officials of the New York Public Library.³⁵²

Fourth, *study classes or clubs* would be formed for study of Negro history and culture in connection with this collection. The Library would engage students in the Harlem schools to provide instruction on Black history and culture as a subsidy to public education.³⁵³

Gordon and Watkins (2017) noted that Du Bois became aware of the manner in which “schooling was used to under-educate Black learners and advance racist values in Whites as well as in Blacks, demonize Blacks in the eyes of both, and cultivate a sense of inferiority in Blacks.”³⁵⁴

Despite her disappointment with Du Bois’s lack of personal availability, Rose remained diligent in her attempts to include him in the planning of the Negroid Department. She wrote to him again on 17 April 1924, inviting him to attend another planning meeting scheduled for 29 April 1924.³⁵⁵ Again unable to attend the meeting due to his heavy travel schedule, Du Bois expressed his appreciation and continued interest in the library and the Negroid Department by offering continued support in other ways. Based on the abundance of letters between Du Bois and Rose, it is evident that the two had developed a close working relationship. In a letter, Rose extended a personal

352. Ibid.

353. Ibid.

354. Gordon and Watkins, “Commentary,” 50S.

355. New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch, Letter from New York Public Library 135th Street Branch to W. E. B. Du Bois, April 17, 1924, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

invitation to Du Bois to attend the library's formal opening of the Division of Negro Literature, History and Prints on 8 May 1925.³⁵⁶ The event took place on that date.³⁵⁷

In 1925 Du Bois co-founded the Krigwa Players, a Negro theatre group, in the basement of the library. In a letter to Ernestine Rose dated 18 December 1925, Du Bois wrote concerning a memo on the plans for a "Black theater company" to be located in the library.³⁵⁸ He talked of his intentions to hire the Krigwa Players as the actors for the theatre. "The theatre was focused on creating, nurturing, developing, and promoting new writers, directors, performers, and actors within the black community."³⁵⁹ Du Bois participated in "book evenings" and lectures to library visitors on Negro history and culture. Rose confirmed the arrangement of a "Book Evening" for Thursday, 5 March 1925.³⁶⁰

Remaining fervent in his support of the 135th Street Branch Library with respect to the exhibition of Black history and culture as evidence to counter scientific racism and Black intellectual inferiority, Du Bois participated in book evenings, lectures, and forums

356. Du Bois Papers, "Letter from New York Public Library 135th Street Branch to W. E. B. Du Bois," April 17, 1924.

357. "Gift To Public Library," *New York Times* (1923-Current File), accessed May 26, 1926, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/103779335?accountid=13626>.

358. W. E. B. Du Bois (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, 135th St. Branch, December 18, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed December 27, 2016.

359. John G. Monroe, "The Harlem Little Theatre Movement, 1920-1929," *Journal of American Culture* 6, no. 4 (1983): 63-70.

360. W. E. B. Dubois (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch, Letter from New York Public Library, 135th St. Branch to W. E. B. Du Bois, January 14, 1925. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed April 7, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b030-i199>.

at the library. However, his most notable contribution to the library was the initiation of The Little Negro Theater (1925–1927) in the basement of the library.

CHAPTER 4: THE KRIGWA PLAYERS LITTLE NEGRO THEATRE, 1925–1927: RACIAL VINDICATION

Today, as the renaissance of art comes among American Negroes, the theatre calls for new birth. But most people do not realize just where the novelty must come in. The Negro is already in the theatre and has been for a long time; but his presence there is not yet thoroughly normal. His audience is mainly a white audience, and the Negro actor has for a long time, been asked to entertain this more or less alien group. The demands and ideals of the white group, and *their conception of Negroes*, have set the norm for the Black actor. He has been minstrel, comedian, singer and lay figure of all sorts. Only recently has he begun tentatively to emerge as an *ordinary human being* with everyday reaction. And here he is still handicapped and put forth with much hesitation, as in the case of “The Nigger,” “Lula Belle” and the Emperor Jones. . . . For this reason a new Negro theatre is demanded and is slowly coming.¹ *W. E. B. Du Bois, 1926.*

In cities across the nation, scientific racism had distorted the White perception of the Black race since slavery and Black actors have been relegated to projects such as “The Nigger,” “Lula Belle,” and “Emperor Jones.”² The Harlem Renaissance had highlighted the distinctive character of the 135th Street Branch Library to serve as a community support system for leaders such as W. E. B. Du Bois to present the truth regarding the history and culture of the Black race. Du Bois knew that to challenge this ill notion that Blacks were of an inferior race and to educate the race on Negro history and culture, measures would have to be taken to allow for an exhibition to showcase the culture and intellectual capabilities of the Negro. Du Bois said that he would raise his race “by becoming renowned in social science and literature.”³ Lee Baker (1998) noted,

As St. Clair Drake explained, W.E.B. Du Bois’s approach contributed to a special genre of intellectual activity called racial vindication. This genre originated in the 18th century but eventually became a scientific assault against racial oppression.

1. KRIGWA Players, KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theater, ca. 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b034-i165>.

2. Baker, *Savage*, 107-108; Smedley, *Race in North America*.

3. Lewis, *Fight*, 398.

The vindicationist approach to science sought to disprove slander, answer pejorative allegations, and criticize so-called scientific generalizations about Africans and people of African descent.⁴

His fundamental belief that race was socially constructed and grew out of major historical events as slavery and dominant social perceptions served as a reason to reject principles that had been practiced at the Chicago School of Sociology.⁵ To support this claim, Morris (2015) wrote, “In contrast, at a time when races were considered natural, Du Bois’s school viewed them as socially constructed categories and held that they could not be ranked according to natural hierarchies.”⁶

During the Harlem Renaissance, Du Bois’s attention to engage the race turned to the arts, for he was aware that the *theatre* centered on the “power of drama” that could effect social change through accurate depictions of the Black man in his personal life, as well as in his interactions with White society. David Levering Lewis (1994) wrote,

The question comes next as to the interpretation of these new stirrings, of this new spirit: Of what is the colored artist capable? We have had on the part of both colored and white people singular unanimity of judgment in the past. Colored people have said: “This work must be inferior because it comes from color people.” White people have said: “It is inferior because it is done by colored people.” But today there is coming to both the realization that the work of the black man is not always inferior.⁷

Du Bois acknowledged that Black Americans a few decades removed from slavery suffered from cultural ignorance and, as stated by Bourdieu (1986), inequalities

4. Ibid., 398.

5. Lewis, *Fight*.

6. Morris, *Scholar*, 185.

7. Lewis, *Harlem Renaissance Reader*, 100; Monroe, “A Record of The Black Theatre”.

growing out of this ignorance were transferred from parents to children.⁸ In a similar line of thinking on Bourdieu's theory on social reproduction, Du Bois (1903) said,

The degree of ignorance cannot be easily expressed. We may say, for instance, that nearly two thirds of them cannot read or write. This but partially expresses the fact. They are ignorant of the world about them, of modern economic organization, of the function of government, of individual worth and possibilities, of nearly all those things which slavery in self defense had to keep them from learning.⁹

In 1924, Du Bois cited three obstacles to the Black man's ability to be viewed as an equal: the White world's preconceived notions about the Black man, anti-Black propaganda, and the Black man's desire to conceal his flaws.¹⁰

From 1925 to 1927 during the height of the Harlem Renaissance, Du Bois joined other artists, writers, and scholars in Harlem and in cities around the country to produce the evidence that he believed corrected the wrongs of history, which controlled the dominant discourse on Black race for generations. Weinberg (1970) wrote of the value of Negro art in freeing the Black race from the grips of political domination,

Negro art, according to Du Bois, arose from the Black people's experience in slavery and the travail of emancipation. In no sense was Negro art a substitute for political solutions. Yet he viewed the arts as an indispensable part of the black people striving for freedom.¹¹

Du Bois worked diligently with the 135th Street Branch Library to start a theatre movement to educate Blacks on Negro life and history. He decided that the library would be an ideal location to start such a movement. Lewis (1995) wrote Du Bois's comments:

8. Ibid.; Monroe, "A Record of The Black Theatre"; Du Bois, *Souls*; Szeman, and Kaposy, *Cultural Theory: An Anthology*.

9. Du Bois, *Souls*.

10. Ibid., 175.

11. Meyer Weinberg, ed. *WEB Du Bois: A Reader* (Harper & Row, 1970), 79C; Baker, *Savage*, 107-108; Smedley, *Race in North America*.

We can go on stage; we can be just as funny as white Americans wish us to be; we can play all the sordid parts that America likes to assign to Negroes; but for anything else there is still small place for us.¹²

The library, “situated as it is in the center of an area practically given to a Negro population of 125,000,” contributed directly to the goal to diminish the Negro history problem.¹³ It promoted a unifying symbol of the northern urban Black community by promoting Black and culture between a newly emergent Black middle class and the Black masses.¹⁴

At the 135th Street Branch Library, the Little Negro Theatre was born.¹⁵ The urban space devoted to the theater accommodated up to 200 audience members.¹⁶ The name KRIGWA was derived from the original name: *The Crisis Guild of Writers and Artist* (CRIGWA). The “C” was later changed to a “K” (KRIGWA).¹⁷ As editor of *The Crisis* magazine, Du Bois facilitated prizes in the arts and literature, hence the name “Crisis “ in CRIGWA.¹⁸ The KRIGWA was the first Black theatre company to produce plays by, for, and about Black people.¹⁹

KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theatre

An attempt to establish in High Harlem, New York City as Little Theatre which shall be primarily a center where Negro actors before Negro audiences interpret Negro life as depicted by Negro artists; but which shall also always have a

12. Lewis, *Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader*, 101.

13. “Library Aids Negroes,” *New York Times*, 33.

14. Benson, Brier, and Rosenzweig, “Presenting the Past.”

15. Ethel Pitts Walker, “Krigwa, A Theatre By, For, and About Black People,” *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 3, 1988, 347, accessed December 4, 2016, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.Libraries.rutgers.edu/docview/1290168546?accountid=13626>

16. Ibid

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Pitts Walker, “Krigwa, A Theatre By For and About Black People”.

welcome for all artists of all races and for all sympathetic comers and for all beautiful ideas. *A. Douglas*²⁰

Regina Andrews Anderson, Ernestine Rose's first assistant, facilitated the initial phases of providing space for the KRIGWA Players to perform.²¹ Whitmire (2007) noted that she made a request to Miss Rose for the use of the basement of the library for KRIGWA theater performances.²² This was done as a part of the "community outreach services" that the library offered to patrons of the library such as Du Bois.²³

Du Bois consistently maintained control of the KRIGWA Players from 1925 to 1927, throughout his affiliation with the group.²⁴ He did not perform in any of the productions.²⁵

Directed by Professor Charles Burroughs of Howard University, the KRIGWA Players engaged the race in appreciation of Negro life and dispelled notions that Blacks were of an inferior race.²⁶ Du Bois proclaimed in a memorandum that what had served, as an inspiration for this project was a play that he had produced in summer 1924.²⁷ The play portrayed the Negro life by a "colored" dramatist at the Renaissance Casino.²⁸ Du Bois said, "It was very successful indeed" and "It led me to think that the time is peculiarly opportune for a Little Negro Theatre."²⁹ With similar sentiment, Du Bois expressed,

20. KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theater, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers.

21. Whitmire. "Breaking the Color Barrier".

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Monroe, "A Record of The Black Theatre".

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Memorandum to Librarian of 135th Street Branch, December 18, 1925.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., 1.

The apostle of beauty thus becomes the apostle of truth and right not by choice but by inner and outer compulsion. Free his is but his freedom is ever bounded by truth and justice; and slavery only dogs him when he is denied the right to tell the truth or recognize an ideal of justice. Thus all art is propaganda, and ever must be, despite the wailing of the purists. I stand in utter shamelessness and say that whatever art I have for writing has been used always for propaganda for gaining the right of black folk to love and enjoy. I do not care a damn for any art that is not used for propaganda. But I do care if propaganda is confined to one side while the other is stripped and silent.³⁰

Du Bois's educational background had prepared him to engage the artistic community. While a student at Fisk University, he immersed himself in a liberal arts curriculum that encompassed coursework on German history and language, building his own cultural capital through his education experiences.³¹ Du Bois reflected on his personal experiences with race consciousness as a student at Fisk University:

I go down to Fisk University and suddenly I am in a Negro world, where all the people, except the teachers, (and the teachers too in thought and action), belong to this colored world, and the world was almost complete. We acted and thought as people belonging to this group. While I was in the long run going to break down segregation and separateness, for the time I was quite willing to be a Negro and to work within a Negro group.³²

Both at Fisk and Harvard Universities, Du Bois studied literature, philosophy, history, and other various liberal arts curricula.³³ Later in his academic career, he developed an interest in the newly formed discipline of sociology.³⁴

Morris (2015) highlighted that, during the later part of the nineteenth century, a common practice of what were considered to be the "elite" scholars of the time, who had developed an affinity for the social sciences, was to travel to Europe and study under the

30. Lewis, *Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader*, 103.

31. Morris, *Scholar*.

32. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 10.

33. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*; Morris, *Scholar*.

34. *Ibid*.

apprenticeship of German social scientists at German universities.³⁵ By forming a relationship with Franz Boas, Du Bois fully embraced this concept, which he felt was needed to assist him in liberating Black American scholars from preconceived notions that they were not legitimate in the eyes of the academy and were incapable of attaining the highest levels of intellectual achievement.³⁶

Du Bois was determined to legitimate his social scientific reputation, which he knew would require him to study social science in Germany at German universities. Thus, from 1892 to 1894 he travelled to Germany to attend the Friedrich Wilhelm III Universität in Berlin (University of Berlin) to study under German scholars and social scientists such as Adolph Wagner, Gustav Von Schmoller, and Max Weber.³⁷ Of the three, Weber was arguably the scholar who was most influenced by Du Bois's research on Blacks in cities. Early in his career, Weber had been a strong supporter of the social Darwinist theory on race superiority. Morris (2015) wrote, "Weber did not hesitate to employ the Darwinist terminology of the 'struggle for existence' and the survival' of the fittest, in order to describe the inexorable character of this 'struggle of man with man' for elbow room."³⁸ Although there is no documented proof that the two men had anything more than a brief academic acquaintanceship, Du Bois was a significant factor in Weber's thinking about black inferiority.³⁹

Du Bois's wife, Mrs. Shirley Graham Du Bois, explained in detail her husband's encounters in Germany.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*; Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*.

