

People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
ABD-EL-HAMID IBN BADIS UNIVERSITY
Faculty of Foreign Languages
Department of English



***The African-American Intellectuals and
the Integration Question
(1900-1930)***

Submitted by:

Charmat Nardjis

Supervised by:

Mr. Larbi Youcef

Board of Examiners:

Mrs. Abdelhadi Nadia

Mrs. Benmaati Fatima Zohra

Academic Year : 2016/2017

Dedication

First, I would like to thank «ALLAH » for this achievement.

I dedicate this simple work to:

- My beloved “FATHER” who encouraged, helped me, and invoked God to help me.
- My beloved “MOTHER” who is my source of tenderness, strength, and hope (may ALLAH bless them).
- My lovely sister “LEILA” and her husband and children
- My beloved brothers “NIDHAL” and “SOFIANE.”
- To all my teachers
- To my friend, especially: AMINA, IMANE, RIMA, FATIMA, FATIHA
- My aunts: FATIHA, MAHDJOUBA, LEILA
- My uncles: ZIYAN, MESSAOUD, IBRAHIM, MANSOUR, LAID and their children
- Finally, I dedicate this work to all my family and friends and all who know me

Acknowledgements

I would like to deeply thank Mr. Larbi Youcef Abdeldjalil (my supervisor) who guided through this research and who has generously given his time and expertise to better my work. I am very grateful for his invaluable observations and his precious advice.

I would like to thank Mrs. Ben Maati for her encouragement, support and especially tenderness because she has really treated I like her daughter.

A lot of thanks to lovely teacher “Abdelhadi Nadia” for her help and support with useful documents.

I also thank my close friend “Nour Eddine” for his support.

Abstract

The Negro-Americans were humiliated by the white Americans for hundreds of years. But after the end of slavery, they started looking for being not half human but complete citizens. Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey were the three black leaders I have chosen to study the situations of Blacks in America in the twentieth century, with taking consideration their ways of defense regarding their people's need. This work is composed of three chapters; the first chapter is a historical background about the first early emergence of Negroes in the U.S, with taking into consideration all Negroes' efforts and contributions which they made in order to be accepted in the white society. In the second chapter, I took the situation of Blacks after WWI & WWII; besides I studied the black leader Booker T. Washington's policy, aims, and critics. In the third chapter, a-post Washington period, Du Bois' period expressed his literary responses to what happened in the 1920's. In the last chapter, I was interested in raising the idea of going back to Africa. To conclude with, I wanted to deliver whether the integration idea was one of the intentions of the leading Black intellectuals of that time.

List of Abbreviation

❖ AAFIS	African-American Female Intelligence Society
❖ AAFS	African-American Fraternities and Sororities
❖ AARC	Afro-American Reality Company
❖ ACL	African Communities League
❖ ANHS	American Negro Historical Society
❖ ANLC	American Negro Labor Congress
❖ AUSNP	Atlanta University Studies of the Negro Problems
❖ ASNLH	Association for the Study of Negro Life and History
❖ CDRN	Comité de Défense de la Race Nègre
❖ DRNPW	Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World
❖ HRC	Hudson Reality Company
❖ LLCA	Liberty League of Colored Americans
❖ NBL	Negro Business League
❖ NNHR	New Negro Harlem Renaissance
❖ OBAC	Organization of Black American Culture
❖ UL	Urban League
❖ UNIA	Universal Negro Improvement Association
❖ U.S	United States

List of figures

Figure 01: Picture shows George Washington Carver’s inventions	P12
Figure 02: Biography of Benjamin Bannker accompanied with his inventions.....	P 17
Figure 03: Norbert Rillieux’s Machine for Refining Sugar in 1800.....	P18
Figure 04: Lewis Temple’s whaling harpoon which called Temple's Toggle.....	P18
Figure 05: Granville T. Woods’ Biography with mentioning his various inventions.....	P19
Figure 06: Elijah McCoy’s Lubricating Cup in 1872.....	P20
Figure 07: Wood working in Tuskegee Institute’s in the agricultural department in southeastern Alabama.....	P21
Figure 08: Jan E. Matzeliger’s invention: the Machine for Lasting Shoes in 1883.....	P21/22
Figure 09: Race Riots in summer 1919.....	P31
Figure 09: Map of Race Riots during the Red Summer of 1919.....	P32
Figure 10: White White. <i>A New Negro for a New Century</i> : “An Accurate and Up-to-Date Record of the Upward Struggles of the Negro Race”.....	P43

Table of contents:

<i>Dedication.....</i>	-I-
<i>Acknowledgements.....</i>	-II-
<i>Abstract.....</i>	-III-
<i>List of Abbreviations.....</i>	-IV-
<i>List of Figures.....</i>	-V-
 <i>Introduction.....</i>	 -1-
 Chapter One: Historical Background of Africans in the United States	
I.1. Early African Americans.....	3
I.2. Identity Crises.....	6
I.3. African Intellectuals Contribution to the American Society.....	8
 Chapter Two: Booker T. Washington and the Integration Question	
II.1. Black Americans in 1900's.....	14
II.2. Booker T. Washington and the African-Americans on the field of Invention.....	16
II.3. Booker T. Washington & George Washington's bearing on the African-Americans.....	23
II.4. Booker T. Washington and the Rise of the NAACP.....	26
 Chapter Three: William Edward Burghardt Du Bois & Marcus Garvey: Pan Africa	
III.1. Red Summer 1919.....	29
III.2. Pan African Congress.....	32

III.3. W.E.B .Du Bois & Marcus Garvey.....	35
III.4. Crisis of Intellectuals	40
Conclusion.....	45
<i>Bibliography</i>	-ViI-

General introduction

The history of African-Americans in the United States of America is fascinating, yet full of complexities. Originally brought from the continent of Africa by European settlers, African-Americans began their tenure in the United States as slaves. However, over time, with the assistance of noted strong-willed African-Americans and the more liberal white American citizens, African-Americans began to realize their value and intellect. This realization brought about a change in the mid-set of blacks in America. Having a new frame of mind, African-Americans began to take a stand against the prejudices and beleaguered them.

Segregation became one of the ways in which whites tried to control African Americans. In every side, socially, politically, economically, and education, the African American were kept out of society. They have struggled against racial stereotypes for many centuries.

Several cities in the U.S witnessed the rise of the Negro Americans in various fields, intellectually, politically, and economically. From 1900's to 1930's, the country gathered hundreds of skilled free Black men and women who fought in several ways including: literature, art, music, and even economy to regain their dignity and prove that they are complete citizenship as whites.

My dissertation treats the idea of Black Intellectuals in Harlem and to confirm whether these ideas led or misled black people. Through the three black figures: Booker T. Washington, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey. I wanted to discuss these intellectuals' contributions to the white society. Furthermore, I wanted to see if they worked for their own glory or they worked to make the Black man developed and accepted in the white society as a complete citizen, or they decided to work for the idea of integration.

The most important idea was to see to what extent did these African-American intellectuals played a positive role in the political and economic life of their people. And did these three Black Americans leaders worked together to develop the miserable situations of their people. And if it was the idea of going back to Africa is their only solution.

Chapter One

Chapter One: Historical Background of Africans in the United States

I.1.Early African Americans

West Africa was considered as the largest source of Africans who were taken to America in the beginning of the 1600s. These persons have been known by various names throughout American history including 'Colored' and 'Negro.' The term 'person of color' usually refers not only to African Americans, but also to other non-white ethnic groups.

By 1700, these African Americans were around 25,000 black slaves in the North American mainland colonies, which mean about 10% of the population. This great majority of African Americans are the descendants of Africans who were forcibly brought by European mariners and held captive in the United States. This forced migration was unique in American history; it led Blacks to be in lower position which is slavery. Without those African Americans, North America, and the most progressive nation, would be transformed into a patriarchal country.

They descended from various ethnic groups mostly western and central Africa, including the Sahel. A smaller minority were from eastern and south-eastern Africa. Some of the major ethnic groups the enslaved Africans belonged to included (among many others) the Hausa, Bakongo, Igbo, Mandé, Wolof, Akan, Fon, Yoruba, and Makua. Although these different groups varied in customs, religious theology and language yet what they had in common was a way of life that was different from the Europeans. However, since a majority of the slaves came from these villages and societies, once in America, these different peoples were obliged to have European standards and beliefs. Europeans break up families by selling off family members to owners who bought them by auction for the economic development of the new colonies, whether in the Caribbean, Latin America or North America and to make them as plantation workers where they were able to develop a strong cultural identity.

On plantations, all adults looked after all children. Although they risked separation, slaves frequently married. Thus, their children were considered as native born on the North American mainland. Their legal status was now clear: they were slaves for life and so were the children of slave mothers. As white settlers began to claim and clear more land for large-scale farming and plantations, the number of slaves imported directly from Africa began to rapidly increase in large numbers between the 1660s and into the 1700s onward. By the end of this century (1700), the direct slave trade with Africa much easier because the British Crown take the royal monopolies away and make taxes less strict, few years later a huge cargoes of

Africans were imported to the North American to fill the massive spike in demand for much-needed labour to work the continually expanding plantations. An enslaved African is forbidden to leave the plantation without a pass, and never on Sunday. An enslaved African may not possess weapons or signalling mechanisms such as horns or whistles. Punishment for an owner who kills an enslaved African is a 15-pound fine.

During the early 1800s free Blacks' number grew. There were 319,000 free Blacks in the United States. About 150,000 lived in the northern states. Blacks generally settled in cities establishing homes and jobs besides to churches and fraternal orders in that region. Many of these early efforts were weak and often failed, but they represented the initial steps in the evolution of black communities; laying out a foundation for African Americans' future.

Some were able to establish successful businesses that catered to the Black community. Thus, Blacks were not welcome or would be mistreated in White businesses and other establishments. Slavery started to be abolished and banned by most northern states. A young black labourer called Frederick Douglass taught to read by his master's wife in Baltimore. In 1838, Douglass escaped to Massachusetts, where he became a powerful writer, editor, and lecturer for the growing abolitionist movement.

When the Civil War began, many Northern Blacks fought forcibly not just to restore the Union but to liberate their people too. By the mid-1800 there was a law 'Ban' in which the United States government abolished all legal importation of enslaved Africans and banned its citizen from participating trade of slaves. Despite that law, Americans ignore it and brought illegally approximately 250,000 blacks to the United States. Few years later a generation gap was noticed between those born and raised under slavery and those raised free.

Booker Taliaferro Washington born under slavery, the son of a slave mother and white father, was an impressive man of enormous dignity and keen persuasive skill. He had learned to read and write with help of a benevolent white woman, and after freedom, he financed his own education and became an educator himself. He founded Tuskegee Institute and became the most prominent spokesman for the African American community for the next 20 years.

Washington was the most powerful spokesman for this new generation. During this period new phenomenon 'racism' which became an issue in politics and social life; that white and black can never be equal or the same. It was emerged as a result to the slave trade because Slavery depended on the idea that black people were racially inferior. This has been a feature

of everyday life for Blacks in the United States for more than 350 years. But the persistence of racism is not inevitable. As the Marxist writer Cyril Lionel Robert James put it:

The conception of dividing people by race begins with the slave trade. This thing was so shocking, so opposed to all the conceptions of society which religion and philosophers had...that the only justification by which humanity could face it was to divide people into races and decide that the Africans were an inferior race.¹ (39)

Few years later; the post-civil war era Jim Crow made a law which separate blacks from white society, and specified in signs in public places. Whites always had things better than African Americans did. Laws passed in the 1890s established separate drinking fountains, bathrooms, restaurants, hotels, train cars, and separate sections of beaches, parks and theaters. These laws were sanctified by Supreme Court in Plessey vs. Ferguson, 1896. In this case the Court ruled that separate but equal facilities were constitutional. Even though Africans Americans were free; they lived under the threat of violence and they faced many rules and regulations because they were considered to be inferior to those provided for white Americans.

Woodward points out that a critical element in the rise of modern racism in the United States was the capitulation of Northern liberalism in the development of the Jim Crow system. This involved two crucial interconnected elements: the fear of the powerful working class and support to the entrance of the US into its first imperialist war.

