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W. E. B. Du Bois, Double-Consciousness, and Pan-Africanism in the Progressive Era

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Theodore Vincent has noted that “in Black American history there are two personal feuds which stand out beyond all others, W. E. B. Du Bois vs. Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois vs. Marcus Garvey.”¹ If these feuds were only personal, of course, then today they would be a mere historical curiosity, marginalized men in heated disagreement about matters important only to them. But these were public disputes, carried out through various forms of public address—speeches, essays, and articles. While the combatants did engage in a certain amount of ad hominem, they mostly were arguing about what sort of public action African Americans should undertake to improve their situation in the United States. The themes and proposals that emerged during these debates reverberate throughout twentieth-century American race relations.

A comprehensive review of the issues argued within these debates is impossible. Du Bois and Washington disagreed primarily about what sort of education was appropriate for African-American youth, but of course this topic touched upon nearly every other aspect of African-American cultural life. Du Bois argued with Garvey about the efficacy of attempting to leave America for Africa, but these arguments were tinged with issues of class and authority. We take as our focus the ways in which these men constructed for their audiences particular perceptions of African-American identity.

We capitalize on Du Bois’s participation in both of these debates to use “double-consciousness” as our organizing thematic. Du Bois introduced this concept in his 1903 collection of essays titled *The Souls of Black Folk*, where it was intended to be juxtaposed against what Du Bois saw as Washington’s narrow single-mindedness. Almost from its inception, double-consciousness became a trope of African-American identity that resonated particularly strongly with intellectuals and critics.

Today, it inhabits literary theory and cultural criticism as a central, though contested, hermeneutic device. Though double-consciousness has been engaged by many writers as an analytic heuristic, its effectiveness as a trope of public address has not been investigated. Thomas C. Holt has argued that to understand Du Bois, "one must endeavor to read his eloquent texts against the gritty backdrop of the organizational confrontations that simultaneously engaged him."² Concepts such as double-consciousness were not developed by Du Bois in the vacuum of the ivory tower, but instead were fashioned in the heat of political battle. By examining double-consciousness in this way, as a rhetorical trope manifested in the public discourse of W. E. B. Du Bois during the Progressive Era, we illustrate both the possibilities and the limitations of double-consciousness with regard to its potential to define an audience and foment action.

Both the critical utility and the contested nature of double-consciousness are illustrated in a recent exchange between rhetorical critics Stephen Browne and James Darsey. Browne discerns in Du Bois's essay "Of the Wings of Atalanta," the fifth chapter of *Souls*, three narrative strands, which he calls "the New South," "the Gospel of Wealth," and "Utopian Atlanta." On Browne's reading, the last of these narratives proposes an answer to the problem posed by the other two: how to craft a viable racial identity within the alienation of the modern city. He suggests that Du Bois's essay both endorses and enacts a certain form of double-consciousness as a proper and fitting response to this alienation. In other words, the form and the content of this essay argue for a "doubled" understanding of the modern city, one that straddles both the narrative of "the New South" and the narrative of the "Gospel of Wealth" without fully endorsing or rejecting either. As Browne puts it, Du Bois's essay suggests that the "capacity to anticipate and act upon a world not of one's making . . . is most fully realized when engaging both worlds at once."³

Darsey, responding to Browne, provides a more complex understanding of double-consciousness, suggesting that it provides "the perspective of no one, of one whose identity is not fixed or certain."⁴ Yet this double-consciousness "does not entail homelessness" so much as "it entails a community required to see itself, at least part of the time, as an outsider would see it."⁵ Like Browne, Darsey identifies the place of this "outsider" as defined by and attainable through education; it is through education that one is able to rise above the "veil," the central metaphor for racial estrangement that informs much of *Souls*. "Here, then," Darsey writes, "at last we have found Du Bois's home, above the Veil . . . a home beyond the color line, indeed beyond any provinciality."⁶ Darsey shows how double-consciousness can be redrawn as lying not only between white and black, and not merely between dominant and oppositional urban narratives, but rather between a sort of "universal" culture above the "veil" and "the world as it is" below. The university, wherein this universal culture can be obtained through a broad-reaching education, is the earthly representation of this utopia.⁷ It could be added, of course, that Du Bois surely understood also that the university often makes promises to African Americans that other institutions and mores deny.

Browne's essay demonstrates the usefulness of the concept of double-consciousness as a tool of critical textual explication. Throughout his analysis, Browne illustrates the way that double-consciousness is both instantiated and advocated within an exemplar of Du Bois's discourse. He argues that double-consciousness "describes not only a condition of being but also a means to imagine, structure, and express a certain view of the world."⁸ In other words, Browne's critique shows one way in which double-consciousness might function as a rhetorical trope of African-American identity. Darsey's essay draws more broadly upon *Souls* to show that double-consciousness can be seen as expressing a more radical

rhetorical position, neither consigned "to the world as it is" nor divorced from a "sense of political obligation"—in other words, Darsey suggests that an identity defined by double-consciousness *vacillates* between the idealized and the political.

We do not suggest that either of these readings is somehow "incorrect." Indeed, this essay is similar to both Browne's and Darsey's in that we, too, read exemplars of Du Bois's discourse carefully as a way to reveal the complexities of double-consciousness. However, we intend to extend our understanding of this term in two ways. First, we provide a thorough review of some recent critical engagements with double-consciousness, specifically to show that this concept and Du Bois's appropriation of it cannot be divorced from his academic training or from the racial politics of the Progressive Era. In fact, part of the doubleness in Du Bois's discourse might be a reflection of his inability, as a rhetor, to reject completely the assumptions of his day; Du Bois is striving to redefine key concepts such as racial identity, but to be effective every bold move that breaks new ground must remain rooted in the expectations of his contemporary audience.

Second, we challenge these recent critiques. Adolph Reed, for example, notes that "the double-consciousness notion by and large disappeared from Du Bois's writing after 1903," and he goes on to argue that, therefore, the effort of many contemporary theorists and critics of African-American discourse to extrapolate from Du Bois's writings a general theory of the African-American experience is misguided and, perhaps, dangerous.⁹ We believe that Reed is mistaken when he suggests that this invalidates double-consciousness as a discursive concept; as Browne and Darsey have illustrated, double-consciousness remains useful as an interpretive paradigm, whether or not Du Bois one day abandoned it. Furthermore, we argue that rather than disappearing, double-consciousness was refigured in Du Bois's thought as Pan-Africanism. Thus, we augment our understanding of double-consciousness by viewing Du Bois's developing interest in Pan-Africanism during the first two decades of the twentieth century as a concrete instantiation of this concept.

Because Du Bois's personal history is so integral to his development of double-consciousness, we begin with a brief biographical sketch, concentrating on his early childhood and his education. Then we turn our attention to the way that *The Souls of Black Folk*, and the concept of "double-consciousness" that it introduces, is a product of Du Bois's intellectual milieu and the Progressive Era. We divide manifestations of double-consciousness into "internal" and "external," the first being an inner reflection of the second. We use this division to explore the implications of Du Bois's "veil" metaphor as it relates to Pan-Africanist thought, especially as it entails a romantic racial essentialism. Having thus laid the theoretical groundwork, we turn our attention specifically to Du Bois's public feuds with Washington and Garvey. Throughout, we suggest that while double-consciousness does provide a useful critical lens for revealing and exploring the complexities of the African-American experience, it seems not so effective as a rhetorical stance around which to assemble political action or through which to attempt social change. It prizes an ability to remain affiliated with, but uncommitted to, various ideological frameworks, but rhetorical success of a material kind might require becoming firmly grounded somewhere.

Doubled Life: Du Bois until 1903

In the opening paragraphs of his first autobiography, Du Bois described modern society as an organism and depicted himself—and all of black America—as one of the "rejected parts" of the social body, whose function it was to inform the remainder of disease. For Du Bois, the moral charge to tell of the ills of society

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began early in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, rooted in a fundamental belief in liberal democracy.

Born of Mary and Alfred Du Bois in 1868, William Edward Burghardt was reared in western Massachusetts in a town populated by farmers and artisans. The two principal sites of socialization for the young Du Bois in Great Barrington were the high school and town hall, foreshadowing the two principal interests, education and political action, between which he would vacillate throughout his adult life. Du Bois's fervent participation in school and in town meetings constituted a synergism between his critical voice and his mind that made civil interchange a concrete and practical requirement. For example, while in high school Du Bois witnessed repeated assaults on the patience of town folk at town meetings by "a particularly dirty, ragged, fat old man" who emerged from the woods to deplore public education. "Yet the town heard him gravely . . . and when he was through, they calmly voted the usual funds for the high school. Gradually as I grew up, I began to see that this was the essence of democracy: listening to the other man's opinion and then voting your own, honestly and intelligently."¹⁰

It is difficult to ascertain when Du Bois first recognized that racism and discrimination virtually prohibited him from participating in this sort of rational and ethical practice in the American polity. In *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois invented a childhood moment when the revelation of the color line came upon him "all in a day, as it were"; a little white girl refused his greeting card "peremptorily, with a glance."¹¹ However, in his later autobiographical projects, the incident in *Souls* became incidental to descriptions of "picnics and festivals" in which Du Bois "took part with no thought of discrimination on the part of my fellows."¹² The apparent inconsistency itself may be a symptom of Du Bois's larger unwillingness to decide firmly whether he was inside or outside of the dominant culture.

Du Bois's experiences in the South only provided further grist for this sort of wavering stance. After graduation from Great Barrington High and following some financial finagling, he secured a scholarship to attend Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. Before going to college in 1885, Du Bois considered the entire world from the vantage point of Great Barrington, with occasional wider vistas provided by his job as a local correspondent of the *Springfield Republican*. But as his train crossed the Mason-Dixon Line, this world changed forever. Du Bois's "spiritual isolation" and parochialism were shattered by the voices and faces of black students who were familiar to the New Englander, but also vastly different.¹³ Du Bois was astonished by the rich variety of "extraordinary colors" of black men and by the opulence of black girls, "the never-to-be-forgotten marvel . . . of the most beautiful beings God ever revealed to the eyes of 17."¹⁴ Perhaps more significant than the racial sights revealed to Du Bois upon arriving at Fisk were the sounds of blackness, which called for a reevaluation of cultural affiliation. The renowned Fisk Jubilee Singers not only demonstrated the commercial benefits of black folk culture by raising impressive funds for the university, but their sorrowful songs kindled in Du Bois "a new loyalty and allegiance [that] replaced my Americanism: henceforward I was a Negro."¹⁵

Du Bois excelled at Fisk, capturing the admiration of classmates and professors. His studies further contributed to the development of a doubled perspective, since Fisk's President Cravath and Dean Spence were thoroughly committed to developing "African American versions of New England ladies and gentlemen—Black Puritans or Afro-Saxons, as they were sometimes half mockingly called."¹⁶ In a sense, then, Du Bois was contrasted against himself in Tennessee. His adoration of and faith in European culture was strengthened by Fisk's emphasis on the classics—Greek and Latin—even while his exposure to the lived experience of black folk in the post-Reconstruction, "Jim Crow" American South made him

skeptical of classical philosophy's ability to rationalize human oppression. Du Bois internalized this schism, taking it back to Massachusetts when he ventured into Harvard Yard.

Du Bois enrolled as a junior in Harvard College in 1888 and graduated cum laude with a B.A. in philosophy in 1890. In his autobiographies, Du Bois's accounts of his Harvard days reveal a serious scholar who was not fazed by the social isolation imposed on him by his white classmates. "In general," Du Bois wrote later, "I asked nothing of Harvard but the tutelage of teachers and the freedom of the library. I was quite voluntarily and willingly outside its social life." He protested, perhaps too much, that "this cutting off of myself from the white fellows, or being cut off, did not mean unhappiness or resentment. . . . I was in Harvard," he concluded, "not of it."¹⁷

The special tutelage of George Santayana, who instructed Du Bois in German philosophy, and William James, his professor in psychology and pragmatics, left a profound imprint—one that can be perceived in his commencement address, "Jefferson Davis as a Representative of Civilization." In this important speech, Du Bois utilized a rhetorical strategy he would later perfect in his attacks on the proponents of Washingtonian policies and programs. By characterizing Jefferson Davis as an exemplar of Anglo-Saxon culture, Du Bois was able to coax an audience into questioning the criteria recommending such a brutish model of the "Strong Man." Moreover, Du Bois reconstituted the dignity of the "Submissive Man" in a racialized version of Hegel's master-slave dialectic. Authorized by Hegel's phenomenology, Du Bois's political history logically premised black folk culture as the means for revising the standards of civilized living.¹⁸ Du Bois's "Jefferson Davis" was received enthusiastically and helped pave the way for the funding of his doctoral studies at Harvard.

The transition to graduate school also brokered a change in primary intellectual interest, one that again contributed to a doubling of perspectives. Perhaps Du Bois's mentoring relationships with James and Santayana should have primed him to become a philosophy major, but James diverted him: "If you must study philosophy you will; but if you can turn aside into something else, do so. It is hard to earn a living with philosophy."¹⁹ David Levering Lewis is skeptical of Du Bois's explanation, or of James's motives, believing instead that Du Bois's scholastic record showed a dull sort of promise in philosophy.²⁰ At any rate, Du Bois studied politics and, under the guidance of Albert Bushnell Hart, history. In 1891, Du Bois earned his master's degree and worked on his thesis, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade to America." Upon learning of the Slater Fund for the education of qualified blacks, Du Bois launched a letter-writing campaign to former President Rutherford B. Hayes until, in 1892, he was awarded funds to study abroad.