38. Morris, *Scholar*, 154.

39. Ibid.

Du Bois went to Germany on advanced study. As he said, ‘There I had a tremendous new experience. For the first time in my life, I was a human being and not a particular kind of human being.’ “In Berlin I had the chance to get into a seminar, which was rather unusual for a foreigner, but I was allowed in this seminar on economics under two of the most prominent professors. I wanted to take the examination, but the rule was that you could not come up for an examination until you had been three semesters at the university and I had only been two because I had money for two. They tried to make an exception, but the English professor had a lot of candidates, so that no difference could be made. I brought to their attention the fact that I had already had two years at Harvard, but they did not recognize Harvard as being of the same rank as Berlin. So I had to come back without my degree. On the other hand, it is rather interesting to know that in 1958, when I was in Berlin, the university brought out my records and gave me the degree that I did not get some 70 years before.”⁴⁰

The Slater Foundation supported Du Bois’s scholarship, which was known as the transatlantic exchange of ideas.⁴¹ The Slater Fund, headed by Robert B. Hayes at the time, was based on money left in trust by a Connecticut millionaire to education Blacks pursuing higher education.⁴²

Du Bois applied his knowledge to create a movement, as during the early 1900s, to introduce Black history and culture through the medium of the arts, which at the time was very limited for Blacks.⁴³ During the renaissance period, the 135th Street Branch Library had become an important resource for introducing this genre to the “city Negro” of Harlem. The library accommodated many Black theatre groups throughout the Harlem Renaissance period; however, the KRIGWA Little Negro Theatre, according to Gilbert Monroe (1980), was viewed as possibly the most critical of this era.⁴⁴ Du Bois said,

From this perspective, such ignorance stemmed not from an inherited racial temperament but from a system of domination that required ignorance for its

40. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, 18.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*.

44. Monroe, “A Record of the Black Theatre”.

survival. Therefore, if the black masses needed “guidance” to overcome their “child like” stages of social development, their cultural ignorance had been imposed upon them; “nor does it require any fine spun theories of racial differences to prove the necessity of such group training after the brains of the rays have been knocked out by 250 years of in situ is education and submission, carelessness, and stealing.”⁴⁵

Du Bois had already established a solid working relationship with Miss Rose and Schomburg at the 135th Street Branch Library in efforts to educate the race on Black history and culture. However, his most notable contribution to the library was the KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theater.⁴⁶ Through his studies of the Negro experience, Du Bois discovered that the “city Negro” was in much need of an education in the form of the arts and in need of an opportunity to exhibit those talents. As evidence to support this claim, Du Bois said on the front cover of the program,

The movement, which has begun this year in Harlem, New York City Lays down four fundamental principles. The plays of a real Negro Theatre must be one: About us. That is, they must have plots which Reveal Negro life as it is. Two: By us. That is, they must be Written by Negro authors who understand from birth and continual Association just what it means to be a Negro today. Three: For us. That is, the theater must cater to Negro audiences and be supported and Sustained by their entertainment and approval. Fourth: Near us. The Theater must be in a Negro neighborhood near the mass of ordinary Negro People.⁴⁷

As an active contributor to this cause, he used the stage to educate the “city Negro” on Black history and culture. Du Bois said,

We have, to be sure, a few recognized and successful Negro artists; but they are not all those fit to survive or even a good minority. They are but the remnants of that ability and genius among us whom the accidents of education and opportunity have raised on the tidal waves of chance. We black folk are not altogether peculiar in this. After all, in the world at large, it is only the accident, the remnant

45. WE.B Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, ed. Henry Louis Gates (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1903, 2007), 80.

46. Ibid.

47. Walker, “KRIGWA, A Theatre,” 348.

that gets the chance to make the most of itself; but if this is true of the white world it is definitely more true of the colored world.⁴⁸

In 1921, prior to his full conceptualization of the Little Negro Theatre project, Du Bois wrote a proposal entitled the “Proposed Exhibition and Pageant Illustrating the Part which the American Negro has played in the Making of America.”⁴⁹ The exhibit consisted of the African Tom-Tom, the African War Dance, Primitive Slave Song, The Triumphant Negro Melody, the Developed Folk Song, New Negro Music, Coleridge Taylor’s, “Onaway,” and “a pageant of music illustrating the seven gifts of Ethiopia to America” entitled Exploration, the Giants of Labor, the Hand Maidens of the Lord, the Emancipation of Democracy, Defense, Books, and Music.⁵⁰

In 1923 Ernestine Rose, who frequently supported Du Bois’s efforts to offer book evenings, lectures, and forums at the library, wrote to Du Bois to inquire of his plans to use the third floor of the library for the theatre movement.⁵¹ Lewis (2000) wrote that Regina “Anderson, as Ernestine Rose’s first assistant, arranged literary evenings and Krigwa drama productions in the basement of the 135th Street Library.”⁵² As early as

48. Lewis, *Harlem Renaissance Reader*, 102.

49. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, A proposed exhibition and pageant illustrating the part, which the American Negro has played in the making of America, ca. 1921, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed November 3, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b016-i233>.

50. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, A proposed exhibition and pageant illustrating the part, which the American Negro has played in the making of America, ca. 1921, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed November 3, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b016-i233>.

51. New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch. Letter from New York Public Library to W. E. B. Du Bois, February 6, 1923, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed May 7, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b022-i295>.

52. Lewis, *Fight*, 240.

1923, Du Bois and Rose had had one or two meetings to discuss this project.⁵³ However, Rose had maintained communication throughout the developmental stages of the theater project. In her communication to Du Bois dated 6 February 1923 Rose wrote,

I am very much pleased that you are considering seriously the idea of using the third floor of the library for a negro theater movement. I am quite sure that the library authorities will be more than pleased to have this done. Unfortunately, the Red Cross is using this room for a local teaching [center] and as they were given to understand that the room would be theirs for the year. But I am sure that the room could be used at certain times even now, and there is another room which could be used for meetings, etc. I shall be glad to talk this over with you at any time you would like.⁵⁴

On 17 April 1923 Du Bois responded to Rose in a letter, saying that he wanted to speak with her further personally about his plans for the “purposed” Little Negro Theatre.⁵⁵ Miss Rose offered an immediate response on 24 April 1923 and expressed her accommodation to meet with Du Bois.⁵⁶ However, with Du Bois’s busy travel schedule and Rose’s commitments at the library, it would not be until 23 September that Rose wrote to Du Bois with great news regarding her interest in the KRIGWA.⁵⁷ Rose remained persistent in her efforts to meet with him, as she felt that, if Du Bois was not a

53. Memorandum to Librarian of 135th Street Branch, December 18, 1925.

54. Letter from New York Public Library to W. E. B. Du Bois, February 6, 1923.

55. W. E. B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, April 17, 1923, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed April 4, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b022-i296>.

56. New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch, Letter from New York Public Library to W. E. B. Du Bois, April 24, 1923, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed November 3, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b022-i297>.

57. Ibid.; New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch. Letter from New York Public Library to W. E. B. Du Bois, September 29, 1923, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed November 4, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b022-i303>

part of the planning process, not much would be accomplished.⁵⁸ She valued his input and respected him greatly.

Throughout spring 1923, Rose and Du Bois maintained contact. In May she sent two tickets to what she referred to as an “entertainment” given by the New York Public Library sponsored by herself and her supervisor, Mr. Hopper.⁵⁹ Also, in the same piece of correspondence she gave him the good news of Mr. Hopper’s willingness to proceed with planning for the KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theater.⁶⁰ She advised him in this letter that Mr. Hopper made suggestions related to The KRIGWA but wished only for it to be a “club organization” and “very small.”⁶¹ Du Bois thanked Rose for the tickets in his letter dated May 15, 1923 and expressed his eagerness to meet soon.⁶² However, based on their communication, the years 1923 and 1924 were not very productive in terms of planning for the development of the theatre. Du Bois remained occupied in giving lectures and forums at the 135th Street Library and local public schools. He gave a talk at a public school on Sunday, 31 January 1925, entitled “Careers Open to College Bred Negroes.”⁶³

58. Ibid.

59. New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch, Letter from New York Public Library to W. E. B. Du Bois, May 10, 1923, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed January 5, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b022-i301>.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, May 15, 1923, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 31, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b022-i302>.

63. W.E.B. Du Bois (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public School 136, January 4, 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed June 1, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b035-i075>.

The local educational community valued Du Bois's opinion and sought him on an array of topics concerning the progress of the Black race. Rose respected Du Bois and, although his work with the library seemed sporadic at times, she and her staff always seemed supportive. In January of that year, Rose told Du Bois that money was an issue in his plans for the theatre movement and that the Trustees' Committee on Circulation, which met the week of 4 January 1925, would have to discuss the issue further. However, she felt "secure" that the issue would be resolved.⁶⁴ She sent Du Bois several invitations to attend a program honoring Jean Toomer three months later on 30 April 1925 and requested that Du Bois extend the invitation to "members of his group."⁶⁵ Although it would appear that, based upon their correspondence, Du Bois was eager to begin the project, it was later revealed in his memorandum dated 18 December 1925 to Rose that he felt that the project was rushed.⁶⁶ He said, "It later seemed to me that this was going too fast and at the same time I did not want to take the responsibility of opposing it."⁶⁷

In 1925, Du Bois took the initiative to formalize his request to use the library for the purposes of educating the Harlem "city Negro" in the arts. This is made evident in his memorandum dated 18 December 1925 addressed "To the Librarian of the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library" in which he expressed his vision for the theatre

64. Du Bois Papers, Letter from New York Public Library, 135th St. Branch to W. E. B. Du Bois, January 4, 1925, accessed March 5, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b030-i198>.

65. New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch, Letter from New York Public Library, 135th St. Branch to W. E. B. Du Bois, April 24, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed November 3, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b030-i202>.

66. Memorandum to Librarian of 135th Street Branch, December 18, 1925.

67. Ibid.

project.⁶⁸ Du Bois expressed his vision in a piece written in the KRIGWA Players program entitled “Our Playhouse.”

The KRIGWA PLAYERS LITTLE NEGRO THEATRE is a free stage. It has been equipped by the joint effort of the public Library and the Players. It will be further decorated by the colored artists. Any one who has a play or any group which wishes to give a play is invited to use the playhouse, under certain easy conditions which the Library and the Players will formulate. We hope by plays, lectures and information social gatherings to make this room a place of wide inspiration for all dark people everywhere and for all their friends.⁶⁹

Du Bois was frequently viewed to have been “elitist” by Booker T. Washington and others who supported the Washington platform of industrial education for Blacks in America to achieve liberation for the race.⁷⁰ Morris (2015) wrote of Du Bois’s defense of his claims that an educated elite—a “talented tenth”—were the leaders of the movement to challenge scientific and Black oppression.⁷¹ Du Bois said,

The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Negroes must first of all deal with the talented 10th; it is the problem of developing the best of this race that they may guide the mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst.”⁷²

According to Du Bois, slavery was the root of racial oppression and the perpetuation of wrongful scientific conclusions of Black inferiority and had produced illiteracy and ignorance among the Black race.⁷³ He argued that this in turn resulted in Black Americans lacking “intellectual and material resources” necessary for Black liberation.⁷⁴

68. Ibid.

69. Memorandum to Librarian of 135th Street Branch, December 18, 1925.

70. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*; Morris, *Scholar*; Du Bois and Lewis, *A Reader*; Du Bois, “Post Graduate Work in Sociology at Atlanta University”.

71. Morris, *Scholar*, 31.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

For the “city Negro” to debunk the theory in Black intellectual inferiority, Du Bois showcased Black talent and performed plays that depicted Blacks in a positive light, contrary to what history had taught them. Or, as stated by Franz Boas in his speech at Atlanta University in 1906, “Few today are interested in Negro history because they feel the matter already settled: the Negro has no history.”⁷⁵ Du Bois sent an enclosure letter to Rose with a copy of his “propositions” for the KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theatre. In his letter to Rose, Du Bois said,

That the KRIGWA players under my management be granted the right during the years between 1925 and 1927 to decorate the basement room at the Branch library with African art themes and to help install a stage. . . That the KRIGWA players have the right to start a Little Negro Theater movement with the idea of giving perhaps three of four plays in 1925 and four to six in 1927. . . . Charge admissions to our theatrical entertainment in the library buildings.⁷⁶

Du Bois received an immediate response from Rose in a letter dated 14 January 1926 in which she expressed her gratitude and interest in moving forward with the project.⁷⁷ She wholeheartedly accepted the terms of the proposition, with the exception of charging admission. Mr. Hopper, whom Du Bois referred to as the “library authorities,” would not agree to that proposition.⁷⁸ Therefore, Du Bois and Rose compromised. In lieu of an admissions fee, they developed a “club membership” with a fee.⁷⁹ Rose advised Du Bois in her letter, “Mr. Hopper says that of course there could be no admission fees,

75. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*, xxxi.

76. Ibid.

77. New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch. Letter from New York Public Library to W. E. B. Du Bois, January 14, 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 27, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b035-i065>.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

but thinks that your idea of having club membership is an excellent one.”⁸⁰ Therefore, within two months, Du Bois had implemented his plans to educate the “city Negro” in Harlem with the creation of the theater. To refute the claims with which science had plagued society for generations, he highlighted in his book *Black Reconstruction in America 1860–1880*, “the common three thesis [sic] [about] Reconstruction [were]:

All Negroes were ignorant;
All Negroes were lazy, dishonest, and extravagant;
Negroes were responsible for bad government during Reconstruction.⁸¹

In preparation for the construction that was necessary to build the set and stage in the library basement, Du Bois contacted Rose on 12 March 1926 and advised her that he was planning to forward his “specifications of the stage” shortly; however, he wanted to view the theatre exhibit at Steinway Hall.⁸² He first wanted to see an example of a stage that was used for such a theatrical project.⁸³ Theatre group membership began with twenty interested members; from that point on, it expanded.⁸⁴

While working with Rose on this endeavor, Du Bois displayed only the utmost respect and responsibility by making sure that the theater group did not cause any financial burdens to the 135th Street Branch library.⁸⁵ One evening, while Du Bois and

80. Ibid.

81. W.E.B. Du Bois, “Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880” (*New York* 2001), 635-636; Charles Spurgeon Johnson, and Elmer Anderson Carter, *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life*, vol. 5, (National Urban League, 1969), 42.

82. W.E.B. Du Bois (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, March 12, 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 27, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b035-i066>.

83. Ibid.

84. Ibid.

85. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, May 12, 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312).

the crew were utilizing the theatre space, they inadvertently blew a fuse by leaving the lights on after they had completed their work.⁸⁶ In his letter Du Bois said, “For a second time I think we have blown a fuse at the library by not properly turning off the lights.”⁸⁷ He assured Rose that such an incident would not happen again and promised to cover the cost of any expenses that may have been incurred.⁸⁸ He added, “Meantime, I think you had better charge us with the cost of replacing the second fuse.”⁸⁹ Du Bois wanted to ensure that all parties involved in the development of the theater were heard and that “proper credit” was given to all those who were responsible for initiating the KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theatre.⁹⁰

It is evident that Du Bois had been influenced by his visit to the Universal Races Congress in London in 1911 in his efforts to carry out his quest to challenge scientific racism in Harlem and cities around the country. The document from the Congress entitled the *Suggested Activities for Committees, Secretaries, and Supporters* named activities in line with Du Bois’s efforts at the 135th Street Branch Library.⁹¹

Du Bois had written an elaborate plan of action to Rose that specified what he had envisioned for the Little Negro Theatre.⁹² (Appendix D contains a letter dated 17 May

Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 28, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b035-i067>.

86. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, May 12, 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 28, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b035-i067>.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. “World Conference for Promoting Concord between all Divisions of Mankind.”

92. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, May 17, 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312).

1926 from Du Bois to Rose: “Plan to Establish Little Negro Theatre.”) Du Bois said in the letter to Rose,

As I wrote you before, I have been thinking about the future development of our Little Theatre movement which as begun so auspiciously. My plans are as follows: to expand the group of KRIGWA Players as much as possible. We have about thirty active members now. We ought to have 60 or 100. Then I propose to have in between 500 and 100 “patrons”—persons who pledge themselves to attend plays each year. Thirdly, I propose that the play house should be open for plays to be produced by other groups on terms which would protect the library from the kind of persons and plays which should not be permitted to appear, and on the other hand, continuing the standard which we have begun and secure us due credit. I should imagine that the conditions on which the play house could be used might be something like this:

1. All producers must comply to our purposes as expressed on the first and fourth pages of our program.
2. All plays must be advertised as given by the KRIGWA Players little Negro theatre with the statement that the producers are “Guests” of the theatre.
3. One dress rehearsal of the proposed play or plays must be given in the presence of the KRIGWA Players and representatives of the library.
4. The program used must on its first, third and fourth page be identical with our regular program. On the second page it must state that the producers are guests of the KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theatre and then the plays casts, etc. can be printed on the second page.
5. All arrangements for the financial support of these ventures must be made outside of the library. No admission must be charged or tickets sold, at the door but admission can be restricted to those holding tickets. The groups presenting plays must arrange themselves for the distribution of tickets amongst their members and the cost of such memberships should not exceed .50 [cents] for each presentation.
6. No charge is made for rent or light or use of curtains or dressing rooms but 25% of the gross proceeds must go to the K.P.L.N.T. for its Decoration Fund out of which the theatre will be decorated and finished.

Will you gladly think this over and see if you and the library authorities agree with it or what changes could you suggest?⁹³

Rose remained committed to carrying out the theatre project and offered Du Bois her assistance throughout the planning process. After two months, Rose responded to Du Bois’s 17 May 1926 letter with enthusiasm and eagerness to proceed as planned.

Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 27, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b035-i068>.

93. Ibid.

However, in her response to Du Bois she explained that, due to previous library commitments, there was a break of about two months in communication between them and for this she apologized.⁹⁴ She explained that the delay was due in large part to a library conference that was held at the library in which she and Hopper had participated.⁹⁵ She assured him that, despite this postponement, they remained committed to carrying out his proposition for the KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theatre in the library basement.⁹⁶ She said, “My time and that of Mr. Hopper have been fully occupied with a library conference.”⁹⁷ So as not to conflict with the Alriedge Players, another theatre group that utilized the library basement for performances, Rose offered to schedule the KRIGWA on alternate days. She suggested that Monday and Wednesday evenings would work best.⁹⁸ She proposed to give Du Bois first chance at selecting the nights that he would like to utilize the space for rehearsals and promised that she would prioritize his request over those of other organizations that had already requested use of the basement.⁹⁹ They agreed that the KRIGWA Players rehearsals would be held on Monday and Wednesday evenings.¹⁰⁰

94. New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch, Letter from New York Public Library to W. E. B. Du Bois, July 14, 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 25, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b035-i070>.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid.

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid.

100. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Flo Miller, March 17, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed July 17, 2016, <http://oubliette.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b039-i482>.

Rose assisted Du Bois with the KRIGWA's mailing list to enable them to expand their outreach to patrons and guests throughout cities across the country.¹⁰¹ The KRIGWA Players drew interest and much enthusiasm from Black artists and patrons from across the country, including William H. Farrow from the Chicago Art League, E. F. Gardner from Syracuse, James R. Eddin and William H. Smith from Des Moines, Raymond E. K. Sightler from Harlem, Willis Richardson from Washington, Frank S. Horne from Brooklyn, E. Maude Garner (a playwright from New Castle, Pennsylvania), and S. Malcom Dodson, Editor and Chief of *The Mercury*, all of whom had expressed interest in participating in the theatre movement and desired to obtain additional information about the KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theatre.¹⁰²

101. W.E.B. Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, December 4, 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b035-i072>.

102. Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to William M. Farrow, September 4, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b170-i021>; Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to E. F. Gardner, September 8, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b171-i322>; Edden, James R., Letter from James R. Edden to Crisis, October 20, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b170-i004>; Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to William H. Smith, October 20, 1925. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b171-i099>; Sightler, Raymond E. Letter from Raymond E. K. Sightler to Crisis, October 21, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b171-i069>; Richardson, Willis, 1889-1977, Letter from Willis Richardson to W. E. B. Du Bois, November 21, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b171-i022>; Horne, Frank. Letter from Frank S. Horne to W. E. B. Du Bois, ca. 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives,

Du Bois rented the Renaissance Casino at 150 West 138th Street at 7th Avenue for the evening of 14 August 1925 to hold an awards ceremony to present the Amy Spingarn Prizes for Negro Literature and Art.¹⁰³ (Appendices C and D contain the draft and final copy of the invitation). Mrs. Amy E. Spingarn started the award in the spirit of supporting *The Crisis* magazine with a donation of \$300 to promote “the contribution of the American Negro to American art and literature.”¹⁰⁴ The names of the nominees were Maggie L. Walker of St. Luke Bank; Bishop W. Sampson Brooks of Africa M. E. Church in Liberia; Channing Tobias of International Committee; Carter G. Woodson, founder of

<http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b033-i554>; Malcom S. Dodson. Letter from S. Malcolm Dodson to W. E. B. Du Bois, February 24, 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b033-i120>; Gardner, E. Maude. Letter from E. Maude Gardner to Crisis, August 24, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b170-i103>; Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to William M. Farrow; W.E.B. Du Bois (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to E. F. Gardner, September 8, 1925. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b171-i322>; Edden, Letter from James R. Edden to Crisis, October 20, 1925; W. E. B Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to William H. Smith, October 20, 1925. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b171-i099>; Raymond E Sightler. Letter from Raymond E. K. Sightler to Crisis, October 21, 1925; Willis Richardson, 1889-1977. Letter from Willis Richardson to W. E. B. Du Bois, November 21, 1925.; Du Bois Papers, Letter from Frank S. Horne to W. E. B. Du Bois, ca. 1926; Malcom S. Dodson. Letter from S. Malcolm Dodson to W. E. B. Du Bois, February 24, 1926; E. Maude Gardner. Letter from E. Maude Gardner to Crisis, August 24, 1925. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b170-i103>.

103. W. E. B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, KRIGWA, ca. August 1, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed January 7, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b170-i505>.

104. Ikonné, Chidi. From DuBois to Van Vechten: The Early New Negro Literature, 1903-1926, No. 60. Greenwood Publishing Group, 1981.

the *Journal of Negro History*; Henry O. Tanner, Dean of American Artist in Paris; and Major J. H. Ward, first Black major in the Allied Expeditionary Forces.¹⁰⁵ Du Bois requested participation by Ms. Mae Miller of Howard University to read one of the prize stories during the program.¹⁰⁶ He had heard from fellow literary scholars that she had “expertise” in reading; therefore, he wanted her to display her talents and ability before the audience at this momentous occasion.¹⁰⁷

These communications make evident that Du Bois had frequently called on Ms. Miller for her expert advice on literary works throughout the year of 1925. Du Bois had thanked her for her contributions to a play produced by *The Crisis* and had requested her input on a book of plays for “colored high school children” that he edited for Carter G. Woodson.¹⁰⁸ Du Bois never took for granted others’ contributions to assist with educating the “city Negro” of Harlem. He recognized that their efforts ultimately benefitted the Black race and the larger Harlem community.

105. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Memorandum from W. E. B. Du Bois to Spingarn Medal Award Committee, April 28, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed April 4, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b030-i108>.

106. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Mae Miller, August 5, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed March 4, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b029-i562>.

107. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Mae Miller, August 5, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed March 4, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b029-i562>.

108. Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Mae Miller, August 19, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed November 5, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b029-i563>; Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Mae Miller, June 9, 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed June 3, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b034-i362>.

Other leading Black intellectuals who joined the ranks to assist Du Bois in his quest to combat the negative racist ideology of Black inferiority came from The Chicago Art League located at Wabash YMCA, 38th and Wabash Avenue in Chicago. The President of the organization, N. M. Farrow, contacted Du Bois in 1925.¹⁰⁹ Farrow wrote a two-page letter expressing his gratitude for Du Bois's efforts with The KRIGWA Little Negro Theatre and offering his assistance.¹¹⁰ He asked, "In what way can the Chicago Art League help you in this venture?"¹¹¹

The Chicago Art League was one of the few organizations for Black artists, with 22 members who mostly relied on their artistry to earn a living wage.¹¹² Farrow noted that The Chicago Art League was extremely interested in Negro art but, due to the organization's limitations, they had been unable to participate in the Amy Spingarn Prizes for Negro Literature and Art.¹¹³ Despite this fact, Farrow wanted Du Bois to know that he and his organization were enthusiastic about the possibility of supporting his efforts in other ways and wanted to be included in future planning.¹¹⁴

We are vitally interested in the Negro art but haven't had the opportunity for developing the genre picture to any great extent. For this reason we are unable to do much toward competing for the Spingarn prizes but are heavily in accord with the movement.¹¹⁵

109. Chicago Art League, Letter from The Chicago Art League to W. E. B. Du Bois, August 31, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed November 4, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b028-i048>.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid.

112. Ibid.

113. Ibid.

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid.

Du Bois responded in kind and told Mr. Farrow that he appreciated the offer and would later advise him as to what was needed.¹¹⁶ “I think there are many things which the Chicago Art League could do to cooperate with the KRIGWA and I am going to outline some specific matters and write you about them later.”¹¹⁷

Du Bois wrote a note on the play schedule for the 1926 season, listing plays that were to be offered and including signatures of the KRIGWA producers and directors: Du Bois, Lester A. Walton, Charles Burroughs, and Alston Burleigh.¹¹⁸ According to his note, the plays were scheduled on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, 5, 7, and 9 April, 14 August, and 18, 20, and 22 October.¹¹⁹ The plays were “The Broken Banjo” by Willis Richardson, “The Church Fight” by Ruth Ada Gaines-Shelton, and “The Black Man” by Du Bois.¹²⁰ All three plays were performed at the KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theatre, described as “the laboratory” on the third floor of the library.¹²¹ The program indicated that the performances were held on Monday, 3, 10, and 17 May in 1926 at 8:30 pm.¹²²

116. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to William M. Farrow, September 4, 1925, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 27, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b170-i021>.

117. Ibid.

118. KRIGWA Players, A little KRIGWA Theater, 1926, ca. 1926. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), accessed December 1, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b034-i548>

119. Ibid.

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid.; KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theater, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers,

122. Krigwa Players, Krigwa Players Little Negro Theater Handbill, ca. 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 5, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b034-i166>,

Du Bois notified Ernestine Rose that the library staff would be considered guests and would not be expected to pay for tickets.¹²³ One evening, he followed up with Miss Rose with a memorandum and advised her that “Miss Markovicts, Miss Manning, Miss Peck, Mr. Costopthesis, Mr. Guillard, Mr. Hopper, Miss Tebic, and Miss Cutter attended the performance without tickets.”¹²⁴ He offered to record them, as “guests” if they did not offer to make a financial contribution to the theatre of their own will.¹²⁵

The KRIGWA had 37 cabinet members, including Du Bois, Rose, Charles Burroughs, and Frank L. Horne. Du Bois noted,

The demands and ideals of the white group, and *their conception of Negroes*, have set the norm for the Black actor. He has been minstrel, comedian, singer and lay figure of all sorts. Only recently has he begun tentatively to emerge as an ordinary human being with everyday reaction. And here he is still handicapped and put forth with much hesitation, as in the case of “The Nigger,” “Lula Belle” and the Emperor Jones. . . . For this reason a new Negro theatre is demanded and is slowly coming.¹²⁶

The KRIGWA was part of a movement to educate Blacks to debunk scientific racist theories of Negro intellectual inferiority.¹²⁷ As St. Clair Drake explained, Du Bois’s approach contributed to a special genre of intellectual activity called “racial vindication.”¹²⁸

Du Bois designed an outline entitled the “KRIGWA Circular B, January 1, 1926” (Appendices E and F) for establishing a “KRIGWA band,” a “band of workers.” In it, he

123. W.E.B Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Memorandum from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, 135th St. Branch, 1927?, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 4, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b040-i210>.

124. Ibid.

125. Ibid.

126. KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theater, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers.

127. Ibid.

128. Baker, *Savage*, 107-108.

provided details of his ideas on how to expand the KRIGWA and to attract those who were interested in the arts, literature, and writing to form an “official enrollment of a band of workers.”¹²⁹ New York City would serve as the headquarters and focal point for all “band of workers.”¹³⁰ He said that the goal of this effort was to “get together a small congenial group of persons who want to do artistic work, who want to write and draw, paint, produce plays, recite, embroider and work in any other artistic line.”¹³¹

With a very structured objective Du Bois envisioned the KRIGWA to follow a set of guidelines for participation.¹³² (Appendices F and G contain the Conditions for Using the KRIGWA Players.) This would ensure that the mission of the KRIGWA would be carried out to its fullest extent and would satisfy Du Bois’s mission and goals. KRIGWA interests had the option to work on an individual basis or as part of a group under “local guidance” with a teacher, night school, or summer school, by correspondence courses or in a KRIGWA “band” of workers.¹³³

Du Bois was extremely strict in his management of the KRIGWA Players. He addressed anyone who missed rehearsals, as he saw this as a hindrance to the theatre’s success. He wrote a particularly emotional letter to Ira Dae Reid, one of the actors in the KRIGWA cast, who lived at 202 West 136th Street, close to the 135th Street Branch Library.¹³⁴ He advised him that he was “upsetting the KRIGWA” by not attending

129. Ibid.

130. Ibid.

131. Ibid.

132. Krigwa Players. Krigwa, The Programme, ca. 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed July 1, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b034-i54>.

133. Ibid.

134. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Ira De A. Reid, March 18, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special

rehearsals consistently.¹³⁵ Although KRIGWA participation was voluntary, in that no one received payment for their services, Du Bois expected everyone to hold to a high standard in the commitment to the project, as he had done from the start.

Du Bois and his Cabinet took the initiative to ensure that The KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theatre staff was fully qualified to manage the responsibilities of the theatre. The Cabinet members selected Harold Jackman of Harlem as Chairman of the Committee for Publicity, Dorothy Peterson of Brooklyn as the Chairman of the Committee on Co-operation With the Community, and Lillian R. Smith of Brooklyn as Chairman of the Treasury, all of whom were well respected in the Black community.¹³⁶

Du Bois and his Cabinet were very critical of the plays that were submitted for consideration for the KRIGWA. He received numerous requests from playwrights, producers, and artists from cities throughout the country, asking for their work to be reviewed and considered for a production. However, only a chosen few met the expectations of Du Bois and the Cabinet. To make it to the stage, the work had to be exceptional. Du Bois wrote a letter to Zora Neal Hurston with somber news of rejection

Collections and University Archives, accessed January 7, 2016, <http://oubliette.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b040-i452>.