For example, the 1903 Encyclopaedia Britannica, under the subject heading "negro," pointed out that

[B]y the nearly unanimous consent of anthropologists this type occupies the lowest position in the evolutionary scale, thus affording the best material for the comparative study of the highest anthropoids and the human species...the fundamental equality by ignorant philanthropists is belied by the whole history of the race.²

I.2. Identity Crisis

The term 'identity' refers to one's rights, equality, opportunity, and dignity. It is self-definition as members of a society. Social scientists sometimes attempt to make it more concrete, using such terms as 'identity crisis', 'self-identity', or 'sexual identity'. They try to treat these terms as matter of social roles.

Negroes' problem of identity considered to be an old one in the United State of America. From the early existence of Blacks in U.S, whites called them "natural" because of their race. For them [whites] African Americans were not considered to be as human beings, and therefore, they were born to be slaves. As the historian Eric Williams wrote in his book *Capitalism and Slavery*, "Slavery was not born of racism; rather, racism was the consequence of slavery."³ (283) He meant conscious or unconscious, whites did pushed the idea in Negroes' minds that they forcibly left their homeland Africa for slavery in the United States. Despite that the Black had social, economic, and religious freedom, yet white Puritans still felt that Blacks could not be Christian.

Even when Negro Americans abandoned their faith for joining to Christianity, white Christians did not accept them as equals. Black people were considered to be an inferior race due to the color of their skin; they felt like 'outsider' within a White society. Thus Negro identity was systematically undermined then being 'surrendered identity', it had been mostly lost. Blacks hoped to be full citizenship as whites within the same society; some of them were strongly attached to their black racial identity while others decided to fight for regaining their identity.

African men, women and children were stripped of their identities and even from their names; they were forced to whipped, beaten, tortured, and in many cases, they were lynched. The historian Eric Williams mentioned in his book four scholarly researches that explained how all cultural ties for Blacks related to Africanism, when they brought from their native homeland, when they have been destroyed by white slaveholders through selling them to the white race as slaves, and when they were virtually eliminated. Therefore, Black descendant in America had no ties to the social identity, culture, community, or identity of their African ancestors.

The integration of Blacks into white American society was related to certain principles and values which were implicit in the white American system; it became a subject to

classification by white men such as Carl Von Linne. Linne was responsible for classifying human identity characteristics by race in his work, *Systema Natural*, 1767; “white, fickle, sanguine, blue eyed, gentle, and governed by laws.”⁴ (4) During the 19th century, Blacks were not afforded respect anymore. After the Emancipation Proclamation, Blacks were free of their slave owners, but not of their legal identity. Jim Crow laws of “white only” signs of segregation and restrictions to Black civil rights liberties, Blacks lived huge Americans acts of segregation and discrimination. Thus, they decided to challenge no matter what was their level of achievement, they just expect to be in accorded treatment equal to that of a white person.

The “Founding fathers” were not only whites but also Blacks, although no signatures were found on this nation’s Declaration of Independence. Yet, there was the Black American colonist Peter Salem who volunteered to join the Continental Army with other Black slave colonists seeking their freedom through participating in the battles that led to America’s independence from its British rulers. After their emancipation from slavery, Blacks concerned to be equal through legal identity. They were ready to die for their freedom as well as for the white’s culture thought which they would be accepted, while social integration within the white community has varied. For example, Charles Pinckney’s research on social relations, he stated that during the Reconstruction Era “In the realm of social relations, Black people gave no indication of serious interest in interpersonal relations with white people. Their chief concern was with being accorded a position of equality with Southern whites.”⁵ (25)

According to Massey and Denton:

Before 1900’s, Blacks were not particularly segregated from whites, and although they were overrepresented in the poorest housing and the meanest streets, their residential status did not differ markedly from that of others in the same economic circumstance.⁶ (19)

Negro Americans were segregated in secret and in public by white men. Signs were put up to separate facilities, saying: “whites only” and “colored” or “negroes”; written on parks, toilet, waiting rooms, theatres, and water fountains. The Jim Crow Laws touched every aspects of life:

Nurses: No person or corporation shall require any white female nurse to nurse in wards or rooms in hospitals either public or private, in which Negro men are placed.

Buses: All passenger stations in this state operated by any motor transportation company shall have separate waiting space and separate ticket windows.

Railroads: Provided separate cars and coaches and a conductor for each one.

Pool and Billiard Rooms: It shall be unlawful for a Negro and White person to play together.

Toilet Facilities: Provide every employer of Negro or White a separate toilet facilities.

Parks: It shall be unlawful for colored people to frequent any park owned by the city for the benefit of white persons, and unlawful for white people to frequent any park owned by the city for the benefit of colored persons.

Wine and Beer: All persons licensed to conduct the business of selling beer or wine shall sell either white people exclusively or colored people exclusively, but not to sell for both races within the same room.

Reforms schools: The children of white and colored committed to the houses of reforms shall be kept entirely separate from each other.

Housing: Any white person who shall rent any part of any such building to a Negro shall be guilty of a crime and shall be punished by not less than twenty-five dollars

Prisons: The guardian shall see that the white convicts shall have separate apartments for both eating and sleeping from the Negro convicts.

Textbooks: Books shall not be exchangeable between the white and colored schools.

Libraries: Are separate places for the use of reading books.

In addition to many other laws which were supported segregation which causes a huge identity crisis. Black's identity was their gateway to their culture, yet the period post-emancipation has not had any equal opportunity to be involved into the white American society. Being of African origins automatically relegates Blacks in America to a lower social status, which is facilitated by white racial attitudes and systematic policies barring their full participation in American society. Even their efforts and contributions in fact seemed to be limited purely to them.

I.3.African Intellectuals Contribution to the American Society

Life in the years after slavery was so difficult for African Americans; they were excluded from the mainstream American society. Later on, in 1860, they were granted some legal rights under the Civil Right Movement; although they had have the same rights with whites, yet these latter were always considered that the African-Americans are inferior to them. Thus,

Africans-Americans felt bitterness of discrimination and they wanted to show that they were not denying that they were not quite the same as whites, but they kept insist on the fact that they are equal. The first thing that the African-Americans wanted to deliver was education; for them it was the beginning of a long struggle for equality in public schools, because whites had better conditions of teaching compared to the Blacks.

Historian Hilary Green said it: "Was not merely a fight for access to literacy and education, but one for freedom, citizenship, and a new post war social order."⁷ (12) African-Americans did their best to provide new schooling opportunities for their children. At the beginning, when Negroes' children were join to schools they were taught by white teachers, and then blacks did not trust these white teachers and they asked to change these teachers. Here, the black race tended to become a little bit aware of their situation and they formed a kind of leadership to defend their needs. They became supporters for demanding segregation of all-black schools; they wanted to have their own principles and black teachers for their children.

During the era of Reconstruction and precisely by the end of 1865, a government agency called 'Freedmen's Bureau' established schools for more than 90.000 black students in America. Few years later, public schools and colleges were segregated in the South and private ones were established by black churches as it was happen the same case in Congress; where the land was expanded to build schools at every level for the Negro race. They also created later an African American culture and community in which black could provide learning, socializing, and political organizations. In politics, however, they were politically the core element of the Republican Party. Their ministers had powerful political roles that were distinctive since they did not primarily depend on white support.

African-American were very active in forming their own churches, most of them Baptist or Methodist. They gave their ministers both moral and political leadership roles, in a process of self-segregation, practically all blacks left white churches. There were existed four main organizations including the African Methodist Episcopal Church, founded in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, founded in New York City; the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (which was sponsored by the white Methodist Episcopal Church, South), and the well-funded Methodist Episcopal Church (Northern white Methodists). These organizations were competed with each other across the South to form new Methodist churches that composed of freedmen.

White Americans believed that Negro Americans could never be effective because they neglected their abilities and considered them useless. Yet, the anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits, who called this misconception “the myth of the Negro past,” and other African American scholars such as Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, Dr. Carter G. Woodson, and Dr. John Hope Franklin proved that African-Americans may be effective and helpful in various fields. African-Americans decided to challenge white’s view and formed groups in their community; the group members were called ‘intellectuals’. The group members agreed to participate in the American society doing all what is necessary to achieve their goals, to achieve their needs, to enable their people to be accepted in the white society, and to bring much for American society through education, business, art, and entertainment. These intellectuals greatly contributed in the American society.

The first emergence of the earlier black intellectuals’ voice was due to the cultural development: The Great Awakening of Unifying Religions, ‘Missionary Request To the African-Americans and Native Americans’ (1735-1750). Besides, the Enlightenment Belief of Man’s Rights (life, liberty, and equality); which emerged due to the political changes. As soon as African Americans understood their own situation of the democratic dogma, they started making effective contributions to improve themselves in the white society in different ways. They have faced a lot of challenges each time they were focused on making a professional organization, social and educational institutions. These black intellectuals have played a leading role in African-Americans’ life and a cultural one in the United States.

Current data indicates that African-Americans comprise nearly four percent of Ph.D. students in chemistry. Among them there was William A. Lester; a black theoretical chemist who did a research about the troubles of high-velocity molecular collisions. Thanks to his great efforts in this field, Lester was chosen to manage the National Resource for Computation in Chemistry. There were also James A. Harris; he helped to discover Rutherfordium (atomic number 104) and Hafnium (atomic number 105). Since 1916, when St. Elmo Brady became the first Negro-American to earn a Ph.D. in chemistry, Blacks have played an increasingly important role in laboratories and lecture halls.

These kinds of persons were taught and knew many fields by which they integrated to the American society; African-Americans’ art has made vital contributions to the white’s art which later on brought changes in the art of the United States as a whole. Negroes’ art took the form of small drums, quilts, wrought-iron figures and ceramic vessels in the southern

United States. G. W. Hobbs, Patrick H. Reason, Joshua Johnson, and Scipio Moorhead were among the earliest known portrait artists, from the period of 1773–1887. Before the American Civil War, literature of Black American was focused on the issue of slavery, during the American Civil Rights movement; it focused about issues of racial segregation, thanks to the efforts that done by the African Americans, finally, their literature had become accepted as an integral part of American literature. Jupiter Hammon was the first black writer in America, in early 1761, he published his first poem “An Evening Thought: Salvation by Christ with Penitential Cries”.

Furthermore, the African-American intellectuals contributed in white culture through many practices such as the African agriculture methods of rice cultivation. Blacks were able successfully to transfer their rice culture to America. In 1685, the first rice seeds were brought from Madagascar to South Carolina, then in 1740’s black experts in rice cultivation were imported to learn Europeans how to cultivate this crops, depending on three basic system: ground water, springs, and soil moisture retention. There were a lot of other crops which were brought and though by African Americans to white American and later on, it contributed in the United States’ agriculture; included: peantus, sorghum, guina melon, watermelon, and seame (benne).

There was the famous black person George Washington Carver. In his first step, Carver emerged as a pioneer in agricultural research; he found dozens of uses for chemicals that he extracted from peanuts and potatoes. His research leaded to the development of hundreds of products including ink, shampoo, and peanut butter. There were only legumes and sweet potatoes, so Carver wanted to enrich the field by using peanut to create more than 300 products. He later became a vocal supporter of growing peanuts as a source of protein. In addition to another huge member of Black chemists and scientist who also contributed by their own way of grazing cattle which helped to a developing industry of America.

George Washington Carver

Through many investigations and experiments. George was able to discover over 300 new uses for peanuts, as well as over 100 uses for sweet potatoes, soybeans, pecans, and black-eyed peas.



[http://www.blackinventor.com/pages/George Washington Carver.html](http://www.blackinventor.com/pages/George%20Washington%20Carver.html)

Melville Herskovits wrote an essay titled, "What Africa Has Given America?" He first listed music, Jazz, Spirituals, Rhythm and Blues, and Gospel. Second, he mentioned Dance; dance that African-Americans were used had the greatest influence on America's dance culture. It is a form of the 'jitterbug dance'; this kind of dance is formless and violent which brought from the Kongo. In the other side there is Thomas Jefferson who wrote in 1781: "The instrument proper to them [African American] is the Banjar, brought from Africa and which is the [form] of the guitar, its chords being precisely the four lower chords of the guitar."⁸(52) For America, Banjar was an African tool until 1840's when minstrel Shows took it with other African tools because they affected them and considered them as their own inventions such as: the thumb piano (for blacks is mbira), the cane fifty (jazz).