Du Bois spent two years at the University of Berlin, where Gustav von Schmoller and Adolf Wagner modified his views on the interdependence of economics and politics, and Heinrich von Treitschke idealized the historical process by positing that "history is made by the powerful wills of great men through a process in which the masses play no significant part."²¹ Du Bois was greatly impressed with Europe and traveled extensively while in Germany. He also grew more convinced of his uniqueness as a black scholar destined to wield his mighty intellect against the currents of history.²² This "great man" conception of historical change skirted the boundaries of theology, but Du Bois was a confirmed agnostic: "Du Bois had replaced the notion . . . of God in scholasticism, with the notion of a relativistic prime force whose existence was arrived at by an empirical process that avoided transcendental categories. His concept was man-centered without being egotistical, moral without relying on theism, and

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categorical without being monistic."²³ In short, signaling another of the points of integration that characterize Du Bois's persona, for him morality was rational.

The development of a rational basis for moral intervention into the historical process was intoxicating for Du Bois—though it was in direct conflict with the sensibilities of Albert Hart, his Harvard dissertation advisor. Hart was trained in a classical Germanic method and believed that the historicity of an event did not admit moral challenges by scholars. He stressed an "objective" approach to historical study: "If Du Bois felt that he had special insight into the question of slavery or of contemporary black life by virtue of his blackness, Hart would probably have assured him that he had none."²⁴ This assurance was uncomfortable and unrealistic for a black scholar of Du Bois's temperament writing in the Progressive Era. For example, in his doctoral dissertation, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade in the United States, 1638–1870," Du Bois argued that the ineffectiveness of the 1808 federal trade ban was not the result of poor legislation, nor God's designed retribution on the Americas, but represented a moral failure produced by a series of strategic compromises and illegal acts by Northern shipping officials and Southern planters. "The Suppression of the Slave Trade" did more than detail the failure to suppress the slave trade; it empirically documented a moral lack. Thus, epistemologically, it can be read as an attempt to breathe ethical life into the science of history and sociology.

An edict of social reform based on a rational morality strongly charted Du Bois's course as a professor at Wilberforce, at the University of Pennsylvania—where he wrote his groundbreaking study, *The Philadelphia Negro*—and finally at Atlanta University. Between the years 1897 and 1910, Du Bois established a longitudinal sociological study of the Southern Negro, became integral to the Pan-African Congresses, founded the Niagara Movement, edited two periodicals, authored several poems, reviews, and essays, and, of course, gave poignant birth to *The Souls of Black Folk*.

Double-Consciousness, Progressivism, and The Souls of Black Folk

A few pages into *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois wrote what Adolph Reed suggests "is probably . . . the most widely known and most frequently cited statement of any in Du Bois's entire corpus."²⁵ Sandra Adell notes that the passage is "very famous," and Arnold Rampersad thinks that this is the place at which Du Bois articulates "the most important concept" of that book.²⁶ Like many before us, we quote these two paragraphs in full:

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world

and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face.²⁷

These paragraphs reveal the polysemic meanings and central tension expressed by double-consciousness as Du Bois develops the concept in *Souls*. On the one hand, it seems almost a blessing, a gift of second sight; African Americans possess particular powers of perception not granted to those of whom society requires a singularly defined identity. But this is a peculiar gift, purchased at the cost of true "self-conscious manhood," because a black man in America is compelled to "see himself through the revelation of the other [white] world." "One ever feels his twoness," if one is African American, because that is the mode of self-consciousness imposed upon African Americans who desire a public voice.

And while this form of identity may be imposed from the outside, that does not mean that those upon whom it is imposed are relieved of the burden of its maintenance. The two ideals are at war within the "one dark body," and coherence is maintained only through "dogged strength." Indeed, this is a heavy price to pay for any "gift" that might have been bestowed, but in the second paragraph the situation is complicated further—the consciousness of African Americans is a paradox. Du Bois reemphasizes and generalizes the "strife" involved in attempting to "merge [this] double self into a better and truer self," but then immediately argues that this merging should not entail the loss of either of the "older selves." One should strive for coherence, but at the same time the split imposed by the dominant culture should be retained. African Americans—especially the relatively privileged class to which Du Bois would direct his appeals for most of his life—must retain both components of their character simultaneously.

If Du Bois is saying that double-consciousness is a gift to be cherished not only by African Americans but also by the dominant culture, then attempts to merge the two halves into a whole are misguided and perhaps futile. If it is a curse, a source of strife that denies to African Americans an authentic vision of themselves, then it should be transcended through a merging of the two halves into a productive whole. The two choices are not necessarily incompatible, but they also do not fit together neatly; each entails a different view of the African-American experience. And that may be Du Bois's point—African Americans are doomed and gifted, and must be provided with the opportunity to be at once "both a Negro and an American." As Ernest Allen Jr. puts it, "What he [Du Bois] wished to eliminate was not the two-fold character of African-American life, but rather its most alienating, imposed characteristics."²⁸

Double-consciousness, then, is itself doubled. It entails a motive to preserve some sense of doubleness, while at the same time it decries the inability to achieve coherent identity. Part of the reason for the indeterminacy of double-consciousness as Du Bois developed it lies in its genesis in the cultural and intellectual milieu of the early twentieth century. Du Bois did not invent this concept in a vacuum. Rather, his choice of this terminology to describe the experience of people of African descent in America was a precipitate both of his education and of ideas that were common in the social and critical thought of the day. As Browne points out, it does not diminish "the force of Du Bois's conception to note that versions of it had been circulating for some time," but it does deepen our understanding of double-consciousness to see that Du Bois did not simply appropriate it but rather used it as an inventional resource to generate a racial heuristic.²⁹

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Preludes to the "Veil"

Dickson D. Bruce Jr. notes that "Du Bois drew on two main sources" for his terminology. "One of these was essentially figurative, a product of European Romanticism and American Transcendentalism"; the other "was initially medical, carried forward into Du Bois's time by the emerging field of psychology."³⁰

For Ralph Waldo Emerson, the American transcendentalist, double-consciousness summarized the tension between "the downward pull of life in society . . . and the upward pull of communion with the divine."³¹ This is a tension between the actual and the ideal, between the earthbound and the eternal, between world and spirit—also, between public and private. Reed suggests that Emerson eventually resolved this conundrum by advocating that "one 'must ride alternately on the horses of his private and public nature,'" employing first one and then the other of these two selves depending on the circumstances.³² This is not so much a deliberate act of will as a resignation to accept the essential and inevitable double-consciousness that defines the human condition. Neither self can be fully denied, but, at the same time, neither should always govern one's actions. The moment of transcendence—wherein one becomes a "transparent eyeball" and "part or parcel of God"—is not a moment of Hegelian synthesis but instead an abdication of the self, a loss of identity precisely because this doubled consciousness cannot be resolved while the self is left intact.³³ Darsey notices the echo of this formation in Du Bois's intellectual utopia, where he might walk arm-in-arm with the immortals, and this can be recast as a loss of the public self into the transcendent individual.³⁴ Du Bois recoiled, however, from the requirement that self need be abdicated through transcendence; the central problem of the African-American experience, for Du Bois, was the formation of a viable public, political identity, and selfless transcendence was not a possibility.

As for the psychological roots of the idea of double-consciousness, these were revealed to Du Bois by his Harvard mentor and teacher, William James. As Bruce points out, "the idea, if not the term" appears in "*The Principles of Psychology* . . . published in 1890 at the very time that Du Bois was at Harvard."³⁵ James argued that "man has a dual nature, and is connected to two spheres of thought, a shallower and a profounder sphere, in either of which he may learn to live habitually."³⁶ "Healthy consciousness" was the maintenance of an equilibrium, which different individuals are able to maintain to different degrees and through different means—but perhaps most productively through religion.³⁷ As we have noted, Du Bois was never a religious man, and so he recoiled from Jamesian transcendence just as he did from the Emersonian variety. But the idea that a viable and functional self might be crafted by maintaining a delicate equilibrium recurred throughout Du Bois's writing around the turn of the century.³⁸

Whereas Emerson and James articulate a universal component of human existence, presumably common to all folk, Du Bois is interested in articulating an experience that is specific to African Americans. Further, while Emerson and James perceive the essential doubleness of human nature to correspond to a rift in the spheres within which humans are required to operate—the shallower and the profounder, in James's words—Du Bois articulates this doubleness as within, and as essential to, each African-American identity, constructed as a response to cultural exigencies. Finally, and characteristically, Du Bois does not acknowledge any external or formalized system of beliefs that might help him to resolve his two-ness. Only his sheer will holds the two selves together and thus maintains the semblance of a coherent identity; in the face of adversity, only "dogged strength alone" keeps the "two warring ideals" from being "torn asunder."

The "veil" is Du Bois's central metaphor for defining a line drawn through the African-American soul across which these two ideals are at war. Actually, as Donald Gibson points out, in Du Bois's writings during the first decades of the twentieth century the veil has many meanings, and "it is not always entirely clear just exactly what the veil means or where Du Bois stands in relation to it."³⁹ We limit ourselves to exploring two senses of the veil metaphor, "internal" and "external," especially with regard to Du Bois's attempts to permeate the division named by the metaphor. Du Bois's interest in Pan-Africanism is one such attempt, but it is best understood within the context of his other attempts. In other words, double-consciousness is a relatively empty form that needs to be filled out with realized particulars before it can be most productively appreciated. We consider two such particular manifestations of an "internalized" veil before discussing the "externalized" veil to which they are related.

THE INTERNAL VEIL

First, let us consider the division in Du Bois between scholar and activist, what Rampersad refers to as Du Bois's "divided career." As Rampersad puts it "the tension between his [Du Bois's] academic role and the free expression of his political and cultural views provided the main drama of his intellectual life" during the years that are the focus of this essay.⁴⁰ Reed suggests that "Du Bois's career can be read from one vantage point as a series of oscillations between scholarly pursuit and social activism." Such a wedding between scholarship and activism was not uncommon in Du Bois's day; many intellectuals of the Progressive Era showed no "reluctance to intervene in practical affairs."⁴¹

Further, Du Bois's experience as an African-American intellectual seemed to militate against scholarly isolation. Social science at the turn of the century experienced an epistemological dilemma precipitated by philosophy's inability to account for the troublesome intersection of racism and industrialization, and Du Bois's scholarly training invited him to "attempt to investigate the relationship between the political crisis of race and understanding's failure of confidence."⁴² The rationalization of society provided a strong exigence for Du Bois because the demands placed on labor in general placed peculiar stress on black workers, whose progeny were Atlanta University's student body. "There was little danger, then, of my teaching or of their thinking becoming purely theoretical," Du Bois explained in *Darkwater*. "Work and wage were thrilling realities to us all."⁴³ Though he had once thought that "knowledge based on scientific investigation" was sufficient to combat racism, he had come to realize that the "cure wasn't simply telling people the truth, it was inducing them to act on the truth."⁴⁴

While he did not abandon his commitment to scholarship, Du Bois gradually became a political advocate. Du Bois was frustrated by the state of knowledge regarding black life and blamed, in part, the impersonality of science, arguing that one cannot apprehend the complexity of Negro culture "from a car window."⁴⁵ Du Bois "continued to cling" to the scholarly tradition of empirical social scientific research in which he was trained at Harvard and in Germany, but he also increasingly began to produce social critiques that departed from that style so as to escape "complete conformity with the thoughts and confusions of then current social trends."⁴⁶ Du Bois wanted to articulate "new questions rather than simply responding to the views of white scholars" about race.⁴⁷

Rampersad suggests that during his formative years at Atlanta University Du Bois carried on "two careers: one as an academic sociologist teaching and editing the Atlanta University Publications, the other as a political and cultural commentator whose *Souls of Black Folk* would establish him as the most insightful interpreter

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of the black experience on the American scene.⁴⁸ Of these two careers, Rampersad points out, "the dimension represented by [Du Bois's] career as advocate and cultural interpreter, poet and visionary, has in many instances proved ultimately more important" than the other.⁴⁹ Shamoan Zamir argues that in *Souls*, "Du Bois the theorist of action and Du Bois the idealist philosopher of history begin to give way to Du Bois the poet who tries to contest and appropriate the new universe."⁵⁰

Thus, Du Bois's scholarly writing was not devoid of advocacy, and his more partisan writing was not devoid of scholarship; as Reed notes, "within his writings scholarly detachment and a hortatory posture often coexist even in a single text."⁵¹ In *Souls* and in much of Du Bois's work, his formidable control of the English language allows him to inhabit both the realm of activist engagement and that of scholarly detachment. Through his prose this dichotomy is not resolved, but rather the tension inherent in the division is utilized as a generative force; the "veil" is permeated as scholarship becomes advocacy and advocacy becomes scholarship.