135. Ibid.

136. W.E.B. Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Harold Jackman, March 27, 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed March 2, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b034-i00>; Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Dorothy Peterson, March 27, 1926. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed June 4, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b035-i258>; Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Lillian R. Smith, March 25, 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, assessed March 3, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b035-i513>.

and criticism of a play that she had submitted entitled, “The LILAC Bush” which was described by Du Bois as not “superlatively good.” He advised her that the Cabinet would offer much criticism of her work.¹³⁷

In efforts to educate the American Negro with books written by Black authors, Du Bois initiated a book-buying campaign, which was a key component to his vision for the KRIGWA group.³¹³⁸ Du Bois wrote a proposal to James Weldon Johnson regarding the initiation of a Book Guild. (Appendix J contains a copy of the Original Book Guild written by Du Bois.) His broader vision of the club was to establish what he referred to as a “book-selling proposition” in which the club would hold 2,500 Black Americans as members, each of whom would pay \$10 per year for the purchase of four or five books.¹³⁹ In a 1926 memorandum during the planning process, Du Bois listed recommended names for the club: The Russworm Library, The George Hogarth Bookery, The Negro Library Guild, The Scarborough Book Distribution, The Blyden Book-shelf, and The National Negro Readers.¹⁴⁰ He suggested a payment plan as follows: “\$3 for initiation, \$2 at the beginning of the second month, \$1 per month for the next five months.”¹⁴¹ His desire was

137. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Zora Neale Hurston, March 19, 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed March 4, 2016, <http://oubliette.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b033-i584>.

138. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Memorandum from W. E. B. Du Bois to James Weldon Johnson, ca. 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed March 3, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b173-i528>.

139. Ibid.

140. Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Memorandum from W. E. B. Du Bois to James Weldon Johnson, ca. December 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed March 20, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b173-i526>.

141. Ibid.

to start the membership in June and run it each month through 1 April.¹⁴² Not only was this one of his objectives for the “city Negro”; he made this the cornerstone of his work with the theater group at the library. He told Mrs. Carrie W. Clifford of Washington,

The KRIGWA has no duties except as the local band wishes. We want to have the whole organization as free and fluid as possible. I would like to have all members recorded here with name and address, and I am particularly interested in encouraging book buying. Suppose we could say to a publisher, if you would publish such a book the KRIGWA bands will buy one thousand or five thousand copies. Every American Negro of intelligence \$10 worth of books a year. And if we would, then the demand for Negro books written according to our wishes would be tremendous.¹⁴³

Earlier attempts to challenge the belief that Blacks were unintelligent and biologically inferior to Whites were made in the 1800s. This led to “book collecting”¹⁴⁴ efforts and establishment of intellectual societies. In the late 1820s and 1830s, Black leaders developed African American literary societies in Philadelphia and other major cities. They channeled their sorrow into strength and their mourning into a movement. Supported by the Mutual Aid Societies and organized by free Blacks, each group worked as a collective unit,¹⁴⁵ with a common goal to ensure “promotion of literature, science and art, the fostering of higher education, the publication of scholarly work and the defense of

142. Ibid.

143. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Carrie W. Clifford, March 26, 1926, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), accessed December 30th, 2016, Special Collections and University Archives, <http://oubliette.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b032-i493>.

144. Editor, “Book Collecting Drive Postponed Until Fall,” *Ogden Standard-Examiner* (Ogden, UT), April 28, 1920, 6, accessed February 20, 2016, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85058393/1920-04-28/>.

145. Paul Hofmann, “Salmon, New Harlem Pastor, Bids Negroes Give Mutual Aid,” *New York Times*, July 8, 1968: 22; By, Paul Hofmann, “Salmon, New Harlem Pastor, Bids Negroes Give Mutual Aid,” *New York Times* (1923-Current File), Jul 08, 1968, accessed February 5, 2016, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/118274670?accountid=13626>.

the Negro against vicious assault.”¹⁴⁶ The Clarkson Society in 1829 and the American Negro Academy in 1897, headed by theologian and scholar Alexander Crummell, fought to preserve Negro history. Locke (1925) wrote of Crummell’s clear sense of purpose,

It was Alexander Crummell, who, with the reaction already setting in, first organized Negro brains defensively through the founding of the American Negro academy in 1874 at Washington. A New York boy whose zeal for education had suffered a rude shock when refused admission to the Episcopal Seminary by Bishop Onderdonk, he had been befriended by John Jay and sent to Cambridge University, England for his education and ordination.¹⁴⁷

Black intellectuals joined the ranks to combat the scientific racist ideology of Black intellectual inferiority. To educate the race on its contributions was considered the key to changing American race relations. Du Bois said,

Thus it is the bounden duty of black America to begin this great work of creation of beauty, of the preservation of beauty, of the realization of beauty, and we must use in this work all the methods that men have used before. And what have been those tools of the artists in times gone by? First of all, he has used the truth- not for the sake of truth, not as a scientist seeking truth, but as one upon whom truth eternally thrusts itself as the highest handmaid of imagination, as one great vehicle of universal understanding.¹⁴⁸

There are moments in America’s history that reveal the manner in which this socially constructed idea, given so much meaning and value, has dominated social thought and social consciousness.

In changing the trajectory for Blacks in Harlem, The KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theatre movement completed three seasons, only two of which were under the

146. Archibald H. Grimke, C. C. Cook, J. Love, K. Miller, and F. J. Grimke (eds.), *The Negro and the Elective Franchise: A Series of Papers and a Sermon* (Washington, DC: American Negro Academy, 1905), The American Negro Academy was organized March 5 1897 by the founder, Rev. Alex Crummel to promote Negro literature, science, and art, higher education for Blacks the publication of scholarly works and the defense of the Black race against cruel attacks. This insert accessed March 2, 2016. <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=yale.39002007034656;view=1up;seq=5>.

147. Locke, *Harlem, Mecca of the New Negro* (Black Classic Press, 1925), 672.

148. Lewis, *Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader*, 100.

direction of Du Bois. A highlight of their trajectory was receipt of the Belasco Little Theatre Tournament award in 1926, the first of two tournaments that the group entered. Du Bois announced in a notice that what he referred to as the “April play” was shown in the contest.¹⁴⁹ Other plays selected were “Her,” “Fools Errand,” “Blueblood,” and an unnamed “older play.”¹⁵⁰ The theatre group won \$200 for their entry of Eubalie Spence’s play “Fools Errand.”¹⁵¹ The second season began on 17 January 1927.¹⁵² Du Bois entered the group in the tournament for the second time at the Frolic Theatre in midtown Manhattan on 226 West 47th Street.¹⁵³ Charles Burroughs, the KRIGWA Director, forwarded an announcement to the “friends” of the KRIGWA spreading the good news.¹⁵⁴ (Appendix K contains the tournament annou¹⁵⁵Tickets for the tournament sold for Orchestra seating \$2.20, Balcony (first through third rows) \$1.65, Balcony (next three rows) \$1.10, and Box Seats \$2.75.¹⁵⁶ William G. Holly, Business Manager for the KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theatre, received a receipt from the Little Theatre

149. Krigwa Players, Circular letter from the Krigwa Players to unidentified correspondent, April 1927. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed September 6, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b039-i266>.

150. Ibid.

151. Pitts Walker, Ethel, “Krigwa, A Theatre by, for, and about Black People.” Theatre Journal 40 (3) (1988): 347, accessed December 4, 2016, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.Libraries.rutgers.edu/docview/1290168546?accountid=13626>.

152. Ibid.

153. Krigwa Players, Krigwa Players Little Negro Theatre report, ca. April 1927. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 30, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b039-i280>.

154. Ibid.

155. Ibid.

156. Manhattan Little Theater Club, inc. National Little Theater Tournament, Ticket prices for the Little Theater Tournament, ca. 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed November 1, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b040-i108>.

Tournament 1927 that confirmed that their performance was scheduled for Monday, 2 May from 3 to 4 pm and advised that they could collect their tickets on Thursday of that week.¹⁵⁷

Du Bois called on all of KRIGWA members to participate in preparation for the tournament. He assigned the following roles: Acting—Mr. Burroughs, Director and Miss Eulalie Spence Assistant Director; Music—Mr. Dill and Miss Lindsey; Lighting—Mr. Flanner and Mr. Brown; Stage Manager—Mr. Jackson; Properties—Mr. Lewis; Scenery—Miss Lattimer; Publicity—Mr. Holly; Finance—Mr. Brown. The KRIGWA achieved momentous success and educated the race beyond the wider Harlem community.¹⁵⁸ The 135th Street Branch Library accommodated hundreds to witness such Black talent and achievements, contrary to beliefs that had so long plagued Harlem.

Five months subsequent to the KRIGWA's tournament, Du Bois announced to Miss Rose of his withdrawal from the project. In 1927, during the second season of the KRIGWA, his working relationship with the library staff had become a bit strained, according to correspondence between him and Miss Rose. On 4 January 1927 Du Bois expressed in correspondence to Miss Rose that the janitor of the library was "indignant" with Mr. Burroughs, one of the KRIGWA Players, over a \$2.00 fee owed for the use of the library basement.¹⁵⁹ By the tone of his letter, Du Bois appeared to be quite angry at the

157. Manhattan Little Theater Club, inc. National Little Theater Tournament, Letter from National Little Theater Tournament to the Krigwa Players Little Negro Theater, April 19, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed September 6, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b040-i109>.

158. Ibid.

159. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, 135th St. Branch, January 4, 1927, W. E. B.

fact that a “janitor” (implying that he was someone of a lower stature) had addressed a member of the KRIGWA.¹⁶⁰ He described the janitor incident as “harassment.”¹⁶¹ (Appendix L contains the letter from Du Bois to Miss Ernestine Rose concerning harassment by the janitor.) Rose responded with an apology, suggesting a misunderstanding.¹⁶² She explained to Du Bois that the charge was due the janitor for cleaning.¹⁶³ In the end, Du Bois cleared the debt to the janitor and sent it to Rose on 24 May 1927, within four months of first receiving notice of the bill.¹⁶⁴ Thus, their dispute was settled.¹⁶⁵

From that point forward, their relationship dynamic appeared to change regarding his use of space for KRIGWA performances. Du Bois received a note from John S. Brown regarding an announcement in the *Amsterdam News* stating that another theatre group, “The New Negro Art Theatre with Helmsley Winfield as director, would be permanently located in the basement of the New York Public Library, 135th Street and

Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 3, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b040-i195>.

160. Ibid.

161. Ibid.

162. New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch, Letter from New York Public Library, 135th St. branch to W. E. B. Du Bois, January 5, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 15, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b040-i196>.

163. Ibid.

164. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, 135th St. Branch, May 24, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 1, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b040-i201>.

165. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, 135th St. Branch, January 25, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed November 5, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b040-i197>.

Lennox Avenues.”¹⁶⁶ Du Bois was unaware of the article and attempted to question Rose about it.¹⁶⁷ However, he was unable to gain an immediate response, as she was on vacation.¹⁶⁸ In her absence her assistant responded, advising him that there was no truth to the article.¹⁶⁹ Within weeks, Du Bois threatened to pull the KRIGWA players out of the 135th Street Branch Library, as an announcement in the *Amsterdam News* conflicted with their contractual agreement on KRIGWA’S use of the library.¹⁷⁰ Du Bois wrote another letter to bring to Rose’s attention that the “Sekoni Players” were not up to the standard of the KRIGWA and, if they were to use the Library theatre, he would withdraw the KRIGWA players altogether.¹⁷¹ Miss Rose’s assistant responded to the second letter, offering to accommodate Du Bois’s request to defer decisions on performances until Rose’s return from vacation.¹⁷² However, Du Bois submitted a resignation letter to Rose dated 26 September 1927:

166. John S. Brown, Jr, Letter from John S. Brown, Jr. to W. E. B. Du Bois, August 31, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 2, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b037-i273>.

167. Ibid.

168. New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch, Letter from New York Public Library, 135th St. branch to W. E. B. Du Bois, September 6, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed February 3, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b040-i205>.

169. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, 135th St. Branch, September 1, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed March 3, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b040-i204>.

170. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, 135th St. Branch, September 12, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed March 10, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b040-i206>.

171. Ibid.

172. New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch, Letter from New York Public Library, 135th St. branch to W. E. B. Du Bois, September 19, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois

This is to notify you that I am withdrawing from the Little Theater Movement in Harlem and taking with me the trade name “Krigwa.” The growing idea I leave in yours and other hands eager to more able to develop it in my time and duties permit. You may feel free to arrange for other groups to use the playhouse as you see fit. May I thank you and the library authorities for your interest and co-operation?¹⁷³

Du Bois had withdrawn from the KRIGWA players at the Library Theatre but still wanted to maintain the name of the group. Rose described the loss of the KRIGWA players as a “catastrophe” and expressed her sorrow at losing such an asset to the library.¹⁷⁴ Du Bois, strong willed and determined, wrote his resignation letter to the KRIGWA:

With deep regret I am giving up my work for the Little Theatre movement in Harlem. My work is so pressing that I cannot spare time. I am making a full report in the Amsterdam News. I shall miss all of you.¹⁷⁵

By 1930, conflicts had arisen between Du Bois and Rose over issues of a promotion for Mrs. Regina Andrews Anderson. Lewis (2000) wrote,

Anderson, like her somewhat older colleague . . . Catherine Latimer, though filling the duties of first assistant librarian, was denied the position’s title and pay,

Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed September 5, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b040-i207>.

173. Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, 135th St. Branch, September 26, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 5, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b040-i208>.

174. New York Public Library . 135th Street Branch, Letter from New York Public Library, 135th St. branch to W. E. B. Du Bois, accessed November 27, 2016, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, accessed November 3, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b040-i209>.

175. Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Note from W. E. B. Du Bois to the Krigwa Players Little Negro Theatre, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed December 31, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b039-i281>.

as well as the opportunity for a lateral move outside Harlem that would have positioned her for advancement.¹⁷⁶

Mrs. Andrews, a Black librarian from Chicago who had worked at the Chicago Public Library for more than two years, had applied for a more advanced position at the 135th Street Branch; however, she was denied on account of “color prejudice.”¹⁷⁷ Du Bois heard of this issue and expressed in a letter to Rose dated February 18, 1930, his frustration and disappointment regarding this matter. He wrote,

I have your kind invitation of February 13. I regret to say that I can not serve you March 5 as I shall be lecturing in Michigan. I think I ought to add however, that even if I were in New York City at the time and free I should not feel that I ought to speak for the New York Library or for your branch. And this is because of my increasing dissatisfaction with the treatment which the New York Library is giving colored library assistants in general, and Mrs. Regina Andrews in particular. I am by this mail writing to Mr. Hopper of the Circulation Department to express this dissatisfaction and to tell them I am taking up the matter with the Civil Service Commission in New York City, and then I plan to go further with the Mayor and Alderman. It seems to me time that race discrimination should be taken out of our public library system.¹⁷⁸

Lewis (2000) wrote, “The public library situation, with its apparent pigeonholing of talent at the 135th Street Branch, was especially galling to Du Bois.”¹⁷⁹

With the support of his colleagues, two days later, Walter Francis White, a self-described “associate” of Du Bois, wrote to Rose of his intent to withdraw from a

176. Lewis, *Fight*, 240.

177. Walter Francis White, 1893-1955. Letter from Walter White to Ernestine Rose, February 20, 1930, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b055-i178>; Consuelo C. Young, “PREFACE.” *The Chicago Defender (National Edition)* (1921-1967), Oct 29, 1938, accessed January 3, 2016, <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/docview/492585596?accountid=13626>.

178. Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to the New York Public Library, February 18, 1930, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed November 2, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b055-i475>.

179. Lewis, *Fight*, 240.

speaking engagement that he had previously made at the library because he had been told of the conflict regarding the promotion of Mrs. Andrews.¹⁸⁰ In his letter, White used the term “color prejudice” to describe the reason Mrs. Andrews was not promoted to the position.¹⁸¹

This morning, for the first time, I have learned of the efforts of which my associate, Dr. Du Bois, has been making in behalf of Mrs. Regina Andrews, who apparently has been denied, on the account of “color prejudice,” opportunity for advancement in the New York Public Library. Under the circumstances, I do not feel that I care to speak at the library until this situation is settled satisfactorily, not only with regards to Mrs. Andrews but until barriers based on color prejudice are removed from the path of any colored person in the New York Public Library System.¹⁸²

Du Bois’s thoughts on the matter of race and Black inferiority had remained consistent, as he contended that he had been the initiator of scientific study of the American Negro.¹⁸³ On 30 November 1931, Du Bois wrote to James Dillard of Charlottesville, Virginia, that he had “initiated the scientific study of the American Negro in the United States and contributed something to it.”¹⁸⁴ Similarly, one month later, Du Bois wrote to Edwin R. Embree of Chicago, Illinois,

I was the first person who began the scientific study of the American Negro along modern social lines and I think it is true that if any of the person present at the first meeting knows anything about the American Negro, his knowledge his based in part upon work that I have done.¹⁸⁵

180. White, “White to Rose,” February 20, 1930.

181. Ibid.

182. Ibid.

183. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to J. H. Dillard, November 30, 1931, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed September 3, 2016. <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b058-i090>.

184. Ibid.

185. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to Edwin Embree, December 2, 1931, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312).

Du Bois had built a solid foundation in the study of the urban Black, which contributed to his ability to advocate, educate, and inform to improve the “Negro problem” in cities. After seven years, when stating this claim of being the first to study the American Negro, a newspaper printed an article on Mrs. Anderson, which can be attributed to Du Bois’s efforts.

In 1934, Du Bois had once again established himself in Harlem and it would be four years later (eight years following his initial letter of complaint to Miss Rose) that the fruits of his labor to assist Mrs. Anderson would come to fruition.¹⁸⁶ In 1938, however, it was announced in the *Chicago Defender* that Mrs. Anderson was the first Black to be promoted to take full charge of a public branch library in New York.¹⁸⁷ She replaced Mrs. Lea Lewisohn at the West 115th Street Branch Library, which served Spanish, Black and White readers.¹⁸⁸ Despite this conflict, which did not arise until the 1930s, the relationship between Du Bois and Rose can be described as cordial and one of mutual respect and admiration.

Du Bois considered the library to be a grand exhibition of Black achievements that provided a “bountiful” basis for the circulation of future contributions to Black history. The book collections, forums, and book evenings alike of which Du Bois had contributed, were the library’s most “significant legacy” and provided a permanent connection between the Negro race and its history.¹⁸⁹

Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed September 20th, 2016.

<http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b058-i210>.

186. Sinnette, *Black Bibliophile*; Anderson, “Place to Go”.

187. Consuelo, *PREFACE*.

188. Ibid.

189. Anderson, “The Place to Go,” 383–421.

However, I would argue that Du Bois's most vital contribution in Harlem was his work in the theatre movement at the 135th Street Branch Library. The arts served as a prime means of communication to a mass audience that was eager to gain knowledge of the Negro past.

CHAPTER 5: LESSONS LEARNED

When he died at 10:40 am on Tuesday night, 27 August, 1963 The *Ghanaian*

Time printed a bold black headline:

This Day a Mighty Tree Has Fallen in Africa

This is a photographic essay of one of the tallest trees of Africa and African American—a photographic essay on the roots, development, trials, tribulations, joys and triumphs of W.E.B. Du Bois, who was an American original and one of the largest minds produced in this land. Larger than life, larger even in death, Du Bois left a challenging legacy. He was a founder of the NAACP, and he almost single-handedly created the modern Black protest movement and the Pan African Movement. More importantly perhaps, he was as I said in *Pioneers in Protest* the discoverer of the New World of Africa and of African American. He was perhaps the first black man to see the shores beyond the Europeanized West. He was perhaps the first black man to proclaim, with all his heart and with all his soul, the dusk of dawn of the Third World. Black Power, Negritude, the African personality, Africa for Africans, the sociology of the slums, the Gift of Black Folk, the Souls of Black Folk, the Dusk of Dawn: all found a place in the worldview of the prophet who said in 1903: “The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color-line –the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea.”¹

Negro history and culture were for W. E. B. Du Bois the panacea to the “Negro problem” for Blacks in America. The 135th Street Branch Library during the Harlem Renaissance period served in its role in the Harlem community as an urban repository and a center for Black studies to educate the race on Negro history and culture to change perception, mindset, and trajectory of the Black race during a time of racism, discrimination, and oppression. At the library, Du Bois used the arts as a response to science in that he answered the question of whether Blacks were of an intellectually and culturally inferior race. The answer, based on the evidence, was No.

The city of Harlem for Du Bois was the epicenter of the African Diaspora of a rainbow of scholars, activists, intellectuals, artists, actors, and musicians who had joined the

1. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, xi.

movement to fight scientific racist ideology and a mindset that contributed to the continued oppression of the Black race. This urban space during the renaissance period consisted of leaders and scholars who contributed a unique perspective to address the education of the Negro. The objective during this period was to provide in-depth examination of Negro history and culture to solve the “Negro problem” in cities.

Arturo Schomburg of the 135th Street Branch Library was from Puerto Rico and brought the Black Latin perspective to the discussion, which Du Bois appreciated and used to enhance his ability to organize a cultural exhibition against the notion that Blacks made no contributions to society. The African Diaspora was fighting against this racial worldview. Immigration, industrialization, and migration were the urban issues that Du Bois considered to explain the Black experience in America and why cities were crucial to understanding the urban experience for the Black race. Dr. Karl Johnson (2004) offered his historical perspective on Du Bois.

Du Bois is unique in intellectual history, because he expanded across a number of eras with regards to race relations. When W.E.B. Du Bois began his quest to challenge scientific racism he wanted to improve the education of Blacks throughout the world. He believed that if Blacks were better educated they would be accepted. He grew up in a mixed type of situation and went to school with poor whites. He was able to be the top student in the class and based on his experience he knew that blacks and whites could be educated together. He was very optimistic and had that opinion in the beginning. He co-founded the NAACP and worked with black and white elites and figured that blacks were must improve themselves and in order to improve the black experience in America. But then because he was a life long learner he saw that this was not working. There were times when whites were xenophobic against blacks. And whites killed blacks who, were thought to be successful. As per the Atlanta riots when at the turn of the 20th century the affluent black sections of town-whites burned it down. As per the Red Summer in Harlem around 1919, when whites attacked blacks that were exercising their citizen rights. As per the Tulsa riot –also known as the Black Wall Street-when whites burned it down for fear of black success. Blacks being successful did not work. So, Du Bois became disillusioned and he began to move from the Talented Tenth concept to socialism and communism because he thought he could establish class solidarity among blacks and white working class to go

against exploitation, racism and discrimination. Du Bois wanted to try and convince the whites to stop and give Africa back their land. He was still idealistic and included whites in his movement...He thought that if he could educate blacks to raise their social consciousness this would improve the perception of blacks and whites of the race.²

Dr. Johnson lectured on Du Bois as an intellectual. He said,

Because, Du Bois tried everything. He tried every approach possible to improve the Negro problem. He tried the Talented Tenth. He tried socialism, and communism, which essentially was combining white working class with black working, but blacks were still rejected. He tried the NAACP working with whites and that did not work. So, he became disillusioned and moved to Accra, Ghana. In hindsight—after all of that work that he did—when he died he never got to see the ground work that he had laid. He never saw the fruits his labor. Blacks were rejected, by whites, on every level so he moved toward Black nationalism more toward the end of his life. I guess Du Bois came too early. Du Bois set the table and cleared the way as he did the heavy lifting.³

Du Bois was eager to produce a body of scientific knowledge to combat scientific racism.⁴ Morris (2015) was correct in asserting that, for Du Bois, “externally imposed social conditions constitute the foundations of racial oppression and white supremacy.”⁵ Contrary to dominant beliefs with regard to the Black race, Du Bois argued against White social scientists and persisted in his attempts to validate that the “newly emerging social sciences built on careful, empirical research focused on human action in order to pass the test as genuine science” be supported.⁶ Du Bois believed that there were possibilities for a genuine social science due to the fact that inferior and superior races did not exist.⁷

This study demonstrates that W. E. B. Du Bois built a sociological school that challenged scientific racism by producing findings, which suggests that race is socially

2. Johnson, “W.E.B. Du Bois’s Fight for Change in Urban America,” (lecture).

3. Du Bois and Eaton, *Philadelphia Negro*; Morris, *Scholar*.

4. Morris, *Scholar*.

5. Ibid., 3.

6. Ibid., 3.

7. Ibid.

constructed and human agency and social conditions determine mostly the trajectory of racial inequality in society.⁸ Any scientific theory of Black inferiority was based on myth, misconception, conjecture, speculation, racist assumptions, and scant empirical data.⁹

During the twentieth century, cities were striking in the eyes of many who longed to be a part of this large-scale expansion. Precipitously, cities grew through the forces of industrialization, capitalism, and entrepreneurship and a new kind of city emerged: the Great Metropolis. However, through this period of change, cities have experienced problems that have affected the lives of Black Americans in various ways. In the areas of education, health, and urban planning, cities have suffered difficulties in maintaining a coherent, equitable urban system. Certain populations have been affected by these problems more than others.

To formulate fundamental change within the urban environment, Du Bois had taken the approach of first analyzing the issues which affect economic and social opportunities available to Blacks in cities. For Du Bois, the question then became how gender, race, class, and socioeconomic status directly affect the experiences of Blacks living in cities under a racist society.

During the early migration period the formation of Black ghettos took inner cities by storm. In Harlem, a place where Du Bois could implement his plan for change with the use of the 135th Street Branch Library, thousands of poor Blacks relocated from the South to northern cities in search of improved economic and social opportunities, in search of race equality. This mass population shift was a major contributor to the development of concentrated poverty and racially segregated community such as Harlem.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

Du Bois observed in his studies that, compared to Whites, poor Blacks in urban ghettos had historically bore the burden of problems in the built environment for many years. He referred to this as the “Negro problem.” He tried to defeat scientific racism, which had created a social exclusion within the context of urban migration, which has been a part of the discourse for generations.

During the late nineteenth century, when thousands of Black Americans shifted their residency pattern from the South to the North, a burgeoning of social divisions within cities across the country ensued. Within these urban areas developed segregation, polarization, division, partitioning, and a lack of interracial social cohesion.¹⁰ The demographic changes produced a predominance of racial, ethnic, and cultural divide and a culture of competition among inhabitants. Pockets of fragmented communities engulfed the built environment and created the condition of spatial segregation, which remains in existence today. The years between World War I (1914–1918) and the Great Depression (1929–1941) were a time of massive industrialization that brought on rapid urbanization and an increase in the Black population in cities across the nation.¹¹ Between 1920 and 1930, thousands of African Americans who left the South settled in Harlem in hopes not only of economic opportunities but also a more racially tolerant and inclusive environment.¹²

This best describes the Black American migrant experience in Harlem during the early migration in which Du Bois played a major part. When they reached Harlem, despite the “Harlem Renaissance,” Black migrants were faced with extreme poverty, and

10. Massey and Denton, “The Dimensions”; Kempen and Özüekren, “Ethnic Segregation in Cities.”

11. Osofsky, *Ghetto*.

12. Ibid.; Du Bois, *The city Negro*, ca. 1910, Du Bois Papers.

social, economic and political injustice. In order to survive the socially constructed institution of structural violence, this population maximized their social and cultural capital and established a micro system of support within the ghettos of Harlem. The 135th Street Branch Library served as that support. The condition of social exclusion tested the abilities of this population to survive within the predominately European immigrant milieu. Examining the contextual relationship between social exclusion and the early migration requires tracing the lives of Black Americans through a series of occasions during a specific period in time—for this study, the years of Du Bois’s life in Harlem. In order to survive the socially constructed institution of structural violence, Blacks maximized their social capital, a practice that had enabled them to live through Jim Crow in the South and establish a macro system of support within the ghettos of Harlem.

Du Bois’s work at the 135th Street Branch can be categorized, as a response to science. In both ability and opportunity, Du Bois was admirably equipped to confront the scientific community to engage in a process that prepared him with the knowledge and experience to confront racist thinking of the time.¹³ An examination of Du Bois’s work at the 135th Street Branch Library reveals the development and expansion of intellectual thought and racial consideration.

Almost 60 years post emancipation, Du Bois persisted to follow his calling to reverse American social thought and the racial worldview that Blacks were, as publically stated in an article in the *New York Daily Times*, “destitute of intellectual capacity, brutal,

13. Barrington, “Empirical Social Research”.

ungrateful and dishonest.”¹⁴ Du Bois wrote to Herbert Jacob Seligmann (1891–1984), a writer and civil rights activist for Black Americans, concerning a proposal for an article on the scientific study of Black people.¹⁵ Seligmann was the publicity director for the NAACP from 1919 through 1932.¹⁶ In his memorandum Du Bois said,

I suggest two outlines for a possible article in the *Century Magazine*: The Study of the Negro problem: An account of an extraordinary and gratifying change in the public mind toward the Negro as shown by a willingness to apply scientific methods of study to questions of race and race prejudice: The first studies began at the University of Pennsylvania in 1896 were continued at Atlanta University of Pennsylvania in 1896, and are now widespread. The Atlanta University studies covered matters of health, economic condition, education, religion and crime.¹⁷

Analyzing the history of the development of race superiority, one can examine the degree of significance that this phenomenon has had on the stratification of society as a whole.¹⁸ The discussion in the first four chapters of this dissertation demonstrates that Du Bois’s scientific school delegitimized the idea that Blacks were inferior to the White race and legitimized the position that human agency and social conditions were the determining factors by which to measure inequality in society. Thus, educating Blacks in Harlem on Negro history and culture was vital to their ability to correct their condition. Du Bois argued that, historically, race has been categorized by physical characteristics and traits.¹⁹ Belief in the categorization of human beings into distinct groups based on physical characteristics remains in existence in society today. For example, skin color,

14. “Black and White,” *New York Daily Times (1851-1857)*, December 26, 1854: 4, accessed September 1, 2015, <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.Libraries.rutgers.edu/docview/95832941?accountid=13626>.