African Americans taught white Americans how to take care of peoples who are sick in different ways; they used to use their own treatment for smallpox such as herbal tea, to cure snake bites and other poisons. There were other poisons which were cured by a black man called Caesar, who later supported by an overseer named Henry Middleton who found Caesar's antidote very effective. Caesar also cured a person bitten by a rattlesnake, and a man afflicted with yaws his body covered from 'top to toe' with scabs. Blacks also taught whites how to give birth by caesarian.

For their contributions included even food. In cuisine, many areas in America cuisine preserved food as in the technique of deep fat frying, southern stew (gumbo), corn bread , and FuFu the traditional African meal which throughout the continent was assimilated into American culture as 'turn meal and flour'.

The African American women also have had great contributions that have improved the American society. The National Negro Convention Movement (1830-1835), was the first organization in which Black Americans Women began to react, in addition to the African American Female Intelligence Society 1832, which gave the female a new test of life. Among them, Phillis Wheatley 'Poems on Various Subjects' 1773, was the wonderful first step for her. Her work published in the *Colored American Magazine*, her voiced showed a new collective image of the Afro-American rise from slavery to freedom. Maria Stewart was another woman emerged in early 1835 to help the Negro women to lead the struggle for freedom. Then she also got help by both Du Bois and Booker T. Washington to encourage Black Americans Women to go further throughout their efforts. Maria Stewart wrote: "how long the fair daughters of Africa shall be compelled to bury their minds and talents. Shall [whites] scorn forever?"

The Black's contributions brought an emergence of leaderships in the African-American community. Despite the hardship the minority group faced, they could prove their abilities through the situations which they were presented.

Chapter Two

I. Booker T. Washington and the Integration Question

II.1. Black Americans in 1900's

In the early 1900s, there were two figures who were considered to be the outstanding leaders within the African-American community; these two famous men were Booker Taliaferro Washington and William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. All contributions of Washington and Du Bois were influential and helped to give birth to the modern Civil Rights Movement. Louis Harlan gave an account of Booker T. Washington's life on the University of North Carolina's web site, *Documenting the American South*:

Booker T. Washington was born in 1856 and was the foremost black educator of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He also had a major influence on southern race relations and was the dominant figure in black public affairs from 1895 until his death in 1915. Born a slave on a small farm in Virginia backcountry, he moved with his family after emancipation to work in the salt furnaces and coal mines of West Virginia. After a secondary education at Hampton institute, he taught an upgraded school and experimented briefly with the study of law and ministry, but a teaching position at Hampton decided his future career. In 1881, he founded Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute on the Hampton model in Black Belt of Alabama "Washington, from 1895 until his death in 1915, was the most powerful black man in America. Whatever grant, job placement, or any endeavor concerning Blacks that influential whites received was sent to Washington for endorsement or rejection"⁹(16)

William Edward Burghardt (W.E.B) Du Bois was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts on February 23rd, 1868. He was the best students among his classmates, in 1885; Du Bois began to attend Fisk University in Tennessee where he knew more about Jim Crow South. He was so upset from what was happening there, he returned to the North to seek for information and further his education so that he could realize the black Americans their equal rights. In 1895, Du Bois was the first African American to be awarded a Ph.D. by Harvard University. "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870" was Du Bios' dissertation which considered to be the first academic work on the case of black race in U.S.

These activists disagree that identity was achieved even after Blacks' contributions. Washington believed that if blacks gained an economic foothold, and proved themselves useful to whites, then civil rights and social equality would be given to them. Thus, both

Washington and Du Bois helped African Americans quickly looking for being not half humans but complete citizenship in the United State of America. In the summer of 1905, W. E. B. Du Bois and 28 other prominent African-American men met secretly at Niagara Falls, Ontario; in this meeting, Du bois and his followers were opposed to Booker T. Washington and to his Tuskegee Machine because this organization promoted Negro political equality and voting rights. After race riot in 1908, they agreed to form an organization called: African-American Fraternities and Sororities (AAFS). A year later, in 1909, a group joined with the leadership of the Niagara Movement and formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). "Leaders are not born, they are developed" In which they discussed segregation problems and Negroes' political rights

African-Americans were suffering from the very negative prospect of social, economic, and political exploitation in society. In the South, Blacks were free and they did have some rights such as the right to vote, but their freedom was not really a happy life to be lived; it was a kind of an exchange for another exploitation system. Thanks to NAACP they were promoted some rights, yet later on they were stripped again even from their right to vote. So, African-Americans decided to depend on themselves to serve their needs. From 1910 to 1915 North America witnessed the rise of migration of African-Americans escaping political discrimination. Williams Wells Brown was the writer who published his first play "The Escape, Or A Leap for Freedom" 1858. In his play, Browns illustrated the real life of Blacks running a thousand miles for freedom through various racial performances.

After First World War I, U.S. faced a difficult period especially Blacks in southern communities who had a new threat, the Ku Klux Klan. The KKK is a secret American militant organization that aimed to preserve white supremacy. The first Klan was founded on 1865 by Tennessee; the old man who served the Confederate Army. The organization's members wanted to bring back the supremacy for white especially after what happened to America after the Civil War. The second Klan was founded on 1915 by William J. Simmons, an Atlanta salesman who wanted to purify southern culture. Contrasting to the first Klan, this one aimed to direct its venom toward a variety of groups.

One brief phrase expressed the Klan's objectives: "Native, White, Protestant supremacy," Klan activists believe that all non-white races are a threat to whites. Furthermore, they declared that the African-Americans are the cause of most crime in America. They also believe that blacks are intellectually inferior and have no moral sense and

that they [white race] relied on welfare to survive, so they needed to attack the elite, urbanites and high level of intellectuals. According to Imperial Wizard Hiram Wesley Evans, white supremacy was a case of survival; “The world, has been so made so that each race must fight for its life, must conquer, accept slavery, or die. The Klansman believes the whites will not become slaves, and they do not intend to die before their time,”¹⁰ he warned. (Louis, James 29/125)

On 13th August, 1907, Blacks troops were so angry and they rioted against segregation; they out to fight and rebelled in order to higher their voices. White Americans were obliged to control Blacks’ reactions of fighting and riots through murdering them; so, they depended on lynching for many years as a tool to frighten Blacks. Lynching was Americans’ invention, in *Lynch-Law*, the first scholarly investigation on lynching written in 1905, author James E. Cutler states that “lynching is a criminal practice which is strong to the United States.”¹¹ (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2002). In these years African-Americans were suffering from White’s treatment; white Americans wanted blacks to feel afraid by hanging and shooting them. African-Americans had been even burn at the stake, injuring, cutting into pieces, and tools which were very cruel. It was the only and preferred way for Whites to keep Negroes under their control, in order not to do more noisy acts. On September 22-24, in a race riot in Atlanta, ten blacks and two whites were killed, two months later; President Theodore Roosevelt discharged three companies of black soldiers involved in the riot. In October, 1911, The National Urban League was organized to help African-Americans secure equal employment.

Socially, politically, economically, education, African Americans were kept out of society. They were not treated like second class citizens they were treated as non-citizens. Thus African Americans were determined to prove their merit to those who had treated them as outsiders, and this spurred their work to great heights of intellectual achievement.

II.2. African-American in the Field of Invention

Before the Civil War, African-American inventors were numerous but not known. Yet, after these inventors knew that all what had done by the intellectuals was not enough to give them a chance and make them accepted in white society to fell as complete citizenships. The great majority of African-Americans were wondering how to affect in Whites’ society, they

agreed on practice and new works through more active intelligence by using their mental abilities, depending on developing literary talent, producing machinists, and having more engineers to invent plans which interest whites.

It is impossible to understand the real history of the United States without understanding the largely hidden history of the African Americans. The great success of the white society was build thanks to the super-exploited Blacks during the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. The role of black inventors was an improvement in the rightful place in the white society. Black inventors worked in a very hard period as James Brodie notes: “Understanding the contributions made by African inventors and scientist in the United States is impossible without recognizing the conditions under which they created.”¹² (Alton 35) Booker T. Washington states that if someone wants to confirm what were Negro’s capacity and achievement “There is on the shelves of the library of Congress a book titled ‘The Negro as an inventor.’”¹³ (39) In this book one may find several patents that are granted by the United States for the inventions done by Negroes. This was also mentioned by the Richmond newspaper.

To start with, from the African American contributions in science and chemistry, there was Benjamin Bannker (1731-1806). Bannker was the first Negro man of science, he became a watch maker from the first watch he saw when he was 21 years old. In the early 18th century, he made his first striking clock to be made completely in America which kept accurate time for 40 years. Few months later, Bannker became very famous black person as mathematician, astronomer, and surveyor. In addition, Bannker was also the first man who predicted a solar eclipse before a long time from it happened.

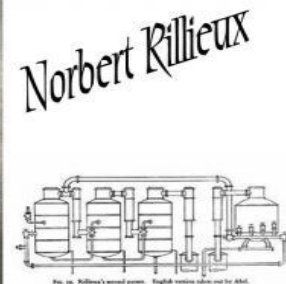
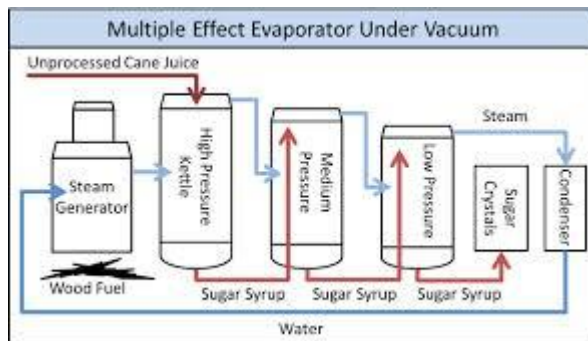


Benjamin Banneker
Inventor, Agriculturalist,
Writer, City Planner

- * Born in 1731 near Baltimore, Maryland, the son of a slave
- * After studying a wrist watch, Banneker built the first clock ever in the United States.
- * Grew grain in previously barren areas to feed American troops during the Revolutionary War
- * Developed his first almanac, predicting weather/seasonal changes
- * Extremely involved in the initial layout of streets and buildings in Washington D.C.

<http://wikipedia.org/Benjamin Banneker>.

Second, there was Rillieux Norbert. In early 1800 Norbert Rillieux was the first Negro who noticed the process for sugar refinement of America that was so slow. Thus, he invented a machine for refining sugar which helped a lot in developing the sugar industry in White society. Among his other known achievements was the development of a practicable scheme of a system of sewerage.



<http://www.blackinventor.com/>

Third, Lewis Temple was the inventor of a whaling harpoon called the "Temple's Toggle" and the "Temple's Iron." His invention was very helpful for whites because white's harpoon were not very effective. Thus, in 1848 he invented a new type of harpoon which became the most used by whites.



Williams George. W. *History of the Negro Race in America*, NY, 1882

In addition to Granville T. Woods who was called 'Black Edison.' The colored inventor Woods was the very famous man because of his numerous inventions. His inventions began in 1884 and continued without interruption for over a quarter of a century. He was interested in the field of electrical and mechanical engineering; he invented more than a dozen devices to improve electric railway cars and many more for controlling the flow of electricity. Woods

invented an amusement apparatus in December, 1899; an incubator in August, 1900; and automatic airbrakes in 1902, 1903, and 1905. His most inventions called ‘Synchronous Multiplex Railway Telegraph.’



‘Granville Woods’. The Black Inventor On-Line Museum. *Black Man and the Railroad*.