A second, and related, manifestation of the internalized "veil" in Du Bois's writing and thought most directly involves Du Bois's emerging sense of the role of Africa in African-American liberation. Bruce argues that "by double-consciousness Du Bois referred most importantly to an internal conflict in the African-American individual between what was 'African' and what was 'American.'"⁵² It is this manifestation of the veil that Rampersad calls "the most acute and therefore, for the artist, the most alluring of black dilemmas, the reconciliation of his troubled presence in white America with his nostalgia for the mythic home from which he was torn."⁵³ Africa, as Du Bois put it in the long passage we quoted earlier, "has a message for the world"—and specifically, its message is an antidote to what Du Bois perceived as the overly materialistic milieu of the early twentieth century.

To witness Du Bois's most pointed critique of this materialism we must revisit the essay upon which Browne and Darsey concentrate, the fifth chapter of *Souls*, "Of the Wings of Atalanta." "You know the tale," Du Bois declares, but then reminds his readers of it: "how swarthy Atalanta, tall and wild, would marry only him who out-raced her; and how the wily Hippomenes laid three apples of gold in the way. She fled like a shadow, paused, startled over the first apple, but even as he stretched his hand, fled again; hovered over the second, then, slipping from his hot grasp, flew over river, vale, and hill; but as she lingered over the third, his arms fell round her, and looking on each other, the blazing passion of their love profaned the sanctuary of Love, and they were cursed." "If Atlanta be not named for Atalanta," Du Bois closes, "she ought to have been" (64-65). Thus Atlanta becomes a sign for the materialism that Du Bois saw as usurping other, more spiritual goals. "Atlanta," he wrote, "must not lead the South to dream of material prosperity as the touchstone of all success"; but "already the fatal might of this idea is beginning to spread" (66). Indeed, this "lust for gold" already had penetrated beneath the "Veil of Race," and the "ideals" of the black world already had begun to be usurped (67). This was dangerous, in part because such overriding material concerns signified a thorough "Americanization" and a corresponding loss of the ideals that, for Du Bois, defined the African history of the race. It negated the unique "gift" that people of African heritage had brought and could still bring to America.⁵⁴

The antidote to this "Mammonism of America" (68) was the spirituality of the African—the health of the American body politic depended upon the inclusion of African Americans. "For Du Bois," Bruce notes, "the essence of a distinctive African consciousness was its spirituality, a spirituality based in Africa but revealed among African-Americans in their folklore, their history of patient suffering, and their faith."⁵⁵ Neither Browne nor Darsey address explicitly the way that this theme is manifested in "Of the Wings of Atalanta," but the forms of double-consciousness that they reveal are parallel to and supportive of this theme. Du Bois had argued in 1897, in "The Conservation of Races"—a speech that we will soon investigate in

greater detail—that African Americans are “that people whose subtle sense of song has given America its only American music, its only American fairy tales, its only touch of pathos and humor amid its mad money-getting plutocracy.”⁵⁶ He wrote similarly in *Souls* a half-decade later that African Americans had brought “three gifts and mingled them with yours: a gift of story and song—soft, stirring melody in an ill-harmonized and unmelodious land; the gift of sweat and brawn to beat back the wilderness, conquer the soil, and lay the foundations of this vast economic empire two hundred years earlier than your weak hands could have done it; the third, a gift of the Spirit.”⁵⁷

Elsewhere in *Souls*, Du Bois remembers an African song that his “grandfather’s grandmother,” who was “seized by an evil Dutch trader two centuries ago,” used to sing, and that had been passed down to him through his family. “This was primitive African music,” he writes, one of the “songs peculiarly characteristic of the slave” (207–8). This spirit is the great gift that the “African” can contribute to the “American,” and as such Du Bois warned in 1897—echoing language he would use in *Souls*—that “it is our duty to conserve our physical powers, our intellectual endowments, our spiritual ideals.”⁵⁸ Simple or complete racial assimilation was not a goal, nor even an ideal.

As Thomas C. Holt points out, Du Bois’s “major biographers . . . portray him lurching between the antithetical and contradictory goals of black nationalism and racial integration.”⁵⁹ Such a portrayal is a misrepresentation of Du Bois’s position as it is articulated in his discourse. As Browne puts it, Du Bois’s was a struggle “not for total assimilation, à la Washington, nor for separatism, à la Garvey, but for a world irreducible to those terms.”⁶⁰ Du Bois was unwilling to withdraw permanently his support for either response to American racism; rather than lurching between extremes, Du Bois was attempting to hold the two in a productive tension parallel to, and supportive of, the tension between his scholarly activity and political activism.

THE EXTERNAL VEIL

The double-consciousness that Du Bois appropriated and modified from Emerson and James divides the soul. It is the inner reflection of another sense of division, an external one dividing not African-American consciousness but the African-American experience. But it is the externalized veil that perhaps most interested Du Bois, the translucent, semipermeable membrane that divides the African American against the dominant culture.

This orientation of the veil metaphor was emphasized when Du Bois introduced the figure in the opening narrative anecdote of *Souls*, the passage describing the peremptory glance with which his young white classmate refused his greeting card: “Then it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness,” Du Bois wrote, “that I was different from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil” (4). This is African-American doubleness as alienation, an inability to participate in the dominant culture of one’s own country. Du Bois, as a Harvard graduate, may have felt this sort of alienation particularly strongly; if it were not for the fact that he was black, he most certainly would have been accepted into the ranks of the eastern intellectual elite. Instead, he was forced to work at “Negro” colleges in the South and Midwest—a substantial comedown from the prestige and salary that his white classmates at Harvard could have hoped to command. As Lewis describes it, “With no money, Slater Fund debts, no positions available at any white college or university, and rural Tennessee authorities dismayed by a German-trained scholar’s offer to teach public school, Du Bois was a perfect illustration of one of Booker T. Washington’s jokes about the

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perils of runaway education.⁶¹ Rampersad notes, similarly, that Du Bois's "anxious search among black colleges for a teaching position" was "a choice forced on him, in spite of his highly sophisticated education, by the racism of his time."⁶² Certainly, Du Bois was humiliated at having to ride through the South in segregated railway cars. Indeed, "the issue of Jim Crow public facilities infuriated Du Bois; many decades later he wrote about it in the language not of cool social science but of flesh and blood victimization."⁶³ In *Souls*, Du Bois wrote of one experience in the Jim Crow car, that "the discomfort lies chiefly in the hearts of those four black men yonder—and in mine" (93).

This manifestation of the veil, then, falls between the races, dividing America into two worlds, one black and one white. In his "forethought" to *Souls*, Du Bois explained that part of the purpose of the book is to leave "the world of the white man" and to step "within the Veil, raising it that you may view faintly its deeper recesses" (1-2). Though Du Bois tells his readers that "I who speak here am bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of them that live within the Veil" (2), he seems to be able to traverse this barrier between the two worlds, lifting the veil and dropping it again at will. It serves as a literary device, then—a way for Du Bois to accomplish through language what he could not accomplish, for example, on that childhood playground or in that Jim Crow railroad car.

But Du Bois's concept is complex—doubled—for the veil also demarcates a divide that Du Bois unambiguously described as a "problem" to be solved. African Americans certainly should be allowed access to all the privileges and rights that America bestows on its white citizens; on this point, Du Bois was unequivocal. This veil—the one that restrains African Americans from full participation in the dominant culture of the United States—should be erased, transcended perhaps, as both Emerson and James seem to suggest about doubled consciousness.

Du Bois and the Limits of Progressive Era Essentialism

In "The Conservation of Races," Du Bois's explicit linking of things "African" with things "primitive" and therefore "spiritual" thuds against the contemporary ear. Such assertions would be greeted today, by many, as reactionary at least and as racist perhaps. To argue that there is emancipatory potential in such essentialism is to argue against generations of liberal thought and legal decisions.⁶⁴ We marshal three considerations, however, to Du Bois's defense; the first two flow from reading Du Bois against the cultural and intellectual background, and the third from a careful reading of this speech text itself.

ESSENTIALISM IN CONTEXT

First, the boldness of Du Bois's argument should not be underestimated. As Allen points out, "Du Bois was the first of any generation of black intellectuals—traditionally assimilationist-minded—to acknowledge publicly that there was something of moral and aesthetic value to be found in African-American folk culture."⁶⁵ In an age when African-American folk culture was almost totally rejected as holding any possible intrinsic worth, not only by whites but also by most blacks with access to the public sphere, Du Bois based a substantial part of his challenge to the dominant culture upon folk culture. "It is in this black peasantry, totally disenfranchised, that Du Bois believes the *spirit* of (Afro) American culture resides," and it is the peculiar gift of this spirit that, for Du Bois, warranted the inclusion of African Americans in society.⁶⁶

Interestingly, this element of Du Bois's essentialism supports the permeation of the internal veil that divides the scholar from the "folk" of her or his own race. Zamir suggests that Du Bois himself was going through a process of discovery at the time he wrote *The Souls of Black Folk*, so that "if *Souls* is a journey into the world behind the veil for the white reader, it is also presented as a journey into unknown or half-known aspects of black life for Du Bois himself."⁶⁷ Gibson, similarly, suggests that "though Du Bois tells his readers at the beginning of the book that he is going to lift the veil in order to reveal the 'souls of black folk,' it would perhaps be more accurate to recognize that he is also sharing with his readers his *own* discovery of the 'souls of black folk.'"⁶⁸ *Souls*, then, is the site of yet another sort of permeation of the veil that Du Bois accomplished through his prose.

The second defense of Du Bois's essentialism that can be culled from his milieu is the simple fact that this manifestation of double-consciousness, like the concept itself, was common among white liberals of Du Bois's day. Reed supplies a great deal of evidence to support his claim that a certain class of Victorian intellectuals were haunted during the Progressive Era with a sense of their own inauthenticity and liminality. He argues that they internalized a "disaffection with the process of social rationalization associated with a consolidating mass industrial society" and became increasingly skeptical regarding society's ability to live up to its claims of perpetual progress.⁶⁹ Their own culture was "overcivilized," missing spiritual elements that seemed to exist only in more "primitive" cultures. "Their perception of their own lives as unreal," Reed argues, "presumed a sentimentalized view of lower-status 'others' considered less complex or cultivated."⁷⁰ James believed that the "integrity of the instinctive reactions, this freedom from all moral sophistry and strain, gives a pathetic dignity to ancient pagan feeling," and Jane Addams "acknowledged a preference in her work for recent immigrants over second- or third-generation ethnics because the former were 'more natural and cast in a simpler mold.'"⁷¹ "Du Bois," Reed argues, "was part of a cohort of university-trained, reform-oriented, typically eastern intellectuals who mainly came to maturity during the last years of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth and who shared a loosely defined outlook and intellectual and political *problematique*."⁷²

It is not surprising, then, that Du Bois's own work recreated the assumptions of this cohort; "Of the Wings of Atalanta" easily can be read as just this sort of recreation. It is perhaps even less surprising that many liberal whites of the Progressive Era responded positively to Du Bois's writing. As Zamir points out: "At a time when the vast majority of African-Americans were illiterate or barely literate, and when the majority of literate southern whites were hardly interested in a book like *Souls*, Du Bois's audience was made up largely of northern middle-class and probably liberal whites."⁷³ This was an audience afflicted with "a real hunger . . . for a revival of the spiritual," and with whom Du Bois would have a problematic relationship throughout much of his life.⁷⁴

ESSENTIALISM ARTICULATED

The third consideration that can be brought to the defense of Du Bois's essentialism is the manner in which Du Bois actually articulated this essentialism in "The Conservation of Races," delivered as an address in 1897 and then published as the second of the "occasional papers" of the American Negro Academy. In it, Du Bois did argue for a sort of essentialism, but in the carefully balanced style that characterized so much of his writing during this period. Of particular interest is his effort to work out the relationship between the biological determinism prevalent in the scientific discourse of his day and a more radical, sociohistorical definition of

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race.⁷⁵ Thus, Du Bois here was unwilling—perhaps unable—to reject completely the essentialist assumptions of his day but tempered their biological basis with sociohistorical sensitivity.

Du Bois began "The Conservation of Races," characteristically, by noting a dilemma: "the American Negro has always felt an intense personal interest in discussions as to the origins and destinies of races," yet investigations of racial differences have generally been to the disadvantage of African Americans. As a result, African Americans have been "led to deprecate and minimize race distinctions." But, on the other hand, "in our calmer moments we must acknowledge that human beings are divided into races."⁷⁶ "The question," he concluded, "which we must seriously consider is this: what is the real meaning of race?" But underlying this dilemma is another one, "that in this country the two most extreme types of the world's races have met," and that "the resulting problem . . . forms an epoch in the history of mankind" (74–75). So there were two dilemmas—one concerning the definition of race, and the other concerning the place of African Americans in America. Du Bois's answer to the first question was patently equivocal: his definition of race entailed both biological and sociohistorical elements. His answer to the second question was highly provocative for its time: African Americans should identify themselves as both Africans and Americans.

Du Bois's quest for the "real meaning of race" began where, for most of his contemporaries, it would have ended—biology. Du Bois noted the various scientific criteria that have been established—of "color, hair, cranial measurements and language"—but found them unsatisfactory because, "unfortunately for scientists," they are "most exasperatingly intermingled" (74). The best that can be suggested by science is that "we have at least two, perhaps three, great families of human beings—the whites and the Negroes, possibly the yellow race," but Du Bois went on to suggest that such "purely physical characteristics . . . do not explain all the differences" among the races. The differences that do reliably divide the human race into races "perhaps transcend scientific definition" but, "nevertheless, are clearly defined to the eye of the historian and sociologist" (75).