15. Alfred A. Knopf Inc. Records, and Valerie Wingfield, The New York Public Library Humanities and Social Sciences Library Manuscripts and Archives Division, 1999, accessed July 2, 2016, www.nypl.org.

16. Ibid.

17. Du Bois, *Memorandum from W. E. B. Du Bois to Herbert J. Seligmann*

18. Smedley, *Race in North America*.

19. Ibid.

hair texture, and body shape are social determinants and define social mobility of groups in society. Although race has been demonstrated to be an irrelevant scientific theory with regard to differentiation, it remains essential in social discourse in the United States and abroad.

Race and race differentiation continue to be relevant to manifestation of racism and racial oppression in America. To lack knowledge of its origins and the evolution of race, a complex phenomenon, risks misunderstanding the critical parameters of social identity and human differentiation. Du Bois stated, “their history in Africa and the world is a history of effort, success and trial, comparable with that of any other people.”²⁰

Du Bois noted that issues of race and race prejudice were crucial links to the oppression of Blacks in America.²¹ Based on specious scientific theory, Blacks were defined as inferior to people of European descent; this affected the manner in which Blacks were treated in cities across the nation. Recognizing this as a major hindrance to the Negro race, which in Du Bois’s opinion deserved all of the freedoms granted to other American citizens, Du Bois addressed this problem and pursued his quest to educate the people on Black history and culture through his work at the 135th Street Branch library in Harlem. For Du Bois, the library served as a resource in the urban environment to educate the masses through the arts and humanities to provide the evidence to counter the claims that Blacks were inferior to the White race. Du Bois used the library to educate the masses on Negro history and culture to show the evidence that Blacks were not of an inferior race as science had defined them to be.

20. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, *On Being Ashamed of Oneself* WEB Du Bois: *A Reader*, 1995, 80.

21. Ibid.

Du Bois learned through his engagement with the scientific community that issues of race and science, inextricably linked to societal processes of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, grew out of a strong interest to justify Black intellectual inferiority and White superiority. He had seen through his study of the “city Negro” that Blacks who had migrated to cities were “miseducated” both on the history and the facts regarding the Negro past.²² Northern and southern schools systems in broken and deplorable conditions did not offer uplifting factual histories of the Negro race and thus “miseducated” the Black population. American history books often presented one-sided descriptions in favor of the “majority” race, condemning the Negro or excluding Black contributions altogether. Du Bois’s caste of education analysis applies to the concept of Blacks being mis-educated in America due to these one-sided descriptions of the Black race in school textbooks. Du Bois viewed scientific racism as an integral factor in the subliminal act to control the material used by students to perpetuate inequalities in society. Pierce (2017) pointed out,

Du Bois’s analysis penetrates to the central structures of racial capitalist schooling in the United States. One of the main targets of Du Bois’s critique was the eugenic basis on which caste education was built and justified. He saw biological racism as a crucial feature animating the veil (through its various technologies of control) between the white and dark worlds as well as the unequal forms of social life it produced. One of the key reasons caste education grew out of the Reconstruction period (as opposed to a more equitable and just schooling system) is because the white world was unwilling to abolish its own desire to keep itself pure from “degenerate” segments of the population (communities of color), something eugenic science legitimated for the white world. Utilizing racial science to organize the education system provided the necessary governing rationality by which White industrial leaders could retain the highly valuable labor source of the ex-slave population and Whiteness as a superior social and political status.²³

22. C.G. Woodson, *The Miseducation of the Negro* (Trenton, New Jersey 1933).

23. Pierce, “W.E.B. Du Bois and Caste Education,” 28S.

Scientific racism and neglect and omission of Negro history and culture can be argued to have perpetuated problems that today's educational system has attempted to resolve, particularly the manner in which the nation has attempted to control the education of Blacks in America. Thus, the nation is confronted with the need to address the issue with much alacrity to ensure that the American educational system serves as a benefit for all children. Pierce (2017) argued in his article entitled "W.E.B. Du Bois and Caste Education: Racial Capitalist Schooling From Reconstruction to Jim Crow" that charter schools have socially reproduced race and class inequalities in American society.

Caste provides a corrective to the lack of an audible or theoretical link . . . to understand gentrification, urban renewal, and charters as symptomatic of a longer colonial and international history whereby brown and black populations have been the locus and alibi for capital accumulation and education an alibi to control knowledge and populations.²⁴

Historically, educational reform has gone through considerable modifications in the United States. Pierce (2017) suggested that most recent attempts, such as school choice programs, charter schools, and vouchers have made significant strides in addressing the issue of public education in America. However, the mission to secure America's promise to "level the playing field" in the urban educational system continues to present exigent issues. Ineffective policies aimed at closing the achievement gap with respect to Black and Latino students versus White and Asian students persist. Various educational systems have broached the topic of reform, in terms of what works for their constituency. The stratification of race, class, and socioeconomic status in America has been based on historical scientific racist beliefs about Black inferiority that have guided

24. Pierce, "*W.E.B. Du Bois and Caste Education*," 39S-40S.

approaches to educating Blacks in America. Thus, the task of equalization is a daunting challenge.

Pierce (2017) applied Du Bois's use of caste analysis to the discussion of the system of charter schools and the manner in which these schools have become the focal point of the historical debate on social production of race and class inequality through schooling. Charter schools are essentially government schools that operate as schools of choice. Unlike traditional government schools, children are not assigned to attend a charter school based on where they reside. Families can elect to place their children in charter schools; therefore, the schools rely solely on voluntary choice to gain enrollment. In most states, charter schools function free from the rules that are applied to traditional public schools, in exchange for accountability for student performance. They operate on the basis of a "charter" or contract with an authorizing agency and are governed by boards of trustees with wide control over instruction, staffing budget, internal organization, and calendar. The majority of the students enrolled in charter schools live in poor urban districts. Voucher schools are private schools that may or may not be religiously affiliated; their students enroll in them by choice. Generally, vouchers cover only a portion of the school's tuition. Voucher schools exist only where they have been authorized by the state legislature or by Congress.²⁵ Pierce (2017) argued, "Despite the difference between them, both models of social and political change assume a problematic understanding of the human subject supportive of White supremacy and accumulation."²⁶ Pierce (2017) issued an urgent call to study Du Bois's idea of caste

25. Diane Ravitch, *The Death and Life of The Great American School System: How Testing And Choice are Undermining Education* (Basic Books, 2016).

26. Pierce, "W.E.B. Du Bois and Caste Education".

education to determine how it relates to the history of the oppression of Blacks based on their presumed inferiority to the White race, thus perpetuating advancement of White supremacy and limiting knowledge production for the Black race.²⁷

According to Morris (2015), for Du Bois, “Slavery had produced illiteracy in ignorance among the black masses, so that they lack the intellectual and material resources necessary for liberation. Therefore, those Blacks who acquired advance and brought education were to be the leaders of the masses.”²⁸

Unlike most studies, this project focuses on Du Bois as a student of race and science. Du Bois contended that racist ideology could be challenged by correcting the historical accounts of the Black race. This would become the foundation upon which much of his work was built. With particular emphasis on Harlem, this study looked at Du Bois’s “multidisciplinary” approach to his work at the 135th Street Branch Library. Gordon and Watkins (2017) reviewed their personal relationship with Du Bois and drew the following conclusions with regard to his philosophy on education. The authors noted that they had come to believe that Du Bois was correct as he saw:

1. Education is distorted and made limiting by racism and capitalism.
2. Intellect is malleable and subject to environmental force.
3. Education is cultivative of intelligence, inclusive of declared knowledge technique and mental abilities.
4. Education is as much about the teaching and learning of how to think and the disposition to do so as it is about the teaching and learning of the mastery of knowledge and skills.

27. Ibid.

28. Morris, *Scholar*, 31.

5. Learning entails both knowing and understanding, but the understanding of most phenomena is challenged when known from only a single perspective.²⁹

To combat this issue, Du Bois traveled to schools and libraries in various cities and noted the obvious neglect of the Negro story. There was a lack of clear evidence that the scientific theory of Black intellectual inferiority was not credible, often resulting in a lack of acquisition of knowledge of Negro history and culture. Du Bois would have agreed with Carter G. Woodson, who claimed that theories of Negro inferiority were “drilled” into Black pupils in virtually every classroom they entered.³⁰ Du Bois cited this as a reality of his own educational experiences when he reflected on the speech given by Franz Boas in 1906 at the Atlanta University graduation.

Few today are interested in Negro history because they feel the matter already settled: the Negro has no history. This dictum seems neither reasonable nor probable. I remember my own rather sudden awakening from the paralysis of this judgment taught me in high school and in two of the world’s great universities.³¹

Based on a caste or hierarchy system for centuries, America had sought to justify the enslavement of Africans. The claims that Africans were less intelligent and biologically inferior to Europeans only inspired Black scholars such as Du Bois and others to counter this belief with the truths of the race’s accomplishments. In 1959 Du Bois discussed, in the original document *The History of Africa*, the geography of the continent of Africa and several historical events that transpired between Africans and others from the various parts of the world.³² Du Bois highlighted racial stereotypes that

29. Gordon and Watkins, “Commentary”.

30. Snyder, “Progressive Education in Black and White,” 2015.

31. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now*, xxxi.

32. W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963, *The History of Africa*, ca. 1959, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, accessed January 3, 2016 <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b206-i039>.

had been assigned to the Negro race and cited inept attempts to define race scientifically. He explored the varied physical appearances of African people, which he attributed to the diverse ways in which humans adapt to climate and environment. He applauded efforts by archeologists, ethnologists, and chemists to redefine the meaning of Africa. In support of this claim Du Bois said in his writing,

The modern world [in contrast to the European world] knows the Negro chiefly, as a bond slave in the West Indies and America. Add to this the fact that the darker races in other parts of the world, have in the last four centuries, lagged behind the feverish footsteps of European, and we face today a widespread assumption, throughout the dominant world that color is a mark of inferiority.³³

The concept of race has evolved through centuries of re-construction and it is unique in nature, as it has contributed to the expansion and sustainment of a racial worldview that Blacks are unintelligent and not noteworthy of history.³⁴ Historical studies on this concept have been viewed through a social-scientific paradigm. Particular models or frameworks have been offered, derived from a worldview or theory of the nature of knowledge and racial existence. Certain models have been shared by scientific communities to guide researchers on the thought process with regard to race. Once certain ideologies or beliefs have been established, conceptualized, and accepted as truth, the ideas take hold of the subconscious and maintain power. McKnight and Chandler (2012) said,

Royal certificates of whiteness could be purchased in Hispanic-American colonies; Portuguese citizens settling in the US would be considered white, but not in British Guyana; late in the 19th century, Chinese and Mexican Indians were classified as white in Cuba, but in the US they were classified as ‘colored’; early in the 20th century, the one-drop rule (i.e. one drop of ‘tainted blood’) classified

33. Du Bois, “The History of Africa”.

34. Smedley, *Race in North America*.

persons as non- white; laws in Texas during the same time period classified race based on the race of one's father.³⁵

It is apparent that race, however powerful its social and psychological impact, has held longevity as a human invention based on scientific categories that have since been biologically disproven.³⁶ However, in American culture this belief has never totally subsided. In the United States, race became the main human identifier and its effect has resulted in stratification of racial categories.³⁷ The status of the Negro race in America has been vehemently discussed over time. A claimed lack of culture and an incapacity for self-rule and intelligence based on various "pseudoscientific" opinions gave credence to an unproven idea. The diagnosis settled on scientific explanations—not mere academic opinions but beliefs held by scientific scholars.

The notion to challenge scientific racism dates back to the mid-nineteenth century. In 1863 William Wells Brown wrote *The Black Man: His Antecedents, His Genius, His Accomplishments*, in which he challenged the notion of the "natural inferiority of the blacks."³⁸

They delight to his scant upon the natural inferiority of the blacks and claim that we are destined only for servile condition entitled neither to liberty nor legitimate pursuit of happiness. The second are those who are ignorant to the characteristics

35. D. Mcknight, and P. Chandler, "The Complicated Conversation of Class and Race in Social and Curricular Analysis: An examination of Pierre Bourdieu's interpretative framework in relation to race," *Educational Philosophy And Theory* 44, no. SUPPL. 1 (May 1, 2012): 86, accessed October 23, 2016, <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=defd1602-8bb2-4952-ab4c-7a1b514c7b02%40sessionmgr4010&hid=4108>.

36. Pounder, Adelman, Cheng, Herbes-Sommers, Strain, Smith, and Ragazzi, "Race: The Power of an Illusion."

37. Ibid.

38. William Wells Brown, *The Black Man: His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements*, (James Redpath, 1863), 1, accessed June 4, 2016, <https://ia600306.us.archive.org/5/items/blackmanthe00browrich/blackmanthe00browrich.pdf>.

of the race and are the mere echoes of the first. To meet and refute these representations, and to supply a deficiency long felt in the community, of a work containing sketches of individuals who by their own genius, capacity and intellectual development have surmounted the many obstacles which slavery and prejudice have thrown their way, and raised themselves to positions of honor, this volume was written. The characters represented in most of these biographies are for the first time put in print. The author's long sojourn in England, his opportunity of research amid the archives of England and France, and his visit to the west indies have given the advantage of information respecting the blacks seldom acquired. If this work shall aid in vindicating the Negro's character and show that he is endowed with those intellectual and amiable qualities, which adorn and dignify human nature, it will meet the most sanguine hopes of the writer.³⁹

This quote by William Wells (1863) provides historical evidence that Negro history and culture were considered to be a way to challenge scientific racism to refute assumptions about the Black race.

In early U.S. history, science did not bother particularly with the Negro slave; however, about 1850 it took up the then current philosophy of White superiority and applied it to Negroes. A succession of books sought to apply Darwinian theory in a way to prove that American Negroes were natural slaves. After Emancipation, there was a rebound in the opposite direction and efforts were made to prove by individual examples and results of the new Negro schools that Negroes were normal and only needed a chance to become the equal of Whites in a short time. Then came the reaction of Reconstruction times and a series of articles and books and studies that more and more insisted that, in health, mentality, and social organization, the American Negro was so inferior that any attempt to make him a full-fledged citizen was a mistake.⁴⁰

39. Ibid., 1.

40. W.E.B. Du Bois, Memorandum from W. E. B. Du Bois to Herbert J. Seligmann, December 13, 1928, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, accessed April 5, 2016
<http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b042-i345>.