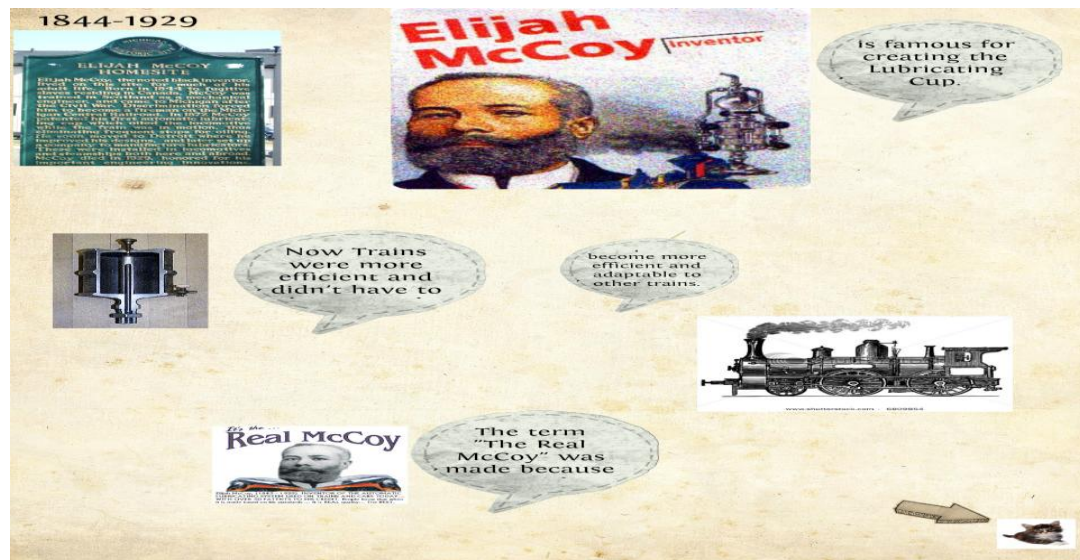
New York, Thursday, 9 May 1912, page 2, column 3

The American society was grateful to Granville’s work and later developed his work to various inventions which include: a telephone transmitter, a phonograph, and a railway telegraph. Wood’s developed the concept of The Additional Rail which allows the major cities in the United States’ trains to receive more electricity while reducing fiction. Woods’ Electric Company became the largest and the most prosperous technical and scientific corporations in the United States. Thomas Edison offered Woods a prominent position in the engineering department of Edison Electric Light Company in New York.

Some black inventors began their work very early as Elijah McCoy, a black man who was interested in the field of mechanical engineering. Because of his training, he was able to solve the problems of engine lubrication and overheating in the United States; he invented his first lubricating cup in 1872, later on thanks to Washington’s efforts and help McCoy developed his work in America and abroad fifty different inventions relating to the art of automatic lubrication machinery.

His lubricating cup was the most useful in America; whites depended on McCoy’s invention on the locomotives of the leading railway especially in North America, on the steamers of the Great Lakes, and in up-to-date factories throughout the country. Whites called

McCoy's invention 'Real McCoy'. He is still alive living in Detroit, Michigan adding new inventions to his already lengthy list.



<http://www.black-inventors./ElijahMcCoy/html>

Mr. J. H. Dickinson and his son were the inventors of musical instruments in New York which connected with player piano machinery. At the same period there was W.B-Purvis who invented the machinery for making paper bags, later on Purvis' invention considered to be responsible for much of the great improvement made in that art in United States.

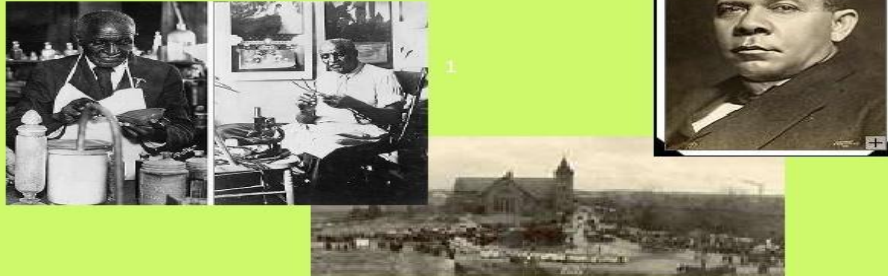
Another black man, George Washington Carver, was among the best known African American scientists of the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries. His discoveries changed the agriculture, helped farmers and poor agrarians by teaching them about fertilization and crop rotation. Carver best described his love of plants as a young boy:

And many were the tears I had shed because I would break the roots or flowers of some of my pets while removing them from the ground, and strange to say all sorts of vegetation seemed to thrive under my touch. ... At this time I had never heard of botany and could scarcely read.¹⁴ (419)

Later on, in 1896 Carver was invited by Booker T. Washington to take control over the Tuskegee Institute's agricultural department in southeastern Alabama. Hundreds of African American students learned at his side in Tuskegee. Numerous of Southern white farmers became much more prosperous due to Carver's invention.

George Washington Carver

In 1896, Booker T. Washington invited George to join the faculty at the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.



[http://www.blackinventor.com/pages/George Washington Carver.html](http://www.blackinventor.com/pages/George%20Washington%20Carver.html)

Frederick McKinley Jones in 1882 invented the first practical refrigeration system for long haul thrush. His system adapted to other carriers like ships and railway cars. Two years later, JohnP.Parker invented “screw for Tobacco presses,” in September, 1884. At the beginning Parker set up a shop in Ripley. His business proved successful from his first part, later his small shop grew into a large foundry. After his death, his factory was still being operated by whites who appreciate Parker’s job.

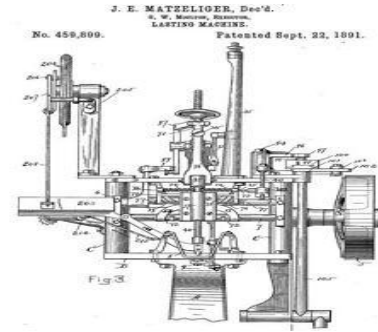
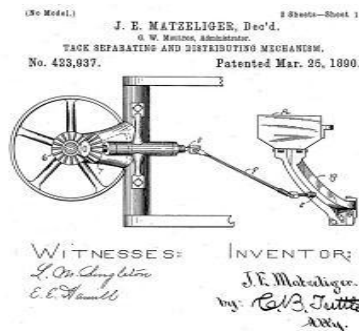
In 1883, Jan E. Matzeliger was the first Negro who invented a machine for lasting shoes which sew the tops of shoes to the sole. Thanks to Matzeliger contribution in the product to the United States through the United Shoes Machinery Company, in 1890,the product of American shoes manufacturers increased from \$220.000.000 to \$442.631.000 and during the same period the export of American shoe increased from \$1.000.000 to \$11.000.000. The shoe-lasting machine is considered one of the greatest inventions of the Industrial Revolution. Shoes are much more available to the world’s people because of Matzeliger’s genius and sacrifice.

Walk a Mile in His Shoes

Jan Ernst Matzeliger invented a shoemaking machine that increased shoemaking speed by 900%. His patent was bought by the United Shoe Machinery Company, which became a multimillion dollar corporation, the largest of its kind in the world.

Matzeliger, however, died in obscurity at the age of 36 in 1889.





Gossett Thomas. F. *The History Of An Idea In America*. 1965

Dr. Daniel Hale Williams a black physician was the first man who performed the first open heart surgery on July 9, 1893 in the first interracial U.S. hospital, which he created to serve the African American population of Chicago. Besides, Williams did a great job for the American young man James Cornish who would have soon died yet he was lucky because of Williams' decision to perform surgery. Williams utilized many of the emerging antiseptic, sterilization procedures of the day and thereby gained a reputation for professionalism.

Garrett Morgan is a black man who worked as a fireman for whites. While rescuing people, he thought about something to help and protect those people whom he helped during his job. Garrett invented a gas inhalator in 1899, yet, whites were not grateful for his invention although the rescue he faced because of racial prejudice. Later on, the United States' Army developed Garrett's invention and used his device as gas masks for combat troops during the WWI; they were able to enter burning buildings without harm from smoke or fumes.

African Americans have had major contributions to white society. African American women also have had ingenious contributions that have improved American society. Sarah E. Goode was the first African American woman to be granted a patent by the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office for her invention, the cabinet bed, July 14, 1885. As an entrepreneur of a furniture store, Goode noted that city apartment dwellers often had little space for beds. She conceived the design of what we know today as the "hide away" bed.

She described the design as "a folding bed" whose hinged sections were easily raised or lowered. When not in use as a bed, Goode's invention could also be used as a desk. On the other hand, Miriam Benjamin was a school teacher, she was the second black woman to receive a patent thanks to the inventions she did in the late 19th century. Benjamin received a

patent for an invention she called a Gong and Signal Chair for Hotels. Her invention allowed hotel customer to summon a waiter from the comfort of their chair. A button on the chair would buzz the waiters' station and a light on the chair would let the wait staff know who wanted service.

Knowing the efforts done by American inventors in the economic, industrial, and financial development of the country; refer directly to the importance role which share by the African-American inventors. Booker T. Washington promised black inventors to progress through self-improvement. Blacks' inventions included nearly every branch of life; the industrial art, in mechanical appliances, in electricity through all its wide of uses, in engineering skills and in chemical compounds. These fields of invention contributed a lot in the advancement of America. Many African-Americans were not granted for their inventions till after Washington's speech. He declared that hundreds of inventions and discoveries of African Americans merit public honor in the United States. Finally they were granted first in early 1900 by the United States Commission, second in 1913 by Pennsylvania Commission.

II.3. Booker T. Washington & W.E.B Du Bois' Bearing on the African-Americans

Booker T. Washington and Du Bois were the major spokesman for the African-American racial equality. Booker T. Washington's way of organization was different of W.E.B Du Bois, because this latter did not experience the bad treatment which others did. While these two men were opposing to each other yet they did their best to contribute in the development of the African-Americans as leaders. In 1878, Washington attended Maryland Seminary in Washington D.C where he became a teacher but his salary was a little money. He did his best and decided and his students to raise money for land and to build a school, so they the foundation and raised the walls. In this way, on July 4th, 1881, Tuskegee Institution was built.

Washington started being Black's leader in 1892, then in 1895, Washington was ready to forget about the past and draw his own ideal, and he was the dominant figure in black public affairs till his death. He began with a brief speech which outlined his social philosophy and racial strategy addressing white America to provide jobs and industrial-agricultural education for Negroes in order that blacks would give up demands for social equality and civil rights. "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."¹⁵(Mac T.H 149)

Washington believed African Americans needed to improve themselves first, showing whites in America that deserved equal rights. Although politically involved behind the scenes, Washington repeatedly claimed that African Americans would not benefit from political activism and started an industrial training school in Alabama that embodied his own philosophy of self-help. Washington advised his people to stay in the South so they can get a useful education, save their money, work hard, purchase property, and then the Negro could ultimately 'earn' full citizenship rights in America. In 1903 Washington faced the biggest and worst challenge threatened his leadership of Blacks because of black critics yet he continued ruling his people as he was a monarch or a political boss using hard and cruel means against these critics to justify his own methods for black progress. Southern whites agreed on Washington's program because it did not involve political, civil, and social rights. They supported Washington by contribute to Tuskegee institution and made him the outstanding black leader not only in the fields of education and philanthropy, but in business, labor relations, a powerful political boss and public affairs. Du Bois wrote:

to hear a Negro advocating such a program after many decades of bitter complaint; it startled and won the applause of the South, it interested and won the admiration of the North; and after a confused murmur of protest, it silenced if it did not convert the Negroes themselves.¹⁶(162)

Du Bois was not an early opponent of Washington's program, at the beginning he agreed on the Tuskegeean's "Atlanta Compromise" philosophy as sound advice. During the late 1890's, there were various similarities in the ideas of the two men in which they could helped each other by encouraged the development of Negro business blaming Blacks that they should emphasis on self-help and moral improvement rather than on rights, insisted on economic advancement before universal manhood suffrage.