Du Bois then defined "race" in a way that does not so much break with as question the norms of thought prevalent in his cultural and intellectual milieu, "What, then, is a race? It is a vast family of human beings, generally of common blood and language, always of common history, traditions and impulses, who are voluntarily and involuntarily striving together for the accomplishment of certain more or less vividly conceived ideals of life" (75–76). This definition deserves careful attention. Its dominant stylistic feature, like so many of Du Bois's key passages, is equivocation. To say that a race is "generally of common blood" suggests that there may be some validity in biological determinants of race, while to say that a race is bound by "common history, traditions and impulses" suggests the social and historical criteria he seemed to endorse as an alternative to biological science. Such a group might be striving both "voluntarily and involuntarily," which suggests that at least some aspects of racial definition might not be determined by the race itself; the race might be defined, in part, by the goals it is forced to pursue. And even those goals themselves might be "more or less vividly conceived."

Du Bois demonstrated the superior discerning powers of his definition of race by showing that it yields "eight distinctly differentiated races"—as compared to the three distinguished through merely scientific methods. But Du Bois's new sociohistorical definition did not seem able, by itself, to shoulder the whole burden of race definition. "Certainly," he stated, "we must all acknowledge that physical differences play a great part, and that, with wide exceptions and qualifications, these eight great races of today follow the cleavage of physical race

distinctions" (77). But "no mere physical distinctions would really define or explain the deeper differences—the cohesiveness and continuity of these groups," which are "spiritual, psychological, . . . undoubtedly based on the physical, but infinitely transcending them" (77).

Du Bois's repeated use of the term "transcending" is interesting, because he did not actually transcend the biological basis of his argument at all. Rather, the biological and the sociohistorical were always held in tension, being neither resolved through transcendence nor collapsed one into the other. No clear hierarchical distinction was made between them; although the sociohistorical distinctions are "deeper" than the biological distinctions, at the same time they were "based" upon those same biological distinctions.⁷⁷

The political implication of this was that "only Negroes bound and welded together" can "work out in its fullness the great message [they] have for humanity"; therefore, the destiny of African Americans—whom he called "the advance guard of the Negro people"—"is *not* absorption by the white Americans" (79). This argument ended where it began, with African Americans in a fundamental dilemma: "No Negro who has given earnest thought to the situation of his people in America has failed, at some time in his life, to find himself at these crossroads; has failed to ask himself at some time: what, after all, am I? Am I an American or am I a Negro? Can I be both? Or is it my duty to cease to be a Negro as soon as possible and be an American?" (79–80). "It is such incessant self-questioning and the hesitation that arises from it," Du Bois concluded, "that is making the present period a time of vacillation and contradiction for the American Negro" (80).

Du Bois's preferred response to this vacillation was that African Americans participate in the American ideal but at the same time mark off the limits of identification with the white dominant culture beyond which they should not go. "We are Americans," he writes, "not only by birth and by citizenship, but by our political ideas, our language, our religion. Farther than that, our Americanism does not go. At that point, we are Negroes" (80–81). African Americans are "the harbinger of that black tomorrow which is yet destined to soften the whiteness of the Teutonic today." As such, Du Bois continued, African Americans have a "duty to conserve our physical powers, our intellectual endowments, our spiritual ideals" (80). Fully the final one-third of the address consisted of an extended appeal for more and stronger race organizations, both to advance the race within the dominant culture and to defend it against the forces of simple assimilation.

In "The Conservation of Races," then, Du Bois accomplished two tasks: he developed a sociohistorical definition of race and he proposed a solution to the American racial dilemma. But each of these two accomplishments was tempered; his definition of race retained some biological inflection, and his solution to the race problem entailed a continuation of racial differentiation. His essentialism, then, is at least problematized—it is not, for Du Bois, a simple task either to define what general characteristics might be attributed to African Americans or to resolve the relationship between Africans and Americans. So, while placing Du Bois's arguments into the context of his intellectual and cultural milieu brings into relief the boldness of many of his claims, it is also important not to overstate the case. Du Bois's essentialism was balanced, almost tentative, and fraught with tensions never quite fully resolved. Such an inherently unstable stance will prove, as Du Bois's confrontation with Booker T. Washington shows, a problematic foundation upon which to build a rhetorical movement.

Booker T. Washington and Progressive America

Progressive whites can be said generally to have harbored two attitudes toward African Americans: neglect and paternalism. Thomas K. McCraw, for example, suggests that "whatever it may have achieved elsewhere, progressive reform exhibited what several historians have called a 'blind spot' toward the problems of race."⁷⁸ Dewey W. Grantham Jr. argues that "despite the comprehensive nature of their proposed reforms, American liberals of the Progressive era gave little attention to the status of the Negro, which all agreed represented one of the nation's social and political problems."⁷⁹ And Lewis Gould notes that progressive reformers "overlooked the plight of black citizens and excluded that festering problem from the roster of change."⁸⁰ Those reformers who did explicitly attempt to improve the lot of African Americans did so, not surprisingly, from within the dominant racial ideology of the age. Grantham argues that such Progressives as Charles B. Aycock, Edwin A. Alderman, Walter Hines Page, Edgar Gardner Murphy, and Julia Tutwiler may have been genuinely interested in the advancement of African Americans, but it was an interest that was "also paternalistic and philanthropic; their solution lay within the framework of white supremacy."⁸¹ Alex Lichtenstein even suggests that "when it came to the South's 'criminal class'—synonymous, in the minds of reformers, with 'the negro'—the chain gang . . . could operate as a form of state-sponsored noblesse oblige," helping the inherently inferior African Americans learn the advantages of hard work.⁸² Raymond Hall thinks that "the Progressive Era may have meant advancement and progress for the nation as a whole, but it was . . . the nadir for black people."⁸³ David W. Southern makes this point most strongly, arguing that "the progressive movement, the first great liberal movement of the twentieth century, was unmistakably caught up in a powerful tide of racism."⁸⁴

While it is difficult to make sweeping statements regarding the ideological motivations of the Progressives, it seems relatively safe to say that progressive whites, in general, were not explicitly interested in the problems of African Americans and most assuredly not interested in empowering African Americans to define their own issues and plans of action.⁸⁵ Thus, while Du Bois's ideas of double-consciousness, and perhaps even his romanticized ideas about Africa, surely resonated with the ideas of many liberal and socially conscious whites throughout the Progressive Era, it is also true that his single-minded concern with resolving American racial problems had little in common with most of what Reed identifies as Du Bois's "cohort." Indeed, in his appropriation of some of the terms and concepts of white intellectuals, he was subverting the paternalistic inflection of much of that thought. It was Booker T. Washington whose ideas on race and racial amelioration fit most comfortably within progressive ideology.

Washington is one of the great enigmas in the African-American political tradition. As John White notes, "there is no scholarly consensus on Booker T. Washington's achievement (or limitations) as a black leader."⁸⁶ Louis Harlan, one of Washington's biographers, admits that "he was too complex and enigmatic for historians to know what to make of him."⁸⁷ S. Jay Walker perhaps puts it best, noting that "more than half a century after his death, the meaning of Booker T. Washington's career, the career itself and its aftermath, remain a mystery—an enigma only compounded by successive studies."⁸⁸ Unquestionably, Washington was an adroit politician, capable of assuaging disparate and potentially hostile audiences; as Lewis suggests, his public rhetoric was a simple and straightforward blend of the "politics of compromise and the mien of ingratiating."⁸⁹ But he achieved this effectiveness through a rhetoric of ambiguity and, perhaps, duplicity; his motives and actions were often much more complex than they appeared,

and there is compelling evidence to suggest that the face he presented to most of the public most of the time was not the only one available.

For example, his famous declaration in his 1895 Atlanta Exposition Address, that "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," might easily have been seen as a sell-out to white racists, conceding the issue of civil rights. Indeed, soon after he delivered that speech, he wrote to some concerned white women in Boston to assure them that "if anybody understood me as meaning that riding in the same railroad car or sitting in the same room at a railroad station is social intercourse, they certainly got a wrong idea of my position."⁹⁰ On the other hand, at Atlanta Washington might have been deceiving the racist institutions of the South into supporting a program of economic black separatism whose long-range goal was the subversion of those very institutions.⁹¹ The issue is further complicated by the fact that "while Washington publicly seemed to accept a separate and unequal life for black people, behind the mask of acquiescence he was busy with many schemes for black strength, self-improvement, and mutual aid." Indeed, "Du Bois and Washington were secretly cooperating as late as December 1904 in an effort to test the Tennessee Jim Crow law."⁹²

The ambiguity may have been strategic, but it was submerged beneath a philosophy to which powerful whites in both the North and the South responded positively. "Southern leaders embraced Washington's philosophy of accommodation with unrestrained glee," and Northern politicians "grabbed the chance to dump the whole race problem into Washington's lap."⁹³ On the one hand, Washington's message of self-help and economic separatism, which some sympathetic interpreters have suggested qualifies Washington for a place within the black nationalist tradition,⁹⁴ "found easy lodgement [sic]" in a progressive rationale that was grounded in the equalizing of opportunity rather than the toppling of a racial caste system. On the other hand, Washington's veneer of conservatism—however deeply ingrained it may have been—helped to make Washington and Tuskegee attractive to those white liberals hoping to support something for the betterment of African Americans without encouraging a cultural revolution. The progressive impulse, after all, was to break the monopolies and expose the corruption that made the playing field uneven—but not to change the boundaries of the field. As Richard Hofstadter explains, the Progressives believed that "if the laws are the right laws, and if they can be enforced by the right men, . . . everything would be better."⁹⁵ The movement was reformist, not revolutionary, and called primarily for an end to those practices that prevented the fulfillment of "God's plan for democracy in the New World."⁹⁶ In the first decades of the twentieth century, it was far from decided, even among the most liberal of whites, that God's plan included complete equality for African Americans. Washington's ambiguity was a decorous fit within this conflicted liberal milieu and allowed Washington to build what Du Bois called the "Tuskegee machine," largely through the donations of white industrialists.

W. E. B. Du Bois, however, found no such comfort within the limitations placed on African-American identity and self-expression by Washington's manufactured leadership. For Du Bois, Washington's public persona displaced and, thus, hid from white view the troublesome complexities of African-American experience. Because Du Bois believed that double-consciousness, at least in some manifestation, was a necessary and valuable component of African-American identity, he perceived a danger in denying this essential complexity. From Du Bois's point of view, Washington's ambiguous rhetoric denied both the unique identity of African Americans and their unique "gift" to American culture.⁹⁷ Du Bois believed that Washington's rhetoric was dangerous because it legitimated a "monolithic" black voice. In its accommodation to white power, it undermined Du Bois's own efforts to constitute an African-American intellectual leadership.

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Du Bois initially praised Washington's Atlanta Address, but he almost immediately began an ideological drift away from Washington's position.⁹⁸ In 1903, the publication of *The Souls of Black Folk* provided the impetus for an increasingly vocal and influential opposition to Washington, which would eventually culminate in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The third chapter of *Souls*, "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," was developed from Du Bois's review of Washington's *Up from Slavery*, which had appeared two years earlier in the *Dial*, but Du Bois had "honed" and "expanded" it to the point that, as Lewis has said, "it was virtually a new piece altogether."⁹⁹ Gibson calls this essay "the most arresting chapter of the book"; Rampersad agrees that it is "the most controversial essay and the spearhead of the work" and "the key to the book's political intent."¹⁰⁰ The chapter is an extended and eloquent critique of Washingtonian accommodation, in which Du Bois juxtaposed against Washington's monolithic race leadership a more multivocal model grounded both in his elitist predisposition and in the double-consciousness that he believed characterized the African-American intellectual.

This essay is an example of one of those instances in which Du Bois lifts the veil between the scholar and the activist. Rampersad claims that this "is a rigidly unpoetic" essay, and compared to other chapters in *Souls* it does display a more tightly structured sequence of linear argument and narrative.¹⁰¹ But in and through the elements of this relatively taut structure Du Bois blended the tonalities of academic inquiry with the rhetoric of advocacy. The essay began with and sustained the "scholarly narrative posture or radical of presentation" that Robert B. Stepto finds typical of the book, but it developed into a pointed and controversial criticism of Washington's political program.¹⁰² Du Bois's critique of America's materialism also surfaced, as did his conflation of Washington's rise to power with the manifestation of this rise of Mammonism. A brief analysis of this chapter is warranted, then, because it illustrates both the contours of Du Bois's opposition to Washington and the limitations of this opposition.¹⁰³

DU BOIS READS WASHINGTON: SCHOLARLY DETACHMENT AS CRITICAL DEVICE

Du Bois began "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington" by remarking that "the most striking thing in the history of the American Negro since 1876 is the ascendancy of Mr. Booker T. Washington. . . . Mr. Washington came, with a single definite programme, at the psychological moment when the nation was a little ashamed of having bestowed so much sentiment on Negroes, and was concentrating its energies on Dollars."¹⁰⁴ These sentences show Du Bois observing the coming of Washington from a safely academic distance, insulated both from the historical moment and from Washington's influence. From this perspective, Du Bois perceived Washington not as an agent—his emergence was not even an event but a "thing"—but as a by-product of America's shifting interest from Negroes to dollars. Further, this passage suggested that Washington's rise as a leader corresponded to a regression in the fate of his people. Also of note is Du Bois's characterization of Washington's program as "single" and "definite"—a narrow program against which Du Bois juxtaposed his own more multivocal opposition. These opening sentences anticipated a number of key themes that persisted through the essay: that Washington's program was a passive accommodation to external circumstances; that his leadership was sponsored by sources outside the African-American community; that it was excessively narrow and single-minded; and that it had a decidedly regressive aspect.