Africans in Africa were depicted by science as “sexual and savage creatures,” a view that prompted scientific racism.⁴¹ Originating in early modern Europe, this theory was an attempt to justify the belief that human beings could be categorized on the basis of particular genetic and hereditary traits and carried distinguishable characteristics from other humans.⁴² This falsity supported expansion of the belief in Black intellectual inferiority. As Bachman (1850) stated,

The fact that nature has stamped on the African race the permanent marks of inferiority that are taught by their whole past history the lesson of their incapacity to self-government, and that the scriptures point out the duties both of masters and servants, should be sufficient to dispel improper motive in an unbiased search after truth alone.⁴³

The term *race*, found in all languages of European settlers in the Americas, is used conservatively to distinguish among people.⁴⁴ One of the earliest sightings of the term in the English language was in 1508 in a poem entitled “The Dance of the Sevin Deidley Synnis”⁴⁵ by William Dunbar, in which the author referred to “backbyttaris of sindry racis.”⁴⁶ It was not until after the eighteenth century that the term was defined to group human beings according to “human species identified by a shared appearance and inherited traits.”⁴⁷

41. Thomas Jefferson. “Notes on Virginia,” *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson* 187 (1781): 275.

42. Pounder, Adelman, Cheng, Herbes-Sommers, Strain, Smith, and Ragazzi, “Race: The Power of an Illusion.”

43. John Bachman, *The Doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race Examined on the Principles of Science*, (C. Canning 1850), 8.

44. Jean S. Phinney, “When We Talk About American Ethnic Groups, What Do We Mean?” *American Psychologist*, vol. 51, 9 (1996): 918, accessed July 1, 2016, <http://www.napavalley.edu/people/cmasten/Documents/psych128/Phinney1996.pdf>.

45. Frederick Rogers, *The Seven Deadly Sins, Ah Bulletin*, 1907, 68.

46. Michael Banton, *Racial Theories* (Boston: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1.

47. Nicholas Hudson, “From ‘Nation’ to ‘Race’: The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* vol. 29, no. 3 (1996): 247,

Historians of science and anthropology have often noted that the concept of race began to emerge at some point during the eighteenth century, particularly in the work of Linnaeus and other authors who advocated polygenist theories of human origin.⁴⁸ In 1835 the term evolved to a more descriptive meaning, as it appeared in the sixth edition of the *Dictionnaire*:

Une multitude d'hommes qui sont originaires du meme pays, et se ressemblent par les traits du vis-age, par la conformation exterieure [A multitude of men who originate from the same country, and resemble each other by facial features and by exterior conformity].⁴⁹

The term was defined in the Oxford dictionary in 1910 as “a group of persons, animals, plants connect by descent or origin.”⁵⁰ No eighteenth-century dictionary defined *race* in the modern sense of the word.⁵¹

Examination of these definitions supports the point raised by Smedley (2012) that race must be evaluated for the purpose of prompting thoughtful and insightful inquiry on the issues that have historically been shaped by this concept.⁵² Du Bois spoke of race in his works on several occasions, arguing a need for a movement to challenge scientific racism. In 1915 in *The Negro*, Du Bois wrote,

One who writes of the development of the Negro race must continually insist that he is writing of a normal human stock, and that whatever it is fair to predicate of the mass of human beings may be predicated of the Negro.⁵³

accessed June 2, 2016,

<http://www.english.upenn.edu/sites/www.english.upenn.edu/files/courses/syllabus/2014C-ENGL748-DobieHudsonReadings.pdf>.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid., 247.

50. Les Back and John Solomos, *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader* (Washington, DC: Psychology Press, 2000), 53.

51. Hudson, “From ‘Nation’ to ‘Race’”.

52. Smedley and Hutchinson, “Racism in the Academy,” 2012.

53. W.E.B. DuBois, “The Negro,” (New York: H, 1915).

Recognition of this fact is vital for the prevention of false ideology. In order to challenge scientific racism, Du Bois was aware that the movement must be based on a clear understanding of how to define and conceptualize race. Undoubtedly, race has been one of the most misconstrued, socially displaced, and often perilous concepts of the modern world.⁵⁴ Examining its history would require an awareness of the phenomenon as it related to the issues of scientific racism.

It had been evident for centuries that society used external physical traits to classify individuals. The use of race as a method of social differentiation and human variation is a recent phenomenon. Historical records indicate that race and the concepts associated with the idea did not exist prior to the seventeenth century.⁵⁵ Du Bois recognized that, for centuries, race and science had been inextricably linked to Negro oppression; this phenomenon warranted further examination. Pierce (2017) noted Du Bois's argument that

the human child receives its thoughts, the larger part of its habits, its tricks of doing, its religion; its whole conception of what it is and what the whole world about it is from the society in which it is placed; and this heredity which is not physical at all has aptly been called social heredity. Here Du Bois challenged a fundamental way social death through caste education is established, arguing that poverty and racial isolation have more to do with school performance and "intelligence" than supposed hereditary deficits.⁵⁶

To challenge this scientific racist belief would first require a fundamental understanding of race.

54. Pounder, Adelman, Cheng, Herbes-Sommers, Strain, Smith, and Ragazzi, "Race: The Power of an Illusion."; Winsor, Mary P., "Linnaeus's Biology Was Not Essentialist 1," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden*, vol. 93, no. 1 (2006): 2, accessed July 1, 2016, <http://www.marypwinsor.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Winsor-2006b-Linn-Not-Ess.pdf>.

55. Smedley, "Race' and the Construction".

56. Pierce, "WEB Du Bois and Caste Education," 36s.

In America, the initial contact between English settlers (colonizer) and Black Africans (colonized) transpired through labor and servitude.⁵⁷ Scholars debated whether first “twenty Negroes” were slaves or indentured servants.⁵⁸ Don Jordan and Michael Walsh (2012) stated that, in practice, “Virginians treated Africans as indentured servants, even if they were formally considered slaves by their transporters.”⁵⁹ During the early seventeenth century, the contact situation between the English colonists and the Negroes contributed to the creation of a racialized social system: a reward system that benefitted Europeans and served as a detriment to other groups.⁶⁰ Arnold Sio argued that “discrimination against the Negro before the slave status was fully defined before Negro labor became pivotal to the economic system.”⁶¹

Already deemed inferior, Africans were chosen to resolve a labor supply problem in the New World. Along with White indentured servants, they were used as the main source of manpower to cultivate the newly discovered land. Attempts were also made to enslave the American Indians who had already inhabited the Americas; however, their skilled knowledge of the terrain and decrease in population due to warfare, death, and disease enabled them to escape entrapment.⁶²

The White indentured servitude system was a short-lived resolution to a major economic problem in the eyes of the colonialist. The plantation system began to grow

57. Patrick Anderson, “Supporting Caste: The Origins of Racism in Colonial Virginia.” *Grand Valley Journal of History*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2012): 1, accessed January 2015, <http://scholarworks.gvsu.edu>.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid., 5.

60. Joseph F. Healey and Eileen O’Brien, *Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Class: The Sociology of Group Conflict and Change* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2014).

61. Smedley, *Race in North America*, 98.

62. Ibid.; Anderson, “Supporting Caste”.

expeditiously as White indentured servitude started to dissolve. Eventually, due to high turnover and abandonment, the White indentured servant system dissipated. In exchange for a dual system of labor in which slaves and indentured servants were used for economic power, the potential source of manpower rested solely with Black Africans. Thus, the slave trade from Africa to Spain and Portugal's South American colonies, established in the 1500s, was expanded to seek a cost-effective way to accommodate the labor demands of the English settlers.⁶³ Slaves were used not only to improve the colonies but also to resolve the scarcity of labor problem and raise the economic system of wealth within the settlements.

John Saffin (1632-1710) wrote the first poem in English that defended slavery. Entitled "The Negroes Character,"⁶⁴ it denoted color as an innate characteristic of inferiority.

Cowardly and Cruel are those *Blacks* innate,
 Prone to revenge, Imp of inveterate hate,
 He that exasperates them, soon espies.
 Mischief and Murder in their very eyes,
 Libidinous, Deceitful, False and Rude.
 The spume issue of Ingratitude.
 The premises consider'd all may tell,
 How near good, Joseph, they are parallel.⁶⁵

Teresa J. Guess (2006), author of *The Social Construction of Whiteness: Racism by Intent, Racism by Consequence*, also recognized the correlation between power and color when analyzing the condition of a slave.⁶⁶ "The American economic system on

63. Ibid.

64. James G. Basker, *Amazing Grace: An Anthology of Poems About Slavery, 1660-1810* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2001), 37.

65. Ibid., 37.

66. Thomas J. Durant and J. David Knottnerus, *Plantation Society and Race Relations: The Origins of Inequality* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999), 21.

human slavery organized around the distribution of melanin in human skin.”⁶⁷ Slavery, as defined by J. D. Kottnerus (1999) in his work *The Slave Plantation System in a Total Institution Perspective*, is a “strict stratification system of the South that established unequal relationships between blacks and whites.”⁶⁸

According to Reinhard Wolfang, there are three types of colonies: “trade and military bases; colonies of settlement; colonies of exploitation.”⁶⁹ The system of slavery was created to establish in America colonies of settlement and colonies of exploitation.⁷⁰ Charles H. Wesley (1940) noted,

Early references to Negro inferiority begin with the citations to Africa and Africans, because Negroes are first seen in connection with the African slave trade. The people of the English colonies were influenced by the opinions of travelers and traders in slaves who had visited Africa, since they had few contacts with Negroes themselves. One of these, John Barbot, stated that he found Africa in the west a land of war, slavery and barbarism. The peoples were engaged in barbaric practices. . . . It was quite easy for him to conclude that Africans would receive an inestimable blessing if they were transported to the colonies and Christianized.⁷¹

Outside of the American colonies, the *initial* contact between Englishmen and Africans was not predicated on the notion of American slavery.⁷² Nor was it based on conflict or competition. Instead, the English-African encounter was based on exposure to new physical characteristics of the two “races,” such as differences in skin color, hair

67. Teresa Guess, “The Social Construction of Whiteness: Racism by Intent, Racism by Consequence,” *Critical Sociology*, vol. 32, no. 4 (2006): 665, accessed July 3, 2016, <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.114.1297&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.

68. Ibid.; Durant and J Kottnerus, “Plantation Society and Race Relations,” 1999.

69. Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes, *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (New York: Elsevier, 2001), 2240.

70. Ibid.

71. Wesley, “The Concept of Negro Inferiority in American Thought,” (1940): 541–42.

72. Jordan D. Winthrop, *The White Man’s Burden: Historical Origins of Racism in the United States* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).

texture, and stature.⁷³ Skin color, being the most apparent and the most emphasized physical difference, eventually caused conflict and competition between the races.⁷⁴ Englishmen saw an unlike figure, and this ignited a peculiar curiosity on behalf of the White race.⁷⁵ Noticeable differences prompted further investigation of African culture, customs, and background.⁷⁶ Robert D. Marcus and David Burner (1971) noted, “Negroes looked different to Englishmen, their religion was un-Christian; their manner of living was anything but English; they seemed to be particularly libidinous sort of people.”⁷⁷ Englishmen had accumulated perceptions about the true nature of Africa and what it meant to be an African.⁷⁸

Color, the main characteristic on which the future of the African status would hang, was one of the most powerful influences on the social awareness of Englishmen. Negroes, frequently described as “black” in color, reflected the significance of pigmentation to the White settlers.⁷⁹ Winthrop Jordan (1974) wrote,

The impact of the Negro’s color was more powerful because England’s principle contact with Africans came in West Africa and the Congo which meant that one of the lightest skinned of the earth’s peoples suddenly came face to face with one of the darkest.⁸⁰

73. Guess, “The Social Construction of Whiteness”; William G. Roy, *Making Societies: The Historical Construction of Our World*, vol. 474 (Pine Forge Press, 2001).

74. Ibid.

75. Anderson, “Supporting Caste,” 2012.

76. Durant, and Kottnerus, “Plantation Society and Race Relations,” 1999, 21.

77. Robert D. Marcus and David Burner, *The American Scene: Varieties of American History* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts 1971), 46; Roy, *Making Societies*.

78. Ibid.; Galton, “Inquiries”; Victor R. Jablokow, “Carl von Linne,” *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, vol. 74, no. 12 (1956): 1009-1010, accessed March 1, 2016, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1824469/>.

79. Ibid.; Siep Stuurman, “François Bernier and the Invention of Racial Classification,” *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 50 (Autumn 2000): 2, accessed January 3, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.Libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/4289688>.

80. Winthrop, *The White Man’s Burden*, 5.

Africans were distinct from the English in various ways: skin color, hair texture, religion, morals, language, government, culture, and customs set them apart. Claims were made that Africans were to be considered “savages” and kin to apes.⁸¹ The chimpanzee, native to Africa, was deemed most similar in human appearance compared to the Negro or Black African, “from the generations of ape-kind or that apes were the offspring of Negroes and some unknown African beast.”⁸² According to Roy (2001), “Race was created mainly by Anglo-Europeans, especially English, societies in the 16th and 19th centuries.”⁸³

Although historians had determined that scientific theory does not offer proof for the creation of race taxonomies among human beings, society has placed value on race and constructed institutions and relationships used to develop scientific racist theory.⁸⁴ Race, used to justify penalty differentiations between African slaves and White indentured servants, was one of the first indicators that Blacks were viewed as inferior to Whites and that slavery and indentured servitude were more about the racialization of Africans than the labor itself.⁸⁵

My travels to Ghana to conduct research for this study served as an eye-opening experience and an asset for the research and acquisition of primary sources on Du Bois’s life. I spent numerous hours researching the archives at the W.E.B. Du Bois Memorial Center for Pan-African Culture. In addition, I conducted research on The Amherst and

81. Ralph J. Bunche, “Education in Black and White,” *Journal of Negro Education*, vol. 5, no. 3 (1936): 351–58, accessed July 3, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.Libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/pdf/2292107.pdf>.

82. Winthrop, *The White Man’s Burden*, 16.

83. Roy, *Making Societies*, 81; Jablow, Victor R., “Carl von Linne,” Rivto, Harriet, “Humans & Humanists,” *Daedalus*, vol. 138, no. 3 (2009): 68-78.

84. Guess, “The Social Construction of Whiteness”.

85. Pounder, Adelman, Cheng, Herbes-Sommers, Strain, Smith, and Ragazzi, “Race: The Power of an Illusion.”

the Schomburg Collection and visiting the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in Harlem. Du Bois made an ideal subject by which to study the race concept and what it has historically meant to him and American history. In retracing Du Bois's life in his fight for change and social justice, it was my intent to inform the reader not only about one of the most noteworthy eras in American history but also about concepts that are still relevant today.

Dr. Henry Louis Gates, professor at Harvard University, author of seventeen books, and creator of fourteen documentary films (e.g., "Wonders of the African World," "African American Lives," "Black in Latin America," and "Finding Your Roots") offered the following comments during a Black History film discussion in Boston on Sunday, 1 April 2017.