He thought that the Negro race "could only advance through its own self help and the assistance by whites of good will"¹⁷ (White 53). In 1901-1903 was the change in Du Bois' philosophy tending to disagree with Washington's program which produced little real gain for the Negroes; such as the importance of liberal arts education. Besides, he saw that Washington and his "Tuskegee Machine"- wide web of institutions in the black community that were strongly influenced by Washington's efforts at Negro advancement, he insisted just for his own advantage.

Thus, Du Bois considered Washington as misguided leader and he should be the perfect leader for Blacks especially after the publication of his book *The Souls of Black Folk*, in 1903 in which he remains one of the most important works about black culture, and his *Black Reconstruction in America* challenged the prevailing views that blacks did not participate in any meaningful way during Reconstruction. In this Book, Du Bois took the position that “the Black men of America have a duty to perform; a duty stern and delicate—a forward movement to oppose a part of the work of their greatest leader.”¹⁸ (47). Du Bois believed that Negroes should not sacrifice their constitutional rights in order to achieve a status that was already guaranteed.

He demanded for all black citizens some rights which Washington did not insist to include: 1) the right to vote, 2) civic equality, and 3) the education of Negro youth. In an essay entitled, “Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others,” Du Bois blamed Washington’s program and hesitated that political action and academic education would achieve full citizenship rights for the African-Americans. His educational philosophy of the “Talented Tenth” helped the economic and cultural elevation of the blacks.

Also in 1903, Du Bois published an essay titled “The Talented Tenth,” in which he mentioned his vision for Black progress in America. In this essay Du Bois’ criticism was more than in *The Souls of Black Folk*.

On July 11 1909 Du Bois helped to found an organization called the “Niagara Movement” which works for civil and political rights as well as against lynching. In 1909, a protest meeting was occurred in New York that led to the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) as a result of the Niagara Movement, a movement which grew out of 29 black leaders who gathered to discuss segregation and black political rights. Among its members were reform-minded, social workers, socialist radicals, liberal Jews, and even a few southern mavericks.

W.E.B. Du Bois considered that the Niagara Meeting was one of the greatest meeting that American Negroes ever held from 1910 to 1915, Du Bois voiced the new aspirations of the American Negro in *The Crisis*; a magazine through which Du Bois could delineate his racial program and political ideals to the black American community which was consider one of the best sources of information about the black world.

After Washington's death, Du Bois helped to correct the devastating of Washington's flaws. This was the step which made Du Bois not only a role model preserving black student but also led the way for others to deliver education, equality, and became courage to fight for their civil rights. Early black leaders, Du Bois & Booker T. Washington, although they had opposing views, they affected the African-American community greatly. Washington's model of leading blacks through advances in industry, coupled with du bois' model of leading blacks through education in the arts and science contributed to the study and development of African-Americans as great leaders.

II.4. Booker T. Washington and the Rise of the NAACP

Washington felt threatened by the rise of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909, which has several programs such as: the United Negro College Fund, Legal Assistance, Economic Engagement, and Educational Outreach. It was founded to take the issue of segregation; a great national conference on civil rights. Washington's black critics had helped and gained some supports from whites who were against supremacy. Du Bois said: "The NAACP represents the future and Booker T. Washington represents the past."¹⁹ (Harlan 360) There was a man who called Oswald Garrison Villard; the initiator of the conference of 1909 was the only who believed that the two men could work together. So he invited Washington to the conference of 1909 and told him that Du Bois was not happy and he did not wish you to attend.

Villard hoped that Washington could contribute to the organization with his sympathy and help. On March 19, 1910, Du Bois spoke about the Tuskegee institution in public letters on both the educational and race leadership grounds. Besides, he sent a letter to Boston newspaper the *Transcript*:

I said to the reporter, though not in my speech that Mr. Washington was the political boss of the Negro race in America. I used this word in its legitimate and clearly accepted sense because of these facts: Mr. Washington has long and earnestly counselled his race to let politics alone, acquiesce temporarily in disfranchisement and pay attention chiefly to industrial development and efficiency. I do not think this a wise program, but it is a logical one and deserving of thought. In the face this, however, Mr. Washington has for the

last eight years allowed himself to be made the sole referee for all the political action concerning 10,000,000 Americans. Few appointments have been made without his consent, and others' political policies have been deferred to him.²⁰ (March 19, 1910)

In this statement, Du Bois was asking 'What had given to those Negro who agree with Mr. Washington's policy of nonresistance, giving up agitation, and acquiescence in semi-serfdom,' and concluded that it amounted to "a substitution of monarchy for democracy among a population twice as large as that of all New England."²¹(Boston, *transcript*, March 19, 1910). He meant that because Washington focused on economic growth, he neglected the pursuit of political rights. Thus, Villard with his follows supported Du Bois without caring about 'acquiescence in semi-serfdom.' Washington's relation to the organization of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People became worse in late 1910, ending his tour of continental Europe with a visit to London to speak at a dinner by Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection society. So Du Bois voiced the new aspirations of the American Negro in *The Crisis*. This was a period of increasing influence for the leadership of Du Bois and the NAACP.

Both Washington and Du Bois wanted the same thing for blacks—first-class citizenship—but their methods for obtaining it were differed. Because of the interest in immediate goals contained in Washington's economic approach, whites did not realize that he anticipated the complete acceptance and integration of Negroes into American life. He believed blacks, starting with so little, would have to begin at the bottom and work up gradually to achieve positions of power and responsibility before they could demand equal citizenship—even if it meant temporarily assuming a position of inferiority. Du Bois understood Washington's program, but believed that it was not the solution to the "race problem." Blacks should study the liberal arts, and have the same rights as white citizens. Blacks, Du Bois believed, should not have to sacrifice their constitutional rights in order to achieve a status that was already guaranteed.

In 1914, Marcus Garvey wished that he could get help from Washington since the latter invited him to the United States. But when he arrived Washington was dead, so he organized alone an association which called 'the Universal Negro Improvement Association' in Jamaica. While W. E. B. Du Bois was still fight for black people to be accepted into American society and he believed that the intellectual elite of the black community should lead them in this

direction, Marcus Garvey tried to lead the masses of black people towards black purity of race and culture through “Black Nationalism.” Whereas Du Bois was an intellectual that depended on the leadership of the Talented Tenth and the aid of white people, Marcus Garvey was a charismatic leader of masses who advocated complete racial purity and separatism. “The liberation of Africa from European colonial rule, and the repatriation there of the 'best' Afro-Americans...appear as constant - although not always clearly expressed - themes in Garvey's writings and speeches”²² (White 93).

In 1917, two years after Washington's death, Garvey declared what was his association's objective about a creation a strong black nation in Africa. Because Garvey's “Back to Africa” movement feeling that black men could not prosper in ‘white land’ where ‘property is not virtue; but it is a crime.’ Garvey held a position of leadership and asked black men and women to do something for themselves. “Up, you mighty race!” He used to wear a uniform of three colors; green, red, and black. “Black for our race, red for our blood and green for our hope”²³ said Garvey.

Chapter Three

Chapter three: William Edward Burghardt Du Bois & Marcus Garvey: Pan Africa

III.1. Red Summer 1919

The period of the Great Migration coincided with Garvey's association. Both movements encouraged Blacks to leave the South escaping from Jim Crow laws, segregated schools, and lack of job opportunities searching for an opportunity for a better life in the West, the North, or return to their homeland of Africa. In the North there were less than 1000 African-American residents in 1914 by 1919, it was estimated to have between 12,000 and 15,000.

The great Migration is a long-term movement of African Americans from the South to the urban North, which transformed Chicago and other northern cities starting in mid-1916. Chicago attracted slightly more than 500,000 of the approximately 7 million African Americans who left the south during these decades.²⁴ (Hortense 65)

No black leader was more successful in touching the aspiration and the needs of the mass of African-Americans than Marcus Garvey. He once asked: "where is the black men's government? Where is his king and kingdom? Where is his president, his country and his ambassador, his army, his navy, his men of big affairs? I could not find them."²⁵ (Martin 54) In addition to Marcus Garvey who helped Blacks to fight for their rights, Du Bois also encouraged them men, women, migrants and especially soldiers to stand up for their basic citizenship rights.

In late 1918, when the war was ended, while the Black soldiers who were in the North fighting during the war were going back to the South, they hoped that they would finally realize peace, prosperity, and equality, they thought the world will be safe for democracy, and they would earn the rights which they had been promised. Yet, Black Americans did not get any of these promises. Unfortunately they find their jobs in factories and mills, and even their homes with everything they had inside them were taken by newly arrived. African-American who had fight with white's for their freedom and democracy found themselves non-aware and neglecting basic rights as equality under the law and adequate housing. Thus, Blacks became very angry in early 1919.

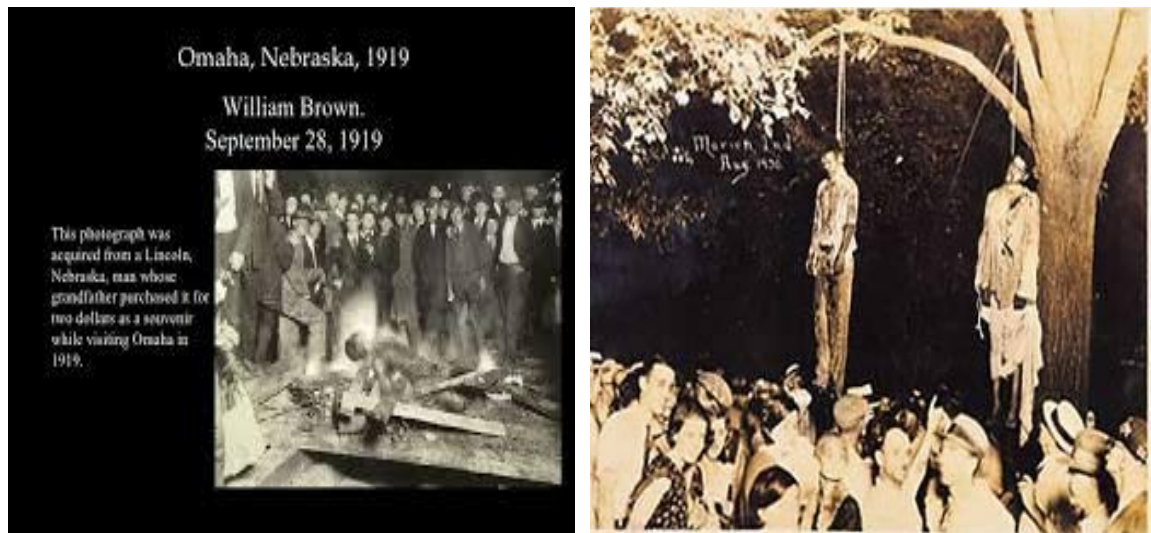
In the decade post World War I, the United States witnessed a rise in race between whites and Blacks which later on became militant because of the young guy named Eugene Williams drowned in a southern segregated beach. Blacks knew that the dower was a white person

whom the police did not want to arrest him. Starting from the spring and summer 1919 racial issue between whites and black Americans were taking place over the country, it became more and more violent and the biggest riot was in Chicago. The Black people were so angry because of the White Americans who were not appreciating their efforts which served in every branches of life. This period was called Red Summer by black leader James Weldon Johnson who argued that this is the best word to describe this period. Tens of thousands were forced to flee their homes, more than 25 race riots were happened which led to the lynching of at least 52 Black people, 500 lives of African American were injured and 54 persons were killed.