As Du Bois next approached the task of explaining Washington's rise, he retained the voice of academic detachment that he established in the opening

sentences—the reader is invited to approach the text as historical and sociological diagnosis rather than as partisan argument. Du Bois noted that the seemingly impossible task of winning the “sympathy and cooperation of the various elements comprising the white South” was accomplished by the essential ambiguity of Washington’s speech, as it could be decoded by both Southern radicals and conservatives to their own satisfaction. Washington has become, Du Bois added with deadpan irony, “the most distinguished Southerner since Jefferson Davis” (31). Furthermore, not only has Washington “won the applause of the South,” but he also has gained the “admiration of the North” because he “intuitively grasped the spirit of the age which was dominating the North” and learned its “speech and thought of triumphant commercialism and the ideals of material prosperity” (31).

But, in thus learning the language of the whites Washington had “silenced . . . the Negroes themselves.” In the face of this synthesis of the forces outside the veil, the African-American community within it could only murmur for a moment in confusion and then be quiet. Because Washington’s leadership allowed no other voices to be heard, and because his voice was in such perfect harmony with the white North and South, Washington became “the one recognized spokesman of his ten million fellows” (32). The tale of Washington’s methods, then, reveals leadership that silences a community through accommodation to forces external to it.

Thus far in the essay Du Bois maintained a highly objective, disinterested prose style, and he yet retained that style while he discussed two more items before he adopted a more partisan tone. First, he outlined a general view of the role of criticism in a free society. Du Bois warned that the “hushing of the criticism of honest opponents is a dangerous thing,” that “honest and earnest criticism from those whose interests are most nearly touched,—criticism of writers by readers, of government by those governed, of leaders by those who are led,—this is the soul and safeguard of modern society” (33). African-American interests are served best when African Americans choose their own leaders through an applied criticism, and in turn such a critical practice also best safeguards the larger modern society. Monolithic, unilateral leadership is good for no one, but perhaps especially not for African Americans. The white world, Du Bois implied, retains its power in part *because* it allows a multiplicity of voices; however they differ in other respects, white Southerners and white Northerners both are free to express critical judgments. On the other side of the veil there is only silent opposition.

Second, Du Bois placed Washington against a tradition of African-American protest rhetoric. The detached, scholarly voice was still in evidence as Du Bois described two attitudes of protest: “revolt and revenge” and “adjustment and assimilation” (34). Then he described a third course, a middle view, which he aligned with Frederick Douglass and called “a new period of self-assertion and self-development.” This middle course, perhaps because it is most amenable to a doubled stance, embodies the tension between revolt and assimilation. This is the mode of protest with which Du Bois aligned himself, together with “the educated and thoughtful colored men in all parts of the land,” who are experiencing “a feeling of deep regret, sorrow, and apprehension at the wide currency and ascendancy which some of Mr. Washington’s theories have gained” (33).

DU BOIS READS WASHINGTON: CRITICAL PRACTICE AS SOCIAL ACTIVISM

Du Bois had not yet presented an extended critique of Washington, but now he seemed ready to do so. His preparation touched upon several central themes that characterized his rhetoric during the Progressive Era. First, he has argued for the importance of the voice of scholarly critique, and specifically for a critical voice

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centered between unproductive extremes—one perhaps especially inviting a doubled perspective. Second, Du Bois has mined the resources of African-American history, positioning his own discourse as a continuation of what he sees as one of the three African-American rhetorical traditions. The potential power of his own critic-activist stance, and presumably that of other African-American intellectuals, flows from within the race; positioning his critique of Washington as a continuation of this rhetorical tradition is consistent with his numerous claims throughout this era that African-American history harbors a potent "gift." Finally, Du Bois has demonstrated his ability to maintain the distanced stance of the academic, coolly surveying the territory from the window of his ivory tower. In the second half of the essay, however, Du Bois at last donned a more activist, personal, and partisan critical voice. The academic gloves came off, and Du Bois presented himself and self-assertive protest as the key to resisting Washington's monolithic leadership.

Du Bois retained from his nonpartisan stance his stated preference for a balanced position between extremes. Recall that Du Bois placed Washington in the least acceptable of three rhetorical traditions, that of total race assimilation. Here, he noted that Washington's extreme position has been "the object of criticism by two classes of colored Americans" (38). The criticisms of those at the opposite extreme of "revolt and revenge" might be dismissed, because "they hate the South blindly and distrust the white race generally" and favor "emigration beyond the borders of the United States" rather than an attempt to resolve the American race issue. Any such strategy is anathema to Du Bois, as is evident in his later critique of Marcus Garvey. On the other hand, those critics of Washington who favor self-assertion—those who occupy the middle ground where Du Bois has placed himself—demand an audience.

Advocates of this middle position, Du Bois wrote, "do not ask that ignorant black men vote when ignorant whites are debarred," but only that black men vote; they agree that "the low social level of the mass of the race is responsible for much discrimination against it," but that the lack of civil equality is "more often a cause than a result of the Negro's degradation"; and "they advocate, with Mr. Washington, a broad system of Negro common schools" but insist that such schools must rest on "the well-equipped college and university" (38-39).

Du Bois has provided a voice of critique not before heard, that of the African-American intellectual. But Du Bois has rooted this critical stance in an African-American tradition of self-assertive protest, and thus has empowered himself from within a tradition that Washington has abandoned. The vitality is evident in the text. The men he speaks for, Du Bois insisted, "are absolutely certain that the way for a people to gain their reasonable rights is not by voluntarily throwing them away and insisting that they do not want them; that the way for a people to gain respect is not by continually belittling and ridiculing themselves; that, on the contrary, Negroes must insist continually, in season and out of season, that voting is necessary to modern manhood, that color discrimination is barbarism, and that black boys need education as well as white boys" (39). At the same time, it is also evident that Du Bois was maintaining a critical high ground, eschewing one-sided polemic in favor of a balanced, "broad," or perhaps doubled critical stance. It is through criticism of this sort that he opposed Washington from within a black perspective, but as the essay concludes it seems that this mode of criticism is an agency by which African Americans might, through self-determination, stride across the veil.

The mode of criticism Du Bois has described and engaged in is next advocated as a civic duty. "In failing thus to state plainly and unequivocally the legitimate demands of their people," Du Bois warned, "even at the cost of opposing an honored leader, the thinking classes of American Negroes would shirk a heavy responsibility," one that surmounts divisions of South and North and divisions of attitude within the black race; it is a responsibility men have "to themselves, . . . to the

struggling masses, . . . to the darker races of men whose future depends so largely on this American experiment, but especially . . . to this nation,—this common Fatherland" (39). Washington's efforts to appease South and North are not merely irrelevant but also dangerous, for it is because Washington has collapsed into one his roles as national black leader and racial accommodator that African Americans are unable to engage in the self-assertion required of participants in an active democracy. The American public sphere is crippled as a result, denied the gifts that only African Americans can bring. Du Bois called upon African Americans, "by every consideration of patriotism and loyalty," to oppose "by all civilized methods" Washington's course toward "industrial slavery and civic death." "We have no right," Du Bois argued, "to sit silently by while the inevitable seeds are sown for a harvest of disaster to our children, black and white" (40).

The trajectory of Du Bois's "discriminating and broad-minded criticism," which continues the historical trajectory of self-assertive protest, is next able to propel Du Bois across the veil to a position from which the dominant white culture can, and must, be criticized. It is the first duty "of black men to judge the South discriminatingly"; they should praise what is good in the South and "use the same breath" to denounce what is evil. The South needs this sort of criticism "for the sake of her own white sons and daughters, and for the insurance of robust, healthy mental and moral development" (40). Of course, when Du Bois symbolically moved across the veil, he did not fully enter the white world and abandon the black; his was not an assimilationist program. Rather, Du Bois's doubled criticism was turned toward both Washington and the white world. As the essay came to a close, criticism of Washington and of the white South were both advocated by turns, almost in alternating passages. For Du Bois, "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" (42). Though Washington's leadership has resulted in some actual advance, and these elements of it should be supported, it has also resulted in some relative retrogression, and these elements of it must be criticized. Telling the difference is delicate, but the criticism must be stern.

End of an Era

Booker T. Washington died late in 1915, having staved off all challenges to his status as the "leader of the race"—at least to the extent that this title was conferred by whites. Manning Marable reports that "Within a decade [of his death], nearly all Washington's former supporters had accepted most of the NAACP's views, and the Du Bois-Washington controversy receded into history."¹⁰⁵

Perhaps the most essential difference between these two men was in the orientation of their rhetoric. Du Bois was interested in making room for more discourse; it was through continued and increasingly multivocal critique that the race problem might be solved. Washington, however, held what might be termed a "materialist" conception of rhetoric; his discourse was intended to usher into existence things like colleges and carpenters.¹⁰⁶ Washington's public single-mindedness also provided both white and blacks with a focal point that Du Boisian doubleness could never do. Du Bois noted in *Souls* that "it is as though Nature must needs make men narrow in order to give them force," and Du Bois's rhetoric never attained the sort of forceful currency within American culture that Washington's enjoyed (38).

Washington's death created a power vacuum, however, which seemed to suck Du Bois not only further into the public limelight but also into opposition with another charismatic race leader with idealized notions of Africa and African-American history. As Elliot P. Skinner puts it, "The battle waged between W. E. B. Du Bois, a

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Harvard- and Berlin-trained natural aristocrat, and Marcus Garvey, a charismatic Jamaican-born immigrant, for accession to the leadership mantle of Booker T. Washington was one of heroic proportions."¹⁰⁷ In the next section, we trace the effects that this heroic feud had upon Du Bois's developing philosophy of Pan-Africanism.

Du Bois before Garvey: Incipient Pan-African Thought

Du Bois's biting criticism of Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee machine helped to inspire others, including Monroe Trotter and George Forbes, editors of the *Guardian* in Boston, to mount their own attacks on Washington. Trotter was arrested while heckling Washington at a Boston church, sparking a national protest meeting organized by Du Bois. He "asked a group of young Negro intellectuals to meet in Ontario, Canada, in 1905. Here, the delegates initiated a protest organization called the Niagara Movement which, four years later, became the germinal seed for the creation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."¹⁰⁸ The twenty-nine men who met in Fort Erie, Canada, in July 1905—race prejudice forced them across the border from their originally intended meeting site of Buffalo, New York—were brought there by a "call," written and circulated by Du Bois, which echoed the words of *Souls* in its invitation to those who shared an opposition to the "present methods of strangling honest criticism."¹⁰⁹ The second meeting of the Niagara movement took place at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, the site of John Brown's famous raid, on 15–18 August 1906. At this conference—much more widely attended than the first, though no more widely reported in the Washington-controlled press—a permanent standing committee on Pan-Africanism was established.¹¹⁰ To provide an editorial voice untouched by the Tuskegee machine, Du Bois and a handful of others founded the *Moon Illustrated Weekly*, which made its debut on 2 December 1905 as the voice of the Niagara Movement. It had a very small circulation, lasted for less than a year, and only four copies are now known to exist—but, as Lewis notes, it "turned the heat up higher and higher on the Wizard [Washington]."¹¹¹

Du Bois's next editorial effort debuted in January 1907. The *Horizon* was, in Lewis's terms, "Du Bois's dress rehearsal for a career in propaganda journalism."¹¹² It appeared monthly, for the most part, surviving with a short subscriber list and with the infusion of many hundreds of dollars from the personal resources of Du Bois and his two partners, L. M. Hershaw and F. H. M. Murray. Du Bois's editorial column was called the "Over-Look," and it was a digest of announcements, reviews, opinions, and reprints, each under a separate heading—much like the editorial columns Du Bois would later write for the *Crisis*. Periodically interspersed among book and magazine recommendations and local and national news items were, usually under the heading "Africa," bits of information about that continent and its people. Of importance is a progression in these editorial sections from an unspoken assumption that African Americans have a distinct relationship to Africa to an explicit call for a Pan-African self-consciousness. This progression mirrors the relationship between the two arguments of "The Conservation of Races" and the ways that these two arguments are related to double-consciousness: in these *Horizon* editorials, at first double-consciousness was an intrinsic (though tacit) element of the African-American experience, and then it was explicitly advocated as a potentially powerful political stance.