It is very important that we have the free exchange of ideas. It is built around the debates that Black people have had around this country. My course that I teach at Harvard is about what it means to be Black since the 18th Century. There were always rivals in the tradition. There was never one way to be Black. If there are 52 million African Americans that means there are 52 million ways to be Black. The Founding Fathers of the enlightenment period, themselves embraced the races views of scientific racism. They believed in the Eugenics movement and Black unintelligence or Black inferiority. They believed that Blacks were more closely related to apes. When they stratified the race, Blacks were always placed at the bottom, one level above the apes. They had to create a picture that all Blacks were not gifted. There is a racist discourse in the West that had de-valued Black lives. We should never forget that.⁸⁶

Educating the Black race outside of the urban school system at the 135th Street Branch Library can be justified by applying Du Bois's application of caste education to explain this concept. Pierce (2017) wrote,

A fundamental goal of caste schooling is the need to teach individuals from both the white and dark worlds how to understand and live as caste subjects as well as

86. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "Black History/Film Discussion" (panel, Marriott Hotel, Boston, Massachusetts, April 2, 2017).

the value of social life attached to each. So, in addition to separating the population along racial lines in a literal physical sense, in Jim Crow society, caste schools also needed to educate people how to think as caste subjects. If the White and African American schoolhouse was a social and political veil to physically separate learning in a racial capitalist society, there also needed to be an epistemic one to shape caste relations within its subjects' psyche.⁸⁷

Until Du Bois's death in 1963, his second wife, Mrs. Graham Du Bois (1978), kept a journal of his writings and interviews with her husband.

This volume is my mother's last completed literary completion. It is a major contribution to the legacy left us by Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois and a fitting conclusion memorial to the life Shirley Graham Du Bois, whose later years were so totally devoted to promoting and safe-guarding that legacy whose whole life, like that of Dr. Du Bois, was uncompromisingly committed to the liberation of human kind, particular peoples of color, from all forms of racism, exploitation and oppression.⁸⁸

87. Pierce, "WEB Du Bois and Caste Education," 36S.

88. Graham Du Bois, *Pictorial Biography*, Letter David Graham Du Bois, October 1, 1977, Cairo Egypt.

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**APPENDIX A: COVER LETTER FOR A QUESTIONNAIRE ON
DU BOIS'S GENEALOGICAL HISTORY**

John F. Kendrick

4222 North Hermitage Avenue

Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

2/18/25

Dear Dr. Du Bois [handwritten]

Please excuse the form of this communication. Every scientist is not wealthy, nor is style necessarily an index of worth. I am a research worker in biology and am gathering the birth ranks of eminent men and women in order to prove the mathematical significance of the lapses of time between generations.

I hand you a questionnaire (attached). Please note that no intimate facts are desired. I do not want the names of any ancestors nor where they were born or died; nothing but the year dates are needed to establish the birth ranks.

I ask that you kindly fill out this questionnaire to the best of your ability. If your memory is fallible in this regard, or if some relative is keeping the family genealogy, please forward the blank to him or her for execution.

No signature is required to this questionnaire unless you wish it so. In any event, the return of it will be considered evidence that it has had your consideration.

Thanking you, I remain

Yours for science,

John F. Kendrick¹

¹ Kendrick, "Kendrick to Du Bois," February 18, 1925.

**APPENDIX B: HEREDITY QUESTIONNAIRE, CA. 1925, REQUESTING
INFORMATION ABOUT W. E. B. DU BOIS'S GENEALOGICAL
HISTORY FOR A STUDY CHALLENGING THE
FINDINGS OF ARTHUR DE GOBINEAU
HEREDITY QUESTIONNAIRE**

(Note: No names of persons or places or dates other than year dates are required. We wish to ascertain the quantities of time between births of ancestors of those investigated; this is our only aim.)

PARTIAL GENEALOGY OF Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois (handwritten)

In the interest of eugenic science will you not kindly fill out the following blanks, accurately or approximately:

Year you were born _____

Year your father was born _____ Or about what year _____

Year your mother was born _____ Or about what year _____

Year (or about what year) your father's father was born _____

Year (or about what year) your father's mother was born _____

Year (or about what year) your mother's father was born _____

Year (or about what year) your mother's mother was born _____

In the following blanks please give as near as possible the order in which each ancestor was born, whether the first child, third child, tenth child, etc. also give the number (or about) of the children in each family;

You were the _____ child of a family of _____

Your father was the _____ child of a family of _____

Your mother was the _____ child of a family of _____

Your father's father was the _____ child of a family of _____

Your father's mother was the _____ child of a family of _____

Your mother's father was the _____ child of a family of _____

Your mother's mother was the _____ child of a family of _____

Often the date of death and the age at death of a party will, with other data, work to supply a birth rank; therefore, kindly give the mortuary data of any of the above. Give the name of the relationship, but not the name of the person:

| <u>RELATION</u> | <u>DATE DIED</u> (Year only) | <u>AGE AT DEATH</u> |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ |

WHEN EXECUTED PLEASE RETURN TO

JOHN F. KENDRICK
1775 CULLOM AVE.
CHICAGO, ILL.²

² Kendrick, "Heredity Questionnaire," ca. 1925.

APPENDIX C: OUTLINE OF PLAN TO ESTABLISH DEPARTMENT OF NEGRO HISTORY, LITERATURE AND ART

A plan for establishing a Department of Negro History, Literature and Art in the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library.

Purpose:

The purpose is to make easily available for permanent public use a large and representative body of material expressive of negro culture in the past and the present.

A Society or Foundation:

In order to secure permanency and active public support it is suggested that a group of people interested in the project form themselves into a foundation with the object of supporting and controlling such a collection of material.

Place:

This collection shall be housed in the 135th street branch of the N. Y. Public library until such time as it has attained sufficient size and financial support as to require and deserve an independent building. It shall be administered by a properly equipped colored person, under the supervision of the n. Y. Public library.³

³ Plan for establishing a Department March 25, 1924, Du Bois Papers.

**APPENDIX D: LETTER FROM W. E. B. DU BOIS TO ERNESTINE ROSE–
PLAN TO ESTABLISH LITTLE NEGRO THEATRE DATED 17 MAY 1926**

May 17, 1926
Miss Ernestine Rose
103 135th street
New York City, NY
My dear Miss Rose:

As I wrote you before, I have been thinking about the future development of our Little Theatre movement which as begun so auspiciously. My plans are as follows: to expand the group of KRIGWA Players as much as possible. We have about thirty active members now. We ought to have 60 or 100. Then I propose to have in between 500 and 100 “patrons”–persons who pledge themselves to attend plays each year. Thirdly, I propose that the play house should be open for plays to be produced by other groups on terms which would protect the library from the kind of persons and plays which should not be permitted to appear, and on the other hand, continuing the standard which we have begun and secure us due credit. I should imagine that the conditions on which the play house could be used might be something like this:

1. All producers must comply to our purposes as expressed on the first and fourth pages of our program.
2. All plays must be advertised as given by the KRIGWA Players little Negro theatre with the statement that the producers are “Guests” of the theatre.
3. One dress rehearsal of the proposed play or plays must be given in the presence of the KRIGWA Players and representatives of the library.
4. The program used must on its first, third and fourth page be identical with our regular program. On the second page it must state that the producers are guests of the KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theatre and then the plays casts, etc. can be printed on the second page.
5. All arrangements for the financial support of these ventures must be made outside of the library. No admission must be charged or tickets sold, at the door but admission can be restricted to those holding tickets. The groups presenting plays must arrange themselves for the distribution of tickets amongst their members and the cost of such memberships should not exceed .50 [cents] for each presentation.
6. No charge is made for rent or light or use of curtains or dressing rooms but 25% of the gross proceeds must go to the K.P.L.N.T. for its Decoration Fund out of which the theatre will be decorated and finished.

Will you gladly think this over and see if you and the library authorities agree with it or what changes could you suggest?

Very sincerely yours WEBD/DW⁴

⁴ W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, May 17, 1926. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries. accessed December 27, 2017, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b035-i068>.

APPENDIX E: KRIGWA DRAFT OF INVITATION

THE CRISIS magazine desires your presence at the Renaissance Casino, 150 West 138th Street, at 7th Avenue Friday evening, August 14th 1925, to witness the distribution of the AMY SPINGARN PRIZES FOR NEGRO LITERATURE AND ART.

We are planning a most interesting evening. There will be the production of a most prize play; the reading of a prize poems and essays; and reading tableaux illustrating a prize story. Afterwards there will be dancing.

*The exercises will begin promptly at nine o'clock. The prize of admission will be one dollar and this invitation should be presented at the door. Further invitations for your friends and for all friends of *THE CRISIS* will be furnished gladly on application at the office of *THE CRISIS*, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.*

W.E.B. Du Bois⁵

⁵ W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. KRIGWA, ca. August 1, 1925. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries. accessed December 27, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b170-i506>.

APPENDIX F: KRIGWA FINAL COPY OF INVITATION

THE CRISIS magazine desires your presence at the Renaissance Casino, 150 West 138th Street, at 7th Avenue Friday evening, August 14th 1925, to witness the distribution of the AMY SPINGARN PRIZES FOR NEGRO LITERATURE AND ART.

We are planning a most interesting evening. There will be the production of a most prize play; the reading of a prize poems and essays; and reading tableaux illustrating a prize story. Afterwards there will be dancing.

The exercises will begin promptly at nine o'clock. The prize of admission will be one dollar and this [card] should be presented at the door. Further invitations for your friends and for all friends of THE CRISIS will be furnished gladly on application at the office of THE CRISIS, 69 Fifth Avenue.

W.E.B. Du Bois⁶

⁶ W.E.B. Du Bois, (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. KRIGWA, ca. August 1, 1925. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries. accessed December 27, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b170-i506>.

APPENDIX G: KRIGWA CIRCULAR F, 1 JANUARY 1926

Persons from 27 different states have enrolled in KRIGWA. Most of them are expressing interest and willingness to co-operate and ask more definite details and requirements. Some want regular instruction and ask terms; and a few are writers of more or less experience who desire fellowship and opportunity.

We therefore, suggest first, the formation of a local KRIGWA band. There can be any number of these in the same locality but all must receive enrollment and an official number from headquarters in New York. The object is together a small congenial group of persons, who want to do artistic work, who want to write draw paint, produce plays, encite, embroider, work in any other artistic line.

These should be bands of workers rather than talkers or wishers. Two or three or twenty persons can come together once a week, or once a month or three or four times a year. Do not have a stiff formal organization with a lot of officers and points of order. Try to have meetings of artist who are working at their art. Let each member pledge himself:

1. To study.
2. To produce something.
3. To buy books (not simply to read but to buy books).
4. Let the group each year produce a play, one written by its own members or one of THE CRISIS prize plays, or any other good play.
5. Let the group have public readings of stories and poems either original or selected from classics. Let it give a small musicale or sponsor an art exhibition.⁷

⁷ KRIGWA Players. KRIGWA circular B January 1, 1926 [fragment], January 1, 1926. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries. accessed December 29, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b034-i167>.

APPENDIX H: CONDITIONS FOR USING THE KRIGWA PLAYERS

1. All producers must subscribe to our purposes as expressed on the first and fourth pages of our program.
2. All plays must be advertised as given by the KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theatre with the statement that the producers are “guests” of the theatre.
3. A dress rehearsal of the proposed play must be given in the presence of the KRIGWA Players for final acceptance of the production.
4. The program must be identical with our 1926 program. On the first page it must state that the producers are guests of the KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theatre and then, the dates, plays and casts follow. On the second page must be printed the same statement that appears on the back of our 1926 program. These programs are printed at the expense of the guests.
5. No tickets must be sold at the door of the theatre or advertised for sale there and no money must be taken. All tickets must be disposed of outside the theatre and the tickets buyers must be “regarded” as members of the Little Theatre.
6. The charge for admission must not exceed 50 cents.
7. No charge is made for rent or light or use of curtains and dressing rooms but 25% of gross proceeds must go to K.P.L.N.T. for its Decoration Fund out of which the theatre will be decorated and finished.

Except \$2 a night for janitor.⁸

⁸ KRIGWA Players. Conditions for using the KRIGWA Players Little Negro Theater, 1926. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries. accessed December 28, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b034-i546>.

APPENDIX I: KRIGWA, THE PROGRAMME

1. Become a regular subscriber to THE CRISIS.
2. **Select some branch of art for your vocation or avocation**
(your hobby outside your bread and butter work) This will include writing, drawing, painting, designing, producing plays, and reciting.
3. Decide whether you want work
 1. Alone
 2. Under local guidance (teacher, night school, or summer school)
 3. By correspondence
 - a. In our correspondence course
 - b. In some other course
 4. In a KRIGWA Band
4. Write and tell us and we will guide you further.⁹

⁹ “Krigwa, The Programme,” W. E. B. Du Bois Papers

APPENDIX J: MEMORANDUM: BOOK GUILD TO MR. JOHNSON

I suggest the following procedure in the matter of the Book Guild.

- 1) A corporation formed of from six to ten leading colored authors, in paying in from \$100 to \$250 this to become the controlling group.
- 2) Wide conversations and correspondence with publishers for stock selling in exchange for advertising.
- 3) The formation of local groups of book buyers bound buy a promise to buy at least four books a year.
- 4) Possibly an additional sale of stock to supply an initial capital of \$5000 or \$10,000.¹⁰

¹⁰ Memorandum from W. E. B. Du Bois to James Weldon Johnson, ca. 1926. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312).

APPENDIX K: TOURNAMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

Dear Friend:

Krigwa Players will take part again Belascio Little Theatre Tournament. Last year they were successful in winning one of the Samuel French prizes of \$200. They competed with 16 other Little Theatre groups. Their work was so well liked that there was a demand for their return this year. This season they will present "Aftermath", play of Negro life by Mary Burrill. This play has been enthusiastically received wherever it has been presented.

The fee required for entry in the tournament can be covered by the sale of a block of one hundred tickets. The interested public can help materially by quickly taking these tickets which the group must dispose of. The contest begins performance May 8.

Will you kindly indicate on the enclosed card the number of tickets you wish.

(handwritten) Price \$22.00 Orchestra.

Sincerely,

KRIGWA Players¹¹

¹¹ Krigwa Players. Circular letter from the Krigwa Players to unidentified correspondent, April 1927. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries. accessed September 6, 2016, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b039-i266>.

APPENDIX L: LETTER FROM DU BOIS TO ERNESTINE ROSE
CONCERNING HARASSMENT BY THE JANITOR

January 4, 1927

Miss Ernestine Rose
130 West 135th Street
New York, New York

My dear Miss Rose:

The janitor at the library last night was rather nasty with Mr. Burroughs concerning the \$2 fee for the use of the basement.

I did not understand in the first place that we had to deal with the janitor in this matter and I very much object to being obliged to endure this impudence. I am sure you knew nothing of the matter. As you know, the Little Theatre Movement is carried on by voluntary work. Not a single person receives a cent for their services and there is a great deal of sacrifice of time on the part of all of us. We have no funds, except what we took in at the last series of productions. These paid our expenses and left about \$75 to pay for staging the present series. If we shall pay our rent now out of this we would have nothing to finance the staging of the plays.

I did not suppose that there was any hurry about the paying of this fee, (which is very reasonable) and we intend to pay it out of the proceeds of the next plays. As I have said, I understand that this sum was due to the library and not due to the janitor, and in any case, I prefer to deal directly with you. I should hate to give up this attempt to put a Little Theatre through in connection with the library, but if the janitor is going to browbeat my players they will all desert me. I hope to hear from you at your convenience.

Very seriously yours,
WEBD/DW¹²

¹² Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to New York Public Library, January 4, 1927. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312).