These rioting were the greatest period of interracial strife America has ever witnessed. It began on July 27th, in a small town in Texas and then spread to nearly every major city in the United States. The largest riots were taking place in Washington, Chicago, and Arkansas. At the end of July, White's riots destroyed homes and most efforts the African-Americans. Whites wanted to maintain their superiority over blacks and to take control over them in order to make them unable to defend themselves, besides the government did not help them. But, blacks fought back using guns, bricks, and makeshift weapons. Hynes stated: "38 separate riots in widely scattered cities, in which whites attacked black people. Unlike earlier race riots in U.S. history, the 1919 events were among the first in which black people in number resisted white attacks and fought back,"²⁶ (Sedouki Amina. *The Black Struggle for Identity in U.S.* Dissertation, Sidi Bel Abbes University, 2007) the same opinion was said by the civil rights activist James Weldon Johnson who organized peaceful protests against the racial violence of that summer: "[t]he Negroes saved themselves and save Washington by their determination not to run but to fight"²⁷ (Lewis 9)

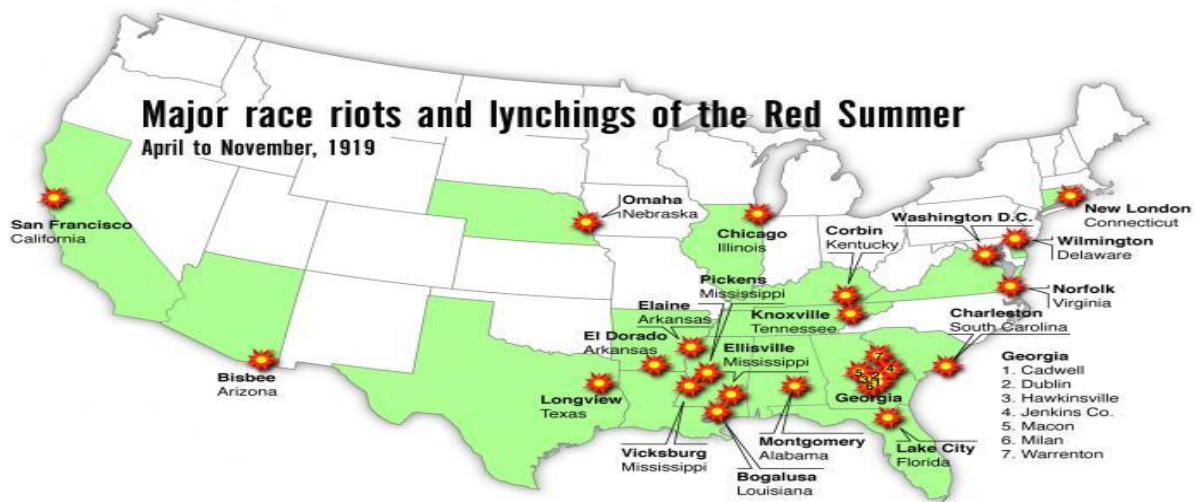
Blacks were disappointed, broken, and hopeless. Du Bois saw that these conflicts mean that he failed to be the perfect leader for his people. He saw these interracial conflicts is more to be called "[a] terrorization or massacre, and [considered] it a magnified lynching."²⁸ (Lewis 6) In May 1919, W. E. B. Du Bois published his essay "Returning Soldiers" in *The Crisis* in which he wrote "[We] fought gladly and to the last drop of blood for America, a nation that represents and gloats in lynching, disfranchisement, caste, brutality, and devilish insult,"²⁹ (White 18) he asked his people to fight back those whites who fight them after the fact that they wanted them to die for democracy. Thus, whites called the NAACP an association for the promotion of revolution. Later on, Du Bois sent a letter contained three pages to the editor of the *New York World* in which he asked to be equal for black men and women farmers who

are forced to pick cotton in the Philips country. They used to work and wait around a year to be told if their crops were worth or not enough. Du Bois described it as it was slavery for the second time. Ten days from the publication of Du Bois' letter, Walter Francis White wrote in the *Nation* newspaper: "massacring whites in the country of Philips" so, whites started to join the NAACP and finally the African Americans had given justice from people before it was given from the court.



Race Riots of 1919. [Encyclopedia Britannica](#), [Red Summer 1919](#)

Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association was under control of Du Bois' in early 1920's. In addition to the NAACP, the UNIA also witnessed huge number of followers which counted more than two million members until the group's dissolution in the late 1920s. Du Bois wrote: "Thus ends one of the most dramatic legal fights the association has ever undertaken."³⁰ African Americans established their communities in the South and in the North.



Map of Race Riots during the Red Summer of 1919 (Found at [WTTW: Chicago Tonight.](#))

III.2. Pan African Congress

It was Du Bois behind the idea of the Pan African Congress; which was a common interest of ideas of the African descent. Du Bois decided to help the advance of this movement culturally, politically, and economically. He believed that it was the perfect way to realize the equality of races, to struggle for the Africans against enslavement and colonization. This was his vision for justice and for the encouragement to stop slavery and finally to get the term of humanity in a peaceful world. Where Blacks could stand and form their own united union in order not to be humiliated by white aggression. Even after their efforts and contributions, they could not prosper in the white society.

The twentieth century was a decade of the problem of Negro problems; in the nearly half century between 1900 and 1945 political leaders and intellectuals from Europe, North America, and Africa met seven times to discuss colonial rule of Africa and the Africans. The 1st Pan African Congress was in 1919 in Paris, Both 2nd, 3rd Pan African Congress in 1921, 1923 in London, 4th Pan African Congress in 1927, in New York City, 5th Pan African Congress in 1945 in Manchester, 6th Pan African Congress in 1974 in Dar Es Salam, 7th Pan African Congress in 1994 in Kampala. The Pan African Congress symbolized peace for Africa; it demanded human rights and equality of economic opportunity, and to finish racial problems.

Both W.E.B. Du Bois and the United States' Consul William Henry Hunt's wife Ida Gibbs Hunt organized the First Pan African Congress in February, 1919 in Paris, France. This

meeting involved fifty-seven delegates who represented fifteen countries, they asked the Versailles Peace Conference to give independence to the African nations, so that Black Africans could live there as before and to grant Africa too so that the Black Americans who wanted to go back could govern Africa, work and contribute their home land. The African case was studied from a long time ago. France was anti-slavery especially after the conference of 1900. Bento Sylvain founded a journal, *La Fraternité (Fraternity)* in which he wrote: 'To defend the interests of the Black race in Europe.' Yet after Du Bois' suggestion, the other intellectuals were sure that the world was going to face two probabilities. Europe must understand Africa for all its equal privileges and gave the political, economic, civil, and social rights for its whites and black citizens. Or, Europe must allow the self-governing for the Africans in order to build their state based on popular education, industry, and freedom of trade. Besides, Marcus Garvey was among the more important Pan African thinkers, he contributed to be associated with the Universal League's successor led by Lamine Senghor which defended the Black race and later on they denounced the Comité de Défense de la Race Nègre (CDRN).

The second Pan African Congress included two new faces were from America; the Indian revolutionary Shapurji Saklatvala and W.F. Hutchinson a journalist from Ghana met in London in August 1921. This meeting convened in three different sessions in London, Brussels, and Paris. It was the most focused one because it discussed both cases of imperialism in Africa and racism in the United States. Du Bois was symbolized the New Negro because he attended the meeting as his follows men and women. There were many other intellectuals who attended this meeting such as Roland Hayes, Ruth Anna Fisher, Mrs. Cary, and others who were interested in the American 'contingent'. Du Bois focused on the relation between black intelligentsia and those who were interested in the political and economic status of colonial peoples because the Americans were showing themselves that they are real masters. Du Bois called for a self-governing Africa, entreated and hoped that the ideal of the Enlightenment and believed the promises were discuss to defend the universal rights he already suggested regardless to the society's culture or technological level. "[the] doctrine of racial equality does not interfere with human liberty, rather, it fulfills it."³¹(Lewis 12) Du Bois said. (Le Matin, September 6, 1921).

Friday, September 2, 1921, Du Bois restated in his *Manifesto to the League of Nations*:

England, with its court and justice, established commerce, and a certain apparent recognition of Native laws and customs, has nevertheless systematically fostered ignorance among the Natives, has enslaved them, and is still enslaving them, has usually declined even to try to train black men in real self-government, to recognise [*sic*] civilised [*sic*] black folk as civilised [*sic*], or to grant to coloured [*sic*] colonies those rights of self government [*sic*] which it freely gives to white men.³² (Lewis 57)

In this period, Du Bois was not satisfied on Marcus Garvey because after Du Bois' being in Europe and after the end of the Paris meeting, Du Bois stayed in Geneva doing his best to get in charged with the protection of the native labor. He wanted to convince Ramsey MacDonald of the rightness of formal labor party, yet Garvey considered Du Bois as the high level labor parley. Later on, Du Bois criticized Garvey in one of his interviews saying that although he and Garvey sharing the same Jamaica aspiration, Garvey still lack plain sense in his methods and thus he could not be relied on.

Two years later, the Third Pan-African Congress was held in London in 1923, it also held some of its sessions in Lisbon. Many several intellectuals of previous meetings participated in this meeting. Although in this meeting it was only a repetition to the pervious demands such as self-rule of the African-Americans, and both W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey to encourage Blacks and seek for their rights, yet what was noted in this meeting that Du Bois' interracial integration and Garvey's race first African Nationalism were opposing to each other. Among their demands: 1) Lynching and Jim Crow laws should be stopped. 2) The development of Africa should be for the benefit of Africans and not for the profits of the Europeans. 3) The government should be responsible for British West Africa and the British West Indies. 4) Stop the white aggression on blacks to use them in whites' problems and wars such as Kenya, Rhodesia, and South Africa.

The Third Pan-African Congress' demands were similar to those that had discussed in the Fourth Pan-African Congress which held in New York City in 1927. 208 delegates were Black-American women from ten foreign American countries and a small number from Africa discussed the fact of lynching and civil rights. This meeting was the first one that held Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; which was an interracial organization that had been founded in 1919. Du Bois described the Negro problem in that meeting as not only a domestic problem of the United States; it was considered as the world-wide problem which needed to be studied by the whole population of the world. Finally, a great majority

from intellectuals and political leaders shifted behind Du Bois and then later on Du Bois' demands were accepted.

During the twentieth century, women were considered to be as key figures that asked for liberty, fought against racial discrimination, and to establish their own land, they helped their men every time they had the chance. Women also had very essential contributions which helped in the development of the Pan African Congress in different ways. Among them were: Amy Ashwood (who later married Garvey), Una Marson, Stella Thomas, and Claudia Jones. Amy Ashwood before marrying Garvey, she met him in Jamaica where the two work together in the development of the U.N.I.A (Universal Negro Improvement Association) which later on quickly became the largest African-American organization in history which presented Garvey's Declaration of the Rights of the Negro People of the World.

All Pan African Congresses that held in these years were addressing whole world a message which contained the same issue of stopping the racism and grant the independence to their colonies. These meeting ended exactly as Du Bois wished, he save the African traditions through his ideas and his role as the perfect leader for his people. Finally, although not all the demands were accepted, but most of them were taken into consideration successfully especially when America emphasized the contributions of Africans to the White society.

III.3. W.E.B .Du Bois & Marcus Garvey

Early 1920, African-Americans were fighting to overcome racial barriers. W.E.B Du Bois and Marcus Garvey were two black political leaders of the 1920s who defended the Negro race. These two men came from separate backgrounds, which led to their differing outlooks on the destiny of the African-Americans race. Du bois' affiliation with the NAACP tended to solve the problem through integration, while Garvey's UNIA tended to gain blacks their independence. It centered on the idea of Blacks helping Blacks.

After Garvey's arrival to Jamaica, he was planning to continue the plan that Washington hoped when he invited Garvey before his death. Thus, the Jamaican woman Amy Ashwood Garvey and Garvey travelled to New York City and decided to work in order to raise money and establish a vocational institution in Jamaica based on Washington's model of institution 'the Tuskegee' which was not so enthusiasm by his new leader Robert Russa Moton as Booker T. Washington did. In contrast to this latter, the National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People office was powerful and so developed due to the help of white people. When Garvey visited the NAACP he was so surprised of the great efforts given by the huge number of whites working and putting hand in hand with Blacks. In the beginning Garvey and his wife were planning to stay then after they met Du Bois they had conflict with him, then Garvey was not sure whether to return to Jamaica or stay in the United States to build a new organization in New York City, then finally, Garvey decided to stay in the U.S travelling from town to town and speaking about Blacks' rights. His travel brought a change in Garvey's thoughts and later on Garvey made his efforts to establish a movement with the poor, black, working classes based on race.