In the very first issue, for example, Du Bois wrote a story condemning America's growing participation in the exploitation of the Congo. This same issue also noted that "there is a land of dark men far across the sea which is of interest to us,"

the "land of India, the land, perhaps, from whence our fore-fathers came," which is an incipient Pan-Africanist statement of a rather radical tincture for 1907.¹¹³ Du Bois did not make an explicit argument, in these pages, that African Americans should develop any particular relationship to Africa or to Africans; he seemed instead to assume that they already understood such a relationship. He simply delivered the news, mostly in the same sort of academically precise prose he used throughout the first half of "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others."

This academic detachment is not merely an artifact of Du Bois's journalistic style. For many of the short items that he included in his "Over-Look" Du Bois completely abandoned that style, choosing a tone of academic detachment consistently only when writing about Africa. Again in that first issue, for example, Du Bois wrote that "if the truth must be told, Theodore Roosevelt does not like black folk."¹¹⁴ The April 1907 issue contains other examples of Du Bois's polemical style, as he tells his readers to "buy books. Do not merely read them but buy them, own them, make them yours." He also urges avoidance of the Sunday paper, for "it is an imp of Hell and child of the Devil" (13). By way of contrast, also in the April issue is a much longer and less strident section under the heading "Africa," reporting the new Dutch "sympathetic attitude towards the natives" in the Transvaal, the "state of affairs in Natal," the burgeoning industrial revolution in Nigeria, and the observation that "the outlook for reform in Congo is gloomy." Du Bois closes this entry with a plea: "the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions who have withdrawn all their colored missionaries from Africa are respectfully asked to send them to Belgium, England, Portugal and—Georgia" (13-14). None of this news from Africa contains any explicit argument. The only departure from the studied voice of journalistic detachment is that last word, which is sufficient to suggest an analogy between the European colonial powers and the racist segregation of the United States but still does not endorse any particular point of view or call to action. Regarding the need for African Americans to buy books, Du Bois makes an explicit argument; regarding the need for African Americans to develop a relationship to Africa, Du Bois assumes it.

This stance and tone remained largely constant throughout most of Du Bois's columns in the *Horizon*; when discussing Africa, Du Bois reported on, or reprinted from, other works without comment. In June 1907, Du Bois reprinted a long transcript apparently from an address at the "annual meeting of the Aborigines Protection Society of London," portraying the "situation in South Africa" (20-21). In October of that same year, Du Bois printed a long quotation from a book by Theophilus E. S. Scholes, *Glimpses of the Ages*, which argued persuasively for the "Negro origin of the Egyptians" (32-33). One of Du Bois's strongest statements in the *Horizon* concerning the importance of Africa—but one that retained his characteristic reserve—appeared in the February 1908 issue, in his review of *Fanti Customary Laws* by John Mansah Sarbah. After noting that Sarbah is "a man of pure African blood," Du Bois noted that "the gaze of scholars" has turned toward "the Asian plateaux" in their search for "the cradle of Roman law," but that "if African dialects found the place in European schools which is occupied by Oriental languages, there is no knowing what the result might bring forth" (45-46). Thus, Du Bois prefigured the central argument eventually made at length by Martin Bernal in *Black Athena*.¹¹⁵

When Du Bois did break the veil of journalistic objectivity, it was often to draw out instructive parallels rather than to urge that any particular sort of relationship between Africans and African Americans be formed. In March 1908, under the heading "Mulattoes [*sic*]," Du Bois reprinted an article detailing "the fusion of the white and black races" in Cape Colony, South Africa, which made it "quite impossible to draw a color line which would be legally enforceable." Du Bois then commented that "Negroes are going to be men, with every right accorded to modern

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men. . . . We may not live to see it, but Rome was not built in a day" (50-51). The relevance of South Africa to America is assumed; the parallel that Du Bois was drawing rests upon that assumption.

As Du Bois's tenure as editor of the *Horizon* came to a close, he made more explicit appeals for the support of Pan-African ideals. For example, in the combined November-December issue of 1908, Du Bois urged solidarity and organization among African Americans so that they might more effectively support Liberia. "We must have a second and greater Pan-African movement," he urged. "The cause of Liberia, the cause of Haiti, the cause of South Africa is our cause, and the sooner we realize this the better" (79). This more explicit and strident tone regarding topics pertaining to Africa was a reflection of a shift in Du Bois's tone generally during his last few years before becoming affiliated with the NAACP. For example, in February 1910, under the heading "J'accuse," Du Bois began an explicit and powerful critique of the American South that he revisited several times that year (96). But this shift in tone also indicated Du Bois's gradual movement away from the tacit assumptions of his *Horizon* days and toward the more explicit and radical Pan-African program that would emerge over the next decade. In May 1910, Du Bois announced plans for a "Universal Races Congress" to be held in July 1911 in London. The motivation for this congress, according to Du Bois, was that "the interchange of material and spiritual goods between the different races of mankind has of late years assumed such dimensions that the old attitude of distrust and aloofness is giving way to a general desire for closer acquaintanceship" (107).

The final issue of the *Horizon*, in July 1910, contained a call for its subscribers to "join our membership" in the NAACP (121). Over protests by Ida B. Wells Barnett and Trotter regarding the undue influence of white organizers, Du Bois had accepted the position of director of research and publications in the new organization.¹¹⁶ For twenty-four years Du Bois served as editor of the *Crisis*; the editorial content of the periodical was dedicated to disseminating information regarding discrimination, legal battles, and black culture. Despite Du Bois's claims that the *Crisis* was a "newspaper," it was in fact and in spirit much more.¹¹⁷ The journal regularly interpreted events and characters for the purpose of instructing and constituting a racial philosophy to "fight the wrong with every human weapon in every civilized way" (16). Over the years Du Bois's editorials demonstrated a passion and corrosive wit that tunneled into a collective American unconscious, where he understood racist irrationality to fester. The *Crisis* was iconic; it dramatized the salubrious and serious performance of African-American struggles.

If the *Crisis* was a healthy and critical site for Du Bois's intellectual energies, the NAACP was an organization that frustrated and at times threatened to demoralize him. "We had on our board of directors many incongruous elements as was to be expected," Du Bois explained in his *Autobiography*. "Philanthropists like Oswald Villard; social workers like Florence Kelley; liberal Christians like John Haynes Holms and liberal Jews like the Spingarns; spiritual descendants of the Abolitionists like Mary Ovington and radical Negroes. Clashes now and then were inevitable."¹¹⁸ Friction between Du Bois and various members of the board occurred regularly and over such disparate issues as his membership in the Socialist Party, his domination of *Crisis* editorial content, perceived racism among board members, and perceived hypersensitivity on Du Bois's part.¹¹⁹ Not the least source of friction was Du Bois's increasing emphasis on Pan-Africanism; with its focus on the legal requirements of American civil rights, the NAACP had no real interest in the anticolonial efforts of Africa.¹²⁰

The shift in the tone and explicitness of Du Bois's Pan-Africanist arguments represents more than a shift in tactics, and it had effects beyond the board of the NAACP. Du Bois was no longer content merely to point out double-consciousness as a necessary condition of African-American life. Rather, in inviting his readers to

accept and indeed to celebrate African connections that he perceived as presently dormant, Du Bois was fostering a form of double-consciousness where it might not otherwise have existed. This shift in rhetorical strategy and tone propelled Du Bois toward the second great clash of his public career, that with Marcus Garvey.

Marcus Garvey

Marcus Moziah Garvey was born in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica, on 17 August 1887, the youngest of eleven children.¹²¹ He attended the local schools, and perhaps also Birkbeck College in London, but was largely self-educated. At seventeen he left St. Ann's Bay for Kingston, where he honed his oratorical skills by attending the churches of successful preachers and listening carefully to the open-air speakers common in Kingston. In his early twenties, as Garvey traveled, he edited several short-lived periodicals, including *Garvey's Watchman* and *Our Own*, and later, *La Nacionale* in Costa Rica and *La Prensa* in Colon—each a precursor to the enormously successful *Negro World*. In London in 1912, Garvey read Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery*; years later, he would testify that after reading that book "my doom—if I may so call it—of being a race leader dawned upon me."¹²² Back in Jamaica in 1914, Garvey established the "Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association and African Communities League" by publishing a manifesto; this organization and its attendant publications, ceremonies, and business enterprises would occupy most of Garvey's time until his death.

Garvey at first was not particularly successful at recruiting members or gaining financial support for his new organization and concluded that he needed support from African Americans. In particular, Garvey became interested in establishing a Tuskegee-like trade school in Jamaica, and thus wrote to Booker T. Washington seeking support for this idea. Washington, who surely received many such requests, responded politely and promised that if Garvey visited America, then he and his staff would make Garvey's visit "as pleasant and as profitable as we can."¹²³ In March 1916, Garvey landed in New York City. Booker T. Washington had died late in 1915, leaving an African-American power vacuum; the Ku Klux Klan was in resurgence, wreaking havoc throughout the American South; the "great migration," fueled in part by this increase in race hatred, had transplanted many rural, Southern, and nearly illiterate African Americans to Northern cities. All these factors conspired to create for Garvey a rhetorical situation that he would exploit masterfully.

In January 1918, he established in Harlem the *Negro World*, which within a year was "the most widely read black newspaper in America," and by the middle of 1919 Garvey was claiming over two million members in the American chapter of his UNIA.¹²⁴ The Black Star shipping line, which was to be Garvey's most spectacular failure, was established in June 1919. It was intended to carry both freight and passengers to all parts of the world and was to become the cornerstone for black economic independence and nationalism; it was funded through the sale of stock at five dollars per share, and thus was supported almost entirely by blacks. Though the UNIA eventually did purchase three ships, the Black Star Line met with a series of misadventures and near disasters.

A fairly typical example will suffice.⁵ One of Garvey's ships, the *Yarmouth*, was commissioned to take a load of whiskey to Cuba just before the Volstead Act went into effect; but only eighty miles offshore, as E. David Cronon tells the tale, "the *Yarmouth's* engineer opened the sea cocks and an SOS was sent out that the ship was sinking." The crew threw much of the whisky overboard, where it was "at once picked up by a swarm of small boats that for some unexplained reason had been following the *Yarmouth*." Some weeks later, an attempt was made again to complete

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the journey with what was left of the cargo, "but during the jolly voyage the *Yarmouth's* undisciplined crew made considerable inroads on the unguarded cargo of whisky and only a fraction of the original shipment was ever unloaded."¹²⁵ The captain of the vessel for that second attempt, Hugh Mulzac, tells the story differently, but adds that on the return trip Garvey ordered the *Yarmouth* to visit so many ports as a symbolic gesture that the seven hundred tons of coconuts it was commissioned to deliver to New York rotted in the hold.¹²⁶ A few years later, the *Yarmouth*, which had been purchased for \$165,000, was sold for \$6,000, for scrap.

As Garvey's movement grew, and as it became clear that incidents such as those involving the *Yarmouth* were more the rule than the exception, the UNIA and the Black Star Line began to draw fire from other black leaders. In January 1922, Garvey was arrested on charges of using the mail to defraud—he was accused of misusing money from the sale of stock. A "Garvey Must Go!" movement was begun, led by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen and supported by Du Bois. After Garvey's trial had been delayed for almost a year, a "Committee of Eight" wrote an open letter protesting the delays to Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty. Eventually, Garvey would be convicted, imprisoned in Tombs Prison, and finally deported—both his dreams and the life savings of hundreds of African Americans irrecoverably lost. In the meantime, however, W. E. B. Du Bois brought Garvey into his rhetorical crosshairs.

Du Bois and Garvey

Garvey was almost immediately seen as a rival to Du Bois, having taken up, to some degree, the mantle of Booker T. Washington. Garvey appealed to the masses in a way that the infamously imperial W. E. B. Du Bois never could, and so challenged his ideal of intellectual race leadership in a way similar to Washington. While Garvey never would exert wide control of the black presses as Washington did, he did control his own press, and his *Negro World* had a circulation that easily surpassed that of the *Crisis*. As Rampersad points out, "By 1919, when Du Bois organized his first Pan-African Congress in Paris with the support of the NAACP, there existed two irreconcilable approaches to the 'Negro problem,' each supported by an institutional force."¹²⁷ While none of this probably pleased Du Bois, what rankled most was that he found himself in the awkward position of having to respond to allegations that his program was essentially the same as Garvey's. As we have noted, Du Bois's editorial comments on Africa had been shifting over time to a more explicit call for African Americans to recognize themselves as partly African. His increasing emphasis on the important role that Africa should play in the lives of African Americans made it difficult for many, particularly whites, to tell the difference between Garvey and Du Bois.

There were, indeed, substantial similarities in Du Bois's and Garvey's public positions. Skinner notes that "given their differences, both in style and outlook, and their lack of communication except by invective in the pages of the *Crisis* and the *Negro World*, it is surprising how similar the views of Du Bois and Garvey often were regarding the steps necessary to ameliorate the condition of African peoples."¹²⁸ Rampersad summarizes the similarities: "Both men saw the world as comprising separate cultures, each reflecting a distinct heritage and demanding freedom of expression. By the early twenties both believed that there are not superior and inferior races in the twentieth century, only temporarily backward peoples. Both saw the speciousness of the Anglo-Saxon claim to superiority based on technological progress usually of a destructive sort."¹²⁹ Though Garvey and Du Bois shared many basic assumptions, particularly about the importance of African

independence for the eventual liberation of African Americans, the differences between their two programs were vital.