Garvey's follows who were employed in his Negro Factories Corporation were more than thousand persons in New York, the Black people in New York City were considered to be the most important figures that formed Garvey's unit. Garvey declared that white racism was the cause pushed Black-Americans to build their own segregated institutions in order to gain a respectful identity, and not to keep under control of whites or stay humiliated by their opponents. Thanks to Washington who worked a lot on the institutional and economic philosophy of Blacks, Garvey movement of "Back-to-Africa" keep working on Washington's demands of Africa for the African (*The Philosophy & Opinions of Marcus Garvey* 68, 72) His early organization contributed a lot in the awareness of Blacks over the whole world, and then his *Negro World* newspaper became the most widely spread among the African publication in the world.

Garvey resembled Booker T. Washington in his way of leading his people. He knew that his most influential experience of history in 1912 in London was Booker T. Washington's autobiography 'Up From Slavery'. Garvey embraced Washington's ideas which show that Washington told his people that they needed to improve themselves first; besides, they need to show whites in America that they deserve equal rights; he insisted that the African Americans would not benefit from political reactions.

Booker T. Washington was already invited Marcus Garvey in order to work together, but unfortunately in 1916 when Garvey arrived, Washington was gone away. Garvey arrived to America in order learn more about the situation of the African-Americans, so he travelled all over the country and observed Black Americans and their struggle for equal rights. He decided to keep in line with Washington by helping and encouraging African-Americans to work hard because he saw that was a shifting population due to Jim Crow's laws. African-

Americans were moving in very huge numbers out of the rural South and into the urban areas of both North and South. After all what Garvey had noticed, he was convinced that the integration question would never happen and that only economic, political, and cultural success on the part of the Negro Americans could bring them equality and respect...etc. With those goals, Garvey established the Universal Negro Improvement Association in New York in 1917. Later on, "We urged to work to make UNIA highly spread in order to defend Black Nationalism through unification the necessity of being proud in the African culture heritage and realize the complete autonomy."³³ (Harlan, Louis R, Booker T. Washington 1901-1915)

UNIA as well as Communities League were two associations founded to embrace the goal of all black humanity. Few months later, the UNIA had made no impact especially in Jamaica, thus, Garvey decided to go back to New York where he felt that in this town he would found a place on which he could affect and leads his race and to do his best to be the perfect leader. He got his opportunity in a meeting of the movement founded by Herbert Henry Harrison the Liberty League of Colored Americans. In this meeting Garvey defended those people whom led that could established a great independent nation in their home land Africa. Depending on Washington's idea of self-help and adopted it to the situation he saw in America; thanks to Washington's philosophy, Garvey took somewhat individualistic, integrationist philosophy and then he turned it in more corporate, politically-minded.

On July 31, 1918, the commissioner of needs recorded a certificate of incorporation for both the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League for the city of New York. In order to be headed by a governor of Negro blood and race, the UNIA's efforts were invested in the President-General and Administrator later. Marcus Garvey was the master of an office in Africa which led two years later Du Bois' position to be threatened; besides, he founded himself chocked especially about his honorific position of Supreme Potentate. Garvey's association the UNIA took shape over the summer and fall 1918 till it became a radical element criticized especially by the NAACP's policy.

In 1918, Du Bois used a title in his essay *Crisis* 'Close Ranks' in which he revealed that black leadership divided into two very different antagonists. Later on, Du Bois was insulted by a young West Indian Socialist Richard B. Moore in the People's Education Forum. This young challenged the editor's opinion that black labor should keep its distance from both white labor and white capital. Yet, Du Bois did not care much and answered Moore in a very

satirical way that he thought that if you live longer you become experienced not out of fashioned opinions.

In the end of 1918, Garvey found a newspaper *Negro World* which later on the Americans Negro opinions encouraged it throughout various useful works among them *the voice – the messenger – the Emancipation – the challenge – the Crusader*. Du Bois' essay in June 1921 issue of the *Crisis* 'The Class Struggle,' downplay this work, he could not ignore that Garvey's appeal was so wide. Two years later, Garvey was elected by members of the UNIA to be a provisional President of Africa. In the same year [1920], at the UNIA's First International Convention, Garvey and his followers went to hold a meeting under a title 'We Want a Black Civilization' and 'Africa Must Be Free.' For him, the economic success is the quickest and most effective way to independence. His most economic venture was a shipping company known as the Black Star Line; which he formed on July 27, 1919, in Delaware, as a way to promote trade but it failed due to the expensive repairs.

In contrast to Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Du Bois believed that the Negro race could only advance through its own self-help and the assistance by whites of good will; he thought that the 'Talented Tenth' is the perfect way for the Black community just with the aid white people. Du Bois presented a program in which he would lead forces of Europe to concert black skills, high purposes, and to stop imperialism and racism. While Du Bois was seeking for increasingly to socialism in his search for race solutions, he wanted America to honor the claims of its African citizens by advised the African-Americans to fight in Wilson's war in order that they would win their denied civil rights. Garvey did not like Du Bois' proposition and he replied that Wilson's war is a foreign war as it was white man's problem and it has nothing to do with Black people.

In the Mid 1920s, W.E.B. Du Bois said: "the use of a small letter for the name of twelve million Americans and two hundred million human beings a personal insult."³⁴ (Du Bois 115) Thus, he sent a letter to book publishers, newspaper editors, and magazines asking them while writing Negro to capitalize the N when referring to Black People to show that it was the official name of the race. He preferred this to confer all Blacks the respect.

For thousands of years, Negroes still had been unaccepted person of the world. But as soon as Garvey could have an auditorium in Harlem and named it Liberty Hall, he had a meeting there to make his voice be heard. In 1920, Garvey's newspaper *New Negro* spread to buy between 50.000 and 200.000 circulations. In his efforts, Marcus Garvey wanted to unify

his people, so, he encouraged all African-Americans to be concerned with themselves first. He stated:

[T]he first dying that is to be done by the Black Americans nowadays or even in the future will be done to make themselves free. And then when we are finished, if we have any charity to bestow, we may die for the white man. But as for me, I think I have stopped dying for him.³⁵ (Martin 20)

Garvey believed that Negro Americans had to do the work by which they gain independence, as he claimed in one of his meetings that he held in 1921: “[i]f you want liberty, you yourself must strike the blow. If you must be free, you must become so through your own efforts.”³⁶ (25)

According to Garvey, African-Americans have to change the perceptions of themselves in order that they would deal with some actions. He encouraged them to be proud of their heritage, proud of the way they looked, and to see themselves as members of a mighty race. “I am the equal of any white man; I want you to feel the same way”³⁷ (25) said Garvey. Later on, finally, Garvey could deliver what he was seeking for; he could organize a group of Negro Americans whom really had behaved and have the visible sentiments as he hoped. He called this group of people “African Legion”.

Garvey’s racial pride and unity played very big roles in his Black Nationalism. By 1922, Garvey turned to the political rights and he agreed with his followers to waste all time they have with pro-Negro politics, and not to waste time over the white man’s politics. His rage against Du Bois and his kind became even more scurry. For Du Bois, Garvey’s conviction was a self-inflicted tragedy, although Du Bois expected Garvey to display his finest acting and skills while his appeal worked its way through the courts.

Du Bois’ and Garvey’s beliefs had a profound effect on their life work, including the organizations they were involved with and the type of people they attracted. Du Bois worked depending on his privileged background, although he insisted to improve the condition of the African-Americans, he preferred to do it by working with liberal whites through the NAACP. His way of working attracted mostly the upper class and intellectual blacks, as he relied on the Talented Tenth. Whereas, Garvey grew up in impoverished Jamaica community; he got a minimal schooling there. Later on, he travelled around Latin America to Europe. There, he

thought about the ideas of the Pan African Movement. His UNIA attracted working class blacks.

III. 3. Crisis of Intellectuals

In any given society, intellectuals are the result of the level of development of a society. It was the case of the Negro Americans in the American society in the 18th, 19th, and 20th century. The intellectuals were not a level of the development of Blacks, but the only solution for the case of humiliation of Negroes in the white society.

The history of the African-American Intellectuals began during the Great Awakening of unifying religious and the Cultural Development (1735, 1750). African-American Intellectuals started to find their way in the late 18th century with W.E.B Du Bois (1868, 1963), Booker T Washington (1856, 1915), and Marcus Garvey (1887,1940). These intellectuals were great leaders for their people; every one of them decided to challenge the whites' view that Blacks could not be complete citizenships in any society. The intellectuals agreed to participate in the white society in a way or another doing all what is important through science, business, art, and literature. Furthermore, most of them get involved as house builders, net makers, fishermen, and others chose to make knives, spears, in addition to not a very bed number were skilled people became mathematicians, philosophers, scientists and artists.

Curse Harold defined the Black Intellectual crisis as “the mission of the Black experiences and the search for practical solutions and ideas to the Black community”³⁸(225). Crisis of intellectuals or identity conflicts of the Negro Americans intellectuals came in three times; the first intellectual crisis came at the early of the eighteenth century, the second crisis at the end of the eightieth century and early ninetieth century, and the third crisis was at the beginning of the twentieth century.

America was the society which consider the rights of the individual above everything else ruling by the groups. The individual religions there were have few rights which are not confirmed by any political, economic or social power. Thus, the African Americans had a very few rights because of their ethnic group who had very little political, economic, and social power to use. “The only substantial exception to this image of ethnic separation is the compartment market intellectual and artists”³⁹ (Philip) Gordon suggested; in the social world

of black intellectuals a considerable amount of racial and ethnic integration does take on a social level. While the Negro intellectual was not fully integrated into the intellectual class degree, he could not have his own Negro ethnic world.

In the beginning, the African-American intellectual crisis was about religion. By the 1787, the New Testament Christianity accepted the slaves to join them just if they abounded their political and social rights. It offered them only the equality of faith without any available ideology, no school of thought, no frame of reference, and no intellectual belief in order not to repair their [Black Americans] society. Some of the African-Americans chose to keep the religion although it prohibited any intellectual defence, while they rejected the church institution by forming their own churches. Others decided to challenge white's position who found the concept of Blacks as an inferior race. Black American intellectuals realise the importance of religion; later on they created the African Orthodox Church. "Since white people have seen their own God through white spectacles, we have now started to see our God through our own spectacles,"⁴⁰ stated Garvey, (White 92) thus Negroes needed to fight for establish their own God and Christ.

By the end of the eightieth and the beginning of the ninetieth century, African-American's crisis was about self-identity as a human being. The Negro Americans met and agreed on forming their own organization by which they could defend the needs of their people and their rights. The African-American intellectuals wanted to earn the respect as human beings and enjoy their rights and duties as full citizenship in the American society; to deliver their goals; they were obliged to contribute in that society. Later on, although the Negroes have had major contributions to white society, they were still treated not like second class citizens they were treated as non-citizens. The African-American intellectuals were needed for self-definition that allowed them to be considered as complete persons as white citizens. They were integrated although they have lived in the U.S for generations, much longer than white migrants who arrived in the nineteenth century. The way they had to ask and defend their civil and economic rights in order they could merit the identity they deserved, and to prove to those who considered them all the time as outsiders was not easy at all. They had to achieve great contributions in the white society.

Unfortunately, the journey from slavery to the Fifteenth Amendments opened the door for blacks only halfway, a new journey of discrimination had begun with the Jim Crow Laws. These laws were a means not to allow Black Americans to be equal with whites; it

discriminated blacks, ensured that they were segregated and made sure that they were treated unequally from whites. It permitted the “Separate but Equal” which means separation but not equality for blacks in that time. Negroes were abused physically and verbally. They were murdered in secret and in public by whites.