Garvey, working largely from within a black separatist rhetorical tradition, believed that there was no hope for whites and blacks to peacefully and productively inhabit the same country. As Bernard Boxill describes it, the separatist tradition in African-American political thought, unlike the assimilationist tradition, denies that a color-blind society is possible.¹³⁰ James Golden and Richard Rieke note that this tradition is based on the assumption that "the prejudice directed at the black man is derived from the color difference," and that attempts to achieve racial equality are necessarily futile; "so long as men are black and white, states this reasoning, they will hate each other."¹³¹ The only solution, therefore, is the separation of the races.¹³² Du Bois, over the course of his life, moved in a generally separatist direction. However, during the time of his public disagreement with Marcus Garvey, Du Bois still insisted that it should be possible, as he put it in *The Souls of Black Folk*, for an African American "to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face."¹³³ Du Bois was never a simple assimilationist, but he did believe that African Americans should receive equal treatment in the United States.

One primary source of confusion was that Du Bois and Garvey used similar language—sometimes, remarkably so—to describe their programs. For example, Garvey was fond of using the phrase "Africa for the Africans" to describe that part of his agenda which included freeing Africa from colonial rule. The UNIA advocated "the cause of Africa for the Africans—that is, that the Negro peoples of the world should concentrate upon the object of building up for themselves a great nation in Africa."¹³⁴ "If Europe is for the white man, if Asia is for brown and yellow men," Garvey explained, "then surely Africa is for the black man."¹³⁵ "To us," Garvey said, "the white race has a right to the peaceful possession and occupation of countries of its own and in like manner the yellow and black races have their rights."¹³⁶

In a letter published in June 1921, in the *New York Age*, Du Bois responded to a Bishop C. S. Smith by noting that he "mingles the Pan-African Congress and the Garvey movement as practically one idea. This is a grave mistake. The Pan-African Congress has nothing to do with any 'Africa for the Africans' movement."¹³⁷ However, in the February 1919 issue of the *Crisis*, Du Bois had argued for the end of African colonization and used the phrase "Africa for the Africans" to describe this point of view. Later, in 1922, after Garvey had become well known, Du Bois attempted to clarify his point under the heading "Africa for the Africans": "Again the editor distinctly believes that Africa should be administered for the Africans and, as soon as may be, by the Africans. He does not mean by this that Africa should be administered by West Indians or American Negroes. They have no more right to administer Africa for the native Africans than native Africans have to administer America."¹³⁸ Later in 1922, Du Bois laid out a "program" for the liberation of Africa and concluded that "after this program has been carefully and devotedly and successfully followed, Africa will belong to the Africans and no man will dare gainsay them—and perhaps no one will want to."¹³⁹

Both men also decried the capitalist exploitation of Africa by white American and European powers. Garvey noted in 1923 that "an open appeal is being made to the white capitalists of different countries to invest in the exploitation of the oil fields, diamond, gold and iron mines of the 'Old Homeland.'"¹⁴⁰ He went on to note that "the British Empire today owes its present financial existence to the wealth which has been recruited from Africa, the wealth that we Negroes could have controlled fifty years ago, when there was not so much interest in Africa."¹⁴¹ Similarly, Du Bois wrote in the *Crisis* in February 1919 that "What Europe, and

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indeed only a small group in Europe, wants in Africa is not a field for the spread of European civilization, but a field for exploitation. . . . Greed,—naked, pitiless lust for wealth and power, lie back of all of Europe's interest in Africa and the white world knows it and is not ashamed."¹⁴² Later, in an essay entitled "The Souls of White Folk" and published in his 1920 book, *Darkwater*, Du Bois wrote in words that Garvey almost could have been paraphrasing: "Why, then, is Europe great? Because of the foundations which the mighty past have furnished her to build upon: the iron trade of ancient, black Africa, the religion and empire-building of yellow Africa, the art and science of the 'dago' Mediterranean shore, east, south, and west, as well as north."¹⁴³

Both men, then, evidently believed that African Americans had an interest in a free Africa and used similar terms to describe this interest—but there were two important differences. The first was a difference in motive. For Garvey, the existence of an "Africa for the Africans" was more than a right; it was a necessity. African Americans could never hope to achieve equality or respect in America, so there *had* to be a free and independent Africa as a place of refuge and as an international symbol of race pride. "You and I can live in the United States of America for 100 more years," Garvey argued in 1922, but "so long as there is a black and white population, when the majority is on the side of the white race, you and I will never get political justice or get political equality in this country."¹⁴⁴ The progress of African Americans in America, Garvey proclaimed in 1924, "has been built upon sand." The white man will never tolerate black equality, because "the laws of self-preservation force every human group to look after itself and protect its own interest."¹⁴⁵ Thus, in an essay in which he explicitly attacked Du Bois, Garvey pleaded: "Let the Negro have a country of his own. Help him to return to his original home, Africa, and there give him the opportunity to climb from the lowest to the highest positions in a state of his own."¹⁴⁶ Elsewhere, explaining the aims of the UNIA, he noted that "the Association is determined to bring Negroes together for the building up of a nation of their own. And why? Because we have been forced to it."¹⁴⁷ Garvey's motivational trajectory, then, was traced from the United States and toward Africa; it was because Africa was at a distance from the United States that it was worthwhile for African Americans to support its independence. It represented a destination, partly spiritual and partly physical; its ameliorative powers lay in the possibility of escape.¹⁴⁸

For Du Bois, on the other hand, at least in the 1920s, Africa was not a destination. Rather, its independence was important because of the meritorious effect it might have on domestic race relations. In December 1918, in a dispatch from aboard a ship bound for Paris for the first Pan-African conference, Du Bois explained the purpose of the conference emphatically as "not a 'separatist' movement." "Once for all," he continued, "let us realize that we are Americans" and that "there is nothing so indigenious, so completely 'made in America' as we. Any ebullition of action and feeling that results in an amelioration of the lot of Africa tends to ameliorate the condition of colored peoples throughout the world." In May 1919, again in the *Crisis*, he explained in detail his motives for going to Paris and concluded that "the world-fight for black rights is on!"¹⁴⁹ He meant that the fight for black rights was global; African Americans were not to support African liberation only because Africa should be free, but also because a free Africa might make it more likely that blacks would be free in America. In 1920, Du Bois wrote that "there can be no permanent uplift of American or European labor as long as African laborers are slaves." In that same essay, Du Bois again made it clear that he is not endorsing a separatist movement, for "this building of a new African State does not mean the segregation in it of all the world's black folk." The motivational trajectory here is from Africa and toward America; the function of a free Africa is to empower African Americans. "The Negroes in the United States and the other

Americas have earned the right," Du Bois wrote, "to fight out their problems where they are."¹⁵⁰

For Marcus Garvey, African Americans should be identified primarily as Africans because such identification holds the promise of freedom *in Africa*. For W. E. B. Du Bois, African Americans should be concerned with and interested in events in Africa because those events might increase the likelihood of freedom *in America*. African Americans should not resolve their identities and become exclusively Africans, for Du Bois, because their freedom is contingent upon the recognition of their unique doubled nature. The distinction is not subtle, but it probably seemed so to members of the white press who were not aware of the divergent rhetorical traditions from which Garvey and Du Bois drew. As a result, these two men, who perhaps could not have been more different, were often lumped together, forced to co-inhabit the narrow ideological space reserved by whites for African-American rhetors. They fought bitterly.

DU BOIS CRITIQUES GARVEY

The substance of their attacks on each other is important not only because of what it reveals about each man, but also because of what it reveals about the presumptions that undergird their respective agendas. Given that Garvey was so greatly influenced by Washington—Garvey himself stated that his program "includes the program of Booker T. Washington and has gone much further"—it is perhaps not surprising that Du Bois's critique of Garvey bears a striking resemblance to Du Bois's critique of Washington.¹⁵¹

Like Du Bois's opposition to Washington, his opposition to Garvey began slowly. When Du Bois visited Jamaica in the spring of 1915, Garvey greeted him in a receiving line and later left his calling card at the place where Du Bois was staying, and when Garvey arrived in New York, he asked that Du Bois chair his first public lecture; Du Bois declined.¹⁵² Du Bois did, however, dutifully note Garvey's lecture dates in the pages of the *Crisis*. In December 1919, Du Bois noted that some African-American periodicals had been "disowning the new radicals" but that the *Crisis* would not do so. "The *Crisis* holds no brief for the *Messenger*, the *Negro World*, and other periodicals," Du Bois was careful to point out, "but they have a right to speak" (247). In September of the following year, under the heading "The Rise of the West Indian," Du Bois suggested that "this mass of peasants, uplifted by war and migration, . . . and their new cry of 'Africa for the Africans' strikes with a startling surprise upon America's darker millions." While "the movement is as yet inchoate and indefinite, . . . it is not beyond possibilities that this new Ethiopia of the Isles may yet stretch out hands of helpfulness to the 12 million black men of America" (273).

Later in 1920, Du Bois's assessment of Garvey and the UNIA became more severe, though he retained vestiges of balanced assessment. In articles that ran in December 1920 and January 1921, in a critique that echoes strongly "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," Du Bois argued that while Garvey's goals are feasible, and indeed in some ways praiseworthy, his program was too narrow to accomplish them. Du Bois commented on both Garvey's character and his business acumen. On the first score, Du Bois noted that Garvey "has with singular success capitalized and made vocal the great and long suffering grievances and spirit of protest among the West Indian peasantry." Although there were a number of things about Garvey that "militate against him and his reputation," he could not find "the slightest proof that his objects were not sincere or that he was consciously diverting money to his own uses." Though "his general objects are so shot through with bombast and exaggeration that it is difficult to pin them down for careful examination,"

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Du Bois admitted that "Garvey is an extraordinary leader of men" (284-85). The flaws in Garvey's program—as was the case with the flaws in Booker T. Washington's program—did not flow from flaws of sincerity in Garvey's character.

But Du Bois began the January installment by noting that "when it comes to Mr. Garvey's industrial and commercial enterprises there is more ground for doubt and misgiving than in the matter of his character" (285). Most of this article consisted of a long and critical investigative report regarding the financial condition of the UNIA and the Black Star Line, leading to the conclusion that Garvey's methods (like Washington's) make the realization of his goals impossible. Garvey's business ventures, for example, "have brought in few returns, involved heavy expense and threatened him continually with disaster or legal complication." Du Bois did give Garvey credit for a bold vision, and for the "great, human service" of popularizing an idea that had long lain dormant among African Americans, and even agreed that a scheme to "redeem Africa as a fit and free home for black men" is perhaps justifiable (285). But, Du Bois warned, "when Garvey forges ahead and almost *singlehandedly* attempts to realize his dream in a few years, with large words and wild gestures, he grievously *minimizes* his task and endangers his cause" (288, emphasis added). Du Bois summed up, "Garvey is a sincere, hardworking idealist; he is also a stubborn, domineering leader of the mass; he has worthy industrial and commercial schemes but he is an inexperienced business man. His dreams of Negro industry, commerce and the ultimate freedom of Africa are feasible; but his methods are bombastic, wasteful, illogical and ineffective and almost illegal" (289). For Du Bois, Garvey was mostly Booker T. Washington. He was relying primarily upon an economic program, but at the same time crippling that program through a single-handed narrowness and a proclivity for self-promotion.

In 1923, while Garvey was in the Tombs prison, Du Bois published in the *Century Magazine* an article that made these charges more explicit. Du Bois noted, for example, that Garvey was not troubled by double-consciousness, that he sought "to oppose white supremacy and the white ideal by a crude and equally brutal black supremacy and black ideal." Such a program naturally would be anathema to the balanced approach and position that Du Bois advocated so strongly during this period in his life. Garvey's mistake, he wrote, "did not lie in the utter impossibility of this program, . . . but in its spiritual bankruptcy and futility; for what shall this poor world gain if it exchange one race supremacy for another?" Garvey did not trust any whites—nor, indeed, many light-skinned blacks—enough to work with them productively. "His African program," Du Bois continued, "was made impossible by his own pig-headedness." Because of his single-mindedness about what was to be done and the complete impermeability of the color line in his scheme of thought, he failed; like Washington before him, Garvey was caught in a hopeless double bind. It was impossible, Du Bois argued, "for Garvey to establish any headquarters in Africa unless it was done by the consent of the very nations whom he was threatening to drive out of Africa!"¹⁵³

GARVEY CRITIQUES DU BOIS

Whereas Du Bois's critique of Garvey paralleled—and might have been predicted from—his critique of Washington, Garvey's critique of Du Bois paralleled our own. That is, Garvey critiqued Du Bois on the basis of his doubleness. First, Garvey, as a separatist, did not believe that the black and white races should work together, much less intermingle. He warned against "race assimilation," for example, as the work of "traitors of their own race." He believed, he said, "in a pure black race just as how all self-respecting whites believe in a pure white race, as far as that can be."¹⁵⁴ The NAACP, he warned, was one of those groups that believed "that the

nearer we approach the white man in color the greater our social standing and privilege and that we should build up an 'aristocracy' based upon caste of color." He was repulsed by his discovery, upon visiting the offices of the NAACP and the *Crisis*, that "the whole staff was either white or very near white."¹⁵⁵ This was, for Garvey, hypocrisy; indeed, he stated that "between the Ku Klux Klan and the Morefield Storey National Association for the Advancement of 'Colored' People group, give me the Klan for their honesty of purpose towards the Negro."¹⁵⁶ Untroubled by double-consciousness, for Garvey all descendants of Africans were African. "Everybody knows," he wrote, "that there is absolutely no difference between the native African and the American and West Indian Negroes, in that we are descendants from one common family stock."¹⁵⁷ "The Negroes of Africa and America are one in blood," he wrote elsewhere. "They have sprung from the same common stock."¹⁵⁸ African Americans should resolve their hyphenated identities and become exclusively Africans; for Garvey, any other choice made no sense.