In early twentieth century, Black Americans’ crisis has been described more than before. In this period, Blacks had to see their jobs, efforts, and contributions with no regard; all what they had produced for their position in the white society was gone. Non-of their work was granted in a way or another, even though the white Americans got help from the Blacks’ efforts, yet they did not convince that they could in the same position as whites. These latter insisted that “African-Americans intellectuals would be maintained as a caste, regardless of their works, no attributes of character or achievement or any influence can emancipate one of them from the caste he or she [was] born into.”⁴¹ In this period exactly, Americans made the distinction between race and caste a critical issue as never before. (Curse 217)

In 1905, group of Negro leaders, business men and politicians formed an economic organization and named it Afro-American Reality Company. The guiding mind of it was Booker T. Washington with the aid of Du Bois’ Niagara Movement of civil rights radical 1905. The AARC led to the growth of Black Harlem and to check the study areas of the HRC’s thirst for fighting Negroes. From 1905 to the beginning of IWW, Harlem witnessed a strong struggle between blacks and whites. Du Bois and his followers help to organize the American Negro Labor Congress during December crisis 1924. In October, 1925, the ANLC was founded in Chicago to help black workers to confirm their efforts and to regain their merit identity. In addition to the “Journey Toward A Black Aesthetic”, it was the activist and cultural work of the Black intellectuals in the United States. They contributed in forming the Organization of Black American Culture (OBAC); which founded in Chicago and in which Black intellectuals prove their work. They spent a long time to help to organize the masses of African people against all various colonial conditions that the black people had experience.

Again as a century before, whites did not accept to let Negroes’ position as theirs. In early 1900s, Negroes got help from Booker Taliaferro Washington’s accommodation. “[E]ven without the help that they gave to the Americans, blacks are as human as them,”⁴² said Washington. (Louis R 120) The New Negro was on the mind of Booker T. Washington; he was the way of progress life for the Afro-Americans people; as an educator through his work with the Tuskegee institute and as an advocator for their economic advancement and racial

accommodation through his Atlanta Exposition Address; asking southern whites for segregation defending Black's desire for equal economic opportunity. He argued that the economic progress of southern whites depended on both blacks' and whites' prosperity through education; for him, races' social integration was not necessary.



Wright Richard's book: *A New Negro for a New Century: An Accurate and Up-to-Date Record of the Upward Struggles of the Negro Race.*

In the late 19th century, African-American intellectuals denounced the oppression again and again. Booker T. Washington proposed that all 'Negroes', the 'Colored' people whom America was oppressing could gain their dignity and merit their identity. He was intelligent because he did not show white Americans that his goal was only to regain his peoples' identity, he announced to white attentively: "[w]e can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." "No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling afield as in writing a poem,"⁴³ (Louis R 122) Booker T. Washington wanted to make his people full-fledged Americans without regard to color or race. In addition to the Negro Business League which founded by Washington as a black chamber of commerce designed for the rising black merchant class.

Du Bois, on the other hand began with *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) that integrate the strategies of the 'self-life-writing' with those cultural and political critique. He meant that the Black creative intellectuals might engage their efforts earlier as soon as they could to be accepted in white society. From *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) flourished the most aware idea of the cultural and psychological choice which the black individual in America lives surrounded by a double identity as both black and American. Du Bois' "Talented Tenth" was the best tool of the black community even though he insisted on the aid of white people, he also made "a call for the black community to maintain a separate racial identity"⁴⁴ (White 54).

Besides, to the work was done by Du Bois through “The Negro in Literature and Art” (1913) yet the Americans did not stop to realise that blacks deserve to be treated as them and that the idea of ‘social animal’ is a creation of their imagination.

In reality the role of the three honest intellectuals (Washington, Du Bois, and Garvey) was not to become a servant for the U.S, and not to become mental workers of imperialism but it was to solve the problems of their people. They [African-Americans intellectuals] created the space necessary for the American society providing all conditions of the advancement, they were as the foundations of that society. All the work which have done by the African-American intellectuals was due to the racial discrimination they faced in the American society; by these efforts, they wanted to make their own opportunities. The segregation made the Black Americans intellectuals that they urged to use all their energies in order to find a way which allow them to contribute their creative work with their political activities. The reality that the African-American had faced, led to a birth of a unique intellectual tradition. The three leaders [Washington, Du Bois, and Garvey] shared the bad treatment which their people had experience in their fighting for freedom, thus, it was noticed that the ideas from the first emerged of the African-American intellectuals was showing their desire for literacy, thirst for identity, and the necessity for insuring various rights for their people.

“Journey Toward A Black Aesthetic” was the activist and cultural work of the Black intellectuals in the United States. They contributed in forming the Organization of Black American Culture (OBAC); which founded in Chicago and in which Black intellectuals prove their work. They spent a long time to help to organize the masses of African people against all various colonial conditions that the black people had experience.

Black intellectuals applied their intellect and forward-looking vision for the purpose of awaking the white society by their existence, using all their capacities to get the needs of the Black Americans. The ideas of one particular class of Negroes on question as race, color, politics, economics and art are expressed in many different ways yet they didn’t succeed to be accepted in the White society since these Negroes were under the dominating persuasion of the Great American Ideal. They had very few rights because of the lack of their political, economic, and social power.

General Conclusion

Through my research, I wanted to see the improvement of the African American intellectuals especially in the early 1900's until 1930's. I wanted to know about the reasons that pushed the African Americans to fight for their rights and to know the duplicity in opinions of the three figures (Washington, Du Bois and Garvey) that played a major role in developing the image of black Americans in the whole world. I search who was far full civil rights and who was for building a black society within the white America. I wanted to confirm if these three figures I had chosen did really fulfil their goals, with taking consideration to those goals if were personal or they truly did efforts for the benefit of the Black community.

To begin with, I chose Booker Taliaferro Washington; the most influential and powerful of his that time. I studied his efforts through his Tuskegee Machine and his Atlanta Compromise Address. He also offered to trade black acquiescence in disfranchisement and some other aspects of segregation by asking whites to allow blacks share them in the economic growth that northern investment would bring. I noticed that Booker T. Washington did not give very importance to be integrated in the American society.

Second, the most influential public critique of Booker T. Washington's policy was William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. This latter criticized Washington's social accommodation in early 1903 through an essay titled "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others" in his book *The Souls of Black Folk*. He considered that Washington as a misguided leader for blacks, because he was totally wrong while asserting for blacks to seek for the economic equality first. Contrast to Du Bois who focused on the social thoughts, he also supported the idea of integration and the acceptance of blacks into the American society; through seeking aid and stimulation from white people. Du Bois argued that blacks must press for civil rights rather than accommodate inequality.

Marcus Garvey was the third impressive figure. Garvey was the charismatic leader of masses who defend complete racial purity and separatism. He was the first one to use a black newspaper to inform the truth which Negroes were suffering from, and to awaken all blacks all over the world to fight this bad situation. His journey, aspiration and requirements for his people improve their intellectual, political, economic and cultural life. Garvey was the greatest African of the twentieth century; he was not a man of theory, because he knew very well about the conditions pushed every Negro to react in the white society. Later on, he

cleverly developed practical ways to the establishment of Black Country, where they could live and have all their glorious and powerful past.

Furthermore, since 1919, Marcus Garvey's newspaper "The Negro's World" printed in 200 000 copies, published in several languages (French, English, Spanish and Portuguese), and spread throughout the Americas (North, South, and Central America). In this newspaper, Garvey outlined the glory past of the black race, besides, he spoke about the great Negro intelligence and contributions from the first existence in America; which unfortunately, did not enable black to access to their own destiny.

In contrast to Du Bois, Garvey was opposed not only to whites who considered blacks as an inferior race, but also he was against black elites who accepted the need to get involved with such men [whites]. In March, 1925, Marcus Garvey was imprisoned in Atlanta. Black voices were everywhere demanding from the U.S government his freedom. In 1927, after three years in prison, thanks to black's support to the public pressure that was becoming increasingly untenable for the White House, Marcus Garvey finally became free.

These intellectuals brought much for the American society, their efforts helped in white's life including several fields, and in solving many problems which the white did not know how to deal with. Besides, they provided white society with various new inventions which led the American society to become a well-developed country.

In brief, the three intellectuals were different in their ways of work, but all of them wanted the best they can offer for their people. By the end of my work I found out that the three men were seeking the best even through the Tuskegee Machine, through Back to Africa Movement, or through the Fight for Equal Citizenship.

Bibliography

Organizations:

- ❖ Anglo-African Magazine (1859)
- ❖ The Atlanta University Studies of the Negro Problems. (1896)
- ❖ The American Negro Historical Society. (1897)
- ❖ The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. (1915)
- ❖ The Urban League.
- ❖ Washington Bee. '*The National Afro-American League.*' quoted in Thornbrough. July 26, 1902.

Articles:

- ❖ Hornsby Alton. Jr « The Quest For Freedom » Company To African American History. 2nd Edition. Singapore, 1997.
www.blackwellpublishing.com/history.
- ❖ Du Bois Burghardt William Edward. *Le Matin*, September 6, 1921.
- ❖ Dray, David. The "Three Crises of the Negro intellectual," *Journal of Black Political Research*. Clark Atlanta University, Georgia. 1997.
<http://digitalcommons.auctra.edu/enda/Vol1997/iss1/2>
- ❖ Spillers Hortense. J. *The Crisis of the Negro intellectual*. Duke University Press. 1994. P 65-76 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/303601>

Books:

- ❖ Burghardt William Edward Du Bois. '*New Negro*' Negro Publication 1921.
- ❖ Dray Philips. "*At The Hands of Persons Unknown*": *The Lynching of Black America*, New York: Random House, 2002.
- ❖ Dray Philips. *Red Summer. African-American Culture and History*. New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1996.
- ❖ Du Bois, W.E.B. *The Crisis Writings*. Ed Daniel Walden 1972.
- ❖ Du Bois, W.E.B. *The Journal of American History*. 1992, P 96-124.
- ❖ Du Bois, W.E.B. *The Crisis, Nationalism and Internationalism. Journal of American studies*. 1910-1943, P 603-623.

- ❖ Du Bois, W.E.B. “*The Class Struggle*,” *The Crisis*, 1921.
- ❖ Harold Curse. *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*. 1967.
- ❖ Harold Curse. *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectuals From its Origins to the Present*. 1967.
- ❖ Henry Louis Gates. *The New Negro: Reading on Race, Representation, and African American Culture 1892-1938*.
- ❖ Imbornoni, Ann M. *Black Scientists and inventors*. 2000
- ❖ Garvey Marcus. ‘*A Journey of Self Discovery*,’ *Current History*, September 1923.
- ❖ Levering, David Lewis. *The Fight for Equality and the American Century*.....1919-1963.
- ❖ Levering, David Lewis. *Harlem Renaissance: Art of Black America*. New York. 1987.
- ❖ Leslie Harris M. *African American in New York City 1636-1863*.
- ❖ Unknown. *The Making of African-American Identity: Vol II, 1865-1917*.
- ❖ Tony Martin. *The Legacy of Marcus Garvey*.
- ❖ Tony Martin. *Race First: the Ideological and Organizational Struggle of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association*.
- ❖ Tuttle, William M., Jr. “Chicago in Red Summer of 1919”: *Race Riot: 1919*.
- ❖ William
- ❖ White, White. *Autobiography of Du Bois*.
- ❖

Electronic Sources

- ❖ www.issues-views.com/index.php/sect/1000/article/1023
- ❖ www.rism.org/isg/dlp/analyses/Garvey.com
- ❖ www.the lynching of Black American, 2002
- ❖ <http://diverseeducation.com>
- ❖ <http://newsone.com>
- ❖ <http://www.black-inventors.html>
- ❖ <http://www.history.com/topics/u.s-washington>
- ❖ <http://www.history.com/topics/blach-history.w.e.bdu bois>
- ❖ <http://wikipedia.org/Benjamin Banneker>.
- ❖ <http://www.jstor.org/stable/303601>

- ❖ <http://yourblackworld.net/2012/02/black-men>
- ❖ [Encyclopedia Britannica, Black Nationalism](#)
- ❖ [Encyclopedia Britannica, Red Summer 1919](#)
- ❖ www.blackcovenant.com
- ❖ [Encyclopedia Britannica, Harlem Renaissance. Britannica Student Library](#)
- ❖ [Encyclopedia of African American History 1896 to the present. Paul Finkleman](#)
- ❖ [Encyclopedia of African Culture and History. New York: Simon 1996](#)
- ❖ [Encyclopedia of American Race Riots 2007, page 554. Rucker, Walter C.](#)