This tendency in Garvey's thought to divide the world neatly into racially segregated halves was implicated in a Manichaeian class consciousness. Garvey's was a movement of the masses and held no appeal either to or for the members of Du Bois's "Talented Tenth."¹⁵⁹ In his rhetoric, Garvey repeatedly linked race and class divisions. "There is a vast difference between the white and black races," he wrote. "The two are at extremes. One is dazzlingly prosperous and progressive; the other is abjectly poor and backward."¹⁶⁰ The race traitors who favored assimilation, he argued, were "generally to be found among the men highest placed in education and society." Garvey viewed the increasing resistance to the UNIA from the upper classes of African-American leadership as class warfare. "Others of my race oppose me," he was convinced, "because they fear my influence among the people, and they judge me from their own corrupt, selfish consciences."¹⁶¹ Garvey referred to the "Committee of Eight," who had written that open letter to the attorney general, as "good old darkies," who believed that "only professional men are respectable." Turning neatly on its head Du Bois's critique of Washington's privileging of vocational education, Garvey warned that "were it not for the ignorant element of Negroes, these very fellows would have starved long ago, because all of them earn their living either by selling out the race under the guise of leadership or by exploiting the race in business."¹⁶²

Given Garvey's distrust of African Americans who work closely with whites and of African Americans who did not identify closely with the lower classes, it is not surprising that W. E. B. Du Bois became his chief target. Had Du Bois been content to identify himself simply as "American" or to remain safely isolated in the "ivory tower" of academia, he would not have drawn Garvey's ire. But because Du Bois refused to resolve those inherent tensions in his identity, he became to Garvey a token of all that was wrong with African Americans who were confused about their identity.

"Du Bois," Garvey wrote in 1923 in the *Negro World*, "represents a group that hates the Negro blood in its veins." After Du Bois's extended critique of Garvey appeared in the *Century Magazine*, Garvey responded that the editor of "the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of 'certain' Colored People . . . bewails every day the drop of Negro blood in his veins, being sorry that he is not Dutch or French." In fact, Garvey went on, being "a little Dutch, a little French, and a little Negro . . . the man is a monstrosity. As a hater of dark people, Du Bois can lead the race only toward "losing our black identity and becoming, as nearly as possible, the lowest whites by assimilation and miscegenation." Du Bois, Garvey continued, "has absolutely no respect and regard for independent Negro effort but that which is supported by white charity and philanthropy," because he owes both his education and his current salary to the "charity and philanthropy of white people" Further, "if Du Bois' education fits him for no better service than being a

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lackey for good white people, then it were better that Negroes were not educated."¹⁶³ "Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois," Garvey pointed out elsewhere, highlighting further his anti-intellectual bias, "has been educated by white charity, [and] is a brilliant scholar, but he is not a hard worker. He prefers to use his higher intellectual abilities to fight for a place among white men in society, industry and in politics rather than use that ability to work and create for his own race that which the race could be able to take credit for."¹⁶⁴ Thus, Garvey critiqued Du Bois on precisely his most vulnerable point; saturated in a rhetoric of double-consciousness, Du Bois could not accomplish material work in the world the way that Garvey could.

Within Garvey's worldview, there was no way to position oneself between extremes. One was either white or black, rich or poor, an academic or a race leader. Attempting to straddle these dichotomies resulted in a weakened capacity to work in either one. This rhetoric proved immensely successful, appealing perhaps to individuals caught in a culture that denied to them a viable political identity. Garvey gave them a singular vision of their history and place in the world and a plan for bringing this vision into concrete reality. Du Bois, on the other hand, was attempting to foment double-consciousness as a way for African Americans to know and to make known their political situation; that is, Du Bois was crafting critics. Through his own critique and his cooperation with other influential black leaders, Du Bois contributed to the silencing of Garvey; however, he could offer the African-American masses no concrete program to substitute for Garvey's, and thus never was able to hold their attention for long.

Du Bois after Garvey: Separation and Independence

The story of the last three decades of Du Bois's life is one of decreasing satisfaction with the possibilities afforded African Americans in America and an increasing commitment to Africa. Du Bois's participation in the Pan-African Congresses of 1919, 1921, and 1923 had increasingly splintered his support among the board of the NAACP. By the end of the decade of the Harlem Renaissance, Du Bois had more fully recognized that the singular pursuit of the ballot by the civil rights organization obscured the oppressive economic operations of globalization. Moreover, the onset of the Great Depression bound the NAACP to fewer financial sources and exacerbated communist fears within the organization. Taken together, these forces exacted a severe toll on Du Bois's editorial and intellectual authority.¹⁶⁵ In 1931, James Weldon Johnson, a longtime supporter of Du Bois's programs, was replaced as executive secretary by Walter White. Du Bois depicted White as an authoritarian who routinely "went underground" to unseat opposition, and White's ability to raise *Crisis* funds during the Depression warranted his encroachment onto editorial and research territories formerly controlled by Du Bois.¹⁶⁶ With Du Bois chafing under White's leadership, "advocating new, deliberate, and purposeful segregation for economic defense," and publicly criticizing White's "unsound explanation of the historical stand of the NAACP on segregation," in the spring of 1934 Du Bois's departure seemed inevitable.¹⁶⁷ The board of directors voted in May that salaried employees could not publicly voice dissension, effectively forcing Du Bois to either shut up or get out. Based on Du Bois's primal screams against the imposition of silence, there really was no choice at all.

At the invitation of longtime friend, Atlanta University President John Hope, Du Bois ventured south once again in search of himself and of his vocation. Installed as department chair of sociology, Du Bois taught a half-load in order to return to a research dream deferred—the execution of "a systematic study of the

essential facts of the present condition of the Negro race and to establish a way of continuing and making more complete and effective such a study."¹⁶⁸ He remained at Atlanta until 1944, when he was ousted (perhaps because of the jealousy of his superiors, perhaps because of a politically delicate research agenda), and at the age of seventy-six he was invited to rejoin the NAACP as director of special research.¹⁶⁹

White and Du Bois almost immediately renewed their shadowboxing, with Du Bois accusing White of Machiavellian tactics to reduce him to the status of an executive surrogate and "ghost writer." Thus, his realliance with the NAACP was short-lived, and he was fired on 31 December 1948. Also in 1948, Paul Robeson invited Du Bois to join the Council on African Affairs, the only organization in the United States that dedicated all its resources to information and programmatic efforts against colonialism in Africa. By the time Du Bois became chair of the African Aid Committee in 1949, the council had already been branded as "subversive."¹⁷⁰ Meanwhile, Du Bois's strident participation in the peace movement and his New York senatorial Labor Party candidacy in 1950 attracted public scorn colored bright red by McCarthyite fear. Finally, on 8 February 1951, the council and Du Bois were indicted "for not registering as an agent of a foreign power in the peace movement."¹⁷¹ By all accounts, the trial in November of the same year was a mockery; the government could not link Du Bois's efforts to strategic foreign policy and the case was summarily dismissed. The incident, however, left indelible scars on Du Bois. "I have faced during my life many unpleasant experiences," he recounted later, "the growl of a mob; the personal threat of murder; the scowling distaste of an audience. But nothing has so cowed me as that day . . . when I took my seat in a Washington courtroom as an indicted criminal."¹⁷²

Despite having won the legal battle, Du Bois was effectively blacklisted in the United States as a communist sympathizer. So severe were some informal sanctions on Du Bois's intellectual productivity that "colored children ceased to hear my name."¹⁷³ Du Bois continued to write; his *Black Flame* trilogy, widely panned as literary tripe in the United States, sold well in the Soviet Union in the late 1950s and early 1960s.¹⁷⁴ Du Bois traveled extensively to the Soviet Union and China and was commonly regarded as a communist, though he did not officially join the party until 1961. At the behest of Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah, Du Bois moved to Africa and accepted the position of director of the *Encyclopaedia Africana* project sponsored by that nation. Two years later, thoroughly disgusted with American willingness to exploit labor and developing nations in the name of progress, Du Bois satisfied the requirements for Ghanaian citizenship. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois died shortly thereafter on 27 August 1963, the eve of Martin Luther King's famous speech at the March on Washington. He was given a state's funeral and interred in Accra, Ghana.

Conclusion

Du Bois did not invent double-consciousness in a vacuum; the concept was closely related to ideas of Emerson and James with which he was familiar. But Du Bois re-fashioned this doubleness, translating it from an inherent characteristic of human experience to describe the specialized experience of African Americans. This set in motion Du Bois's argument, wholly original, that double-consciousness holds within it a potential for authenticity and therefore respect. Though much of his thinking during these years about the importance of Africa and the "gift" that African Americans might offer to the world rested on a romantic essentialism at odds with contemporary sensibilities, it is important to contextualize Du Bois's

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comments so that both their boldness and their tentativeness are brought into focus. "The Conservation of Races," in particular, illustrated the extent to which Du Bois was willing to break with the dominant ideas of his time and the extent to which he was constrained by them.

Du Bois's rhetoric in his famous public battle with Booker T. Washington demonstrated the potential for social action within the ideals of double-consciousness. Washington's ambiguity masked what for Du Bois was the fundamental dilemma in African-American experience: how to participate fully in the American ideal while retaining a separate identity as a person of African descent. Du Bois believed that Washington had impaled himself upon the horns of this dilemma; his color-blind vocational work ethic effectively erased African Americans from the public sphere. Du Bois advocated a more multivocal leadership and a wider sense of the roles that African Americans might play in America. For Du Bois, participation in the dominant culture *required* that African Americans retain their problematic identity: participation in public deliberation required both an authentic black public voice and a critical engagement with the dominant culture, and to deny this fundamental complexity would be to deny the "gift" that African Americans could contribute.

In Du Bois's search for this doubled, authentic, black public voice, double-consciousness became instantiated in Pan-Africanist thought; if African Americans were to identify themselves as both African and American, then they must cultivate a relationship with Africa. Du Bois's increasingly explicit attention to the place of Africa in the lives of his readers eventually drew him into conflict with Marcus Garvey. Garvey, as a separatist, did not believe that whites and blacks could coexist; African Americans should identify exclusively as Africans and revel in their separation from the corrupt, white, American mainstream. He attacked Du Bois bitterly as a man at least confused and likely malevolent. Garvey cast Du Bois as a hater of dark people because, for Garvey, the balanced double-conscious that characterizes Du Bois's rhetoric represented a man unwilling to commit to a definite social agenda.

Du Boisian double-consciousness has long enjoyed a productive resonance with critics and theorists of the African-American experience. It introduces a radical flexibility that can be emancipatory and models a balanced relationship between detachment and engagement that academic critics find useful. But both Washington and Garvey point out the central limitations of Du Bois's stance: to get work done in the world, sometimes you must come down firmly somewhere. Washington built Tuskegee as the concrete manifestation of his educational ideals; Garvey, similarly, built his UNIA and *Negro World*. Du Bois's critiques of both Washington and Garvey were devastatingly insightful, even as the stance he articulated might today inspire critics toward further insight, but his own commitment to multivocality and against monolithic leadership perhaps precluded his own rise as the undisputed leader of a movement or institution. Du Bois will always stand as a—perhaps *the*—towering intellectual of his time, but as a political actor Du Bois's appeal was limited to a rather select group. Du Bois's was not a rhetoric of simplification, and he sought to explore rather than cloak the complexities of being black in America. There is a potential emancipation in such discourse, for the understanding of multiple perspectives often is a prerequisite of empowerment. But also, as Washington and Garvey illustrate, there is a certain material force in a rhetoric that simplifies.

Notes

1. Theodore Vincent, as quoted in Manning Marable, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Black Radical Democrat* (Boston: Twayne, 1986), 113.
2. Thomas C. Holt, "The Political Uses of Alienation: W. E. B. Du Bois on Politics, Race, and Culture, 1903-1940," *American Quarterly* 42 (1990): 307.
3. Stephen H. Browne, "Du Bois, Double-Consciousness, and the Modern City," in *Rhetoric and Community: Studies in Unity and Fragmentation*, ed. J. Michael Hogan (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 88.
4. James Darsey, "The Voice of Exile: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Quest for Culture," in *Rhetoric and Community*, 96.
5. *Ibid.*, 97.
6. *Ibid.*, 102.
7. *Ibid.*, 103, 106.
8. Browne, "Du Bois, Double-Consciousness," in *Rhetoric and Community*, 76.
9. Adolph Reed, *W. E. B. Du Bois and American Political Thought: Fabianism and the Color Line* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 124.
10. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century* (New York: International Publishers, 1968), 92.
11. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), 7.
12. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1940), 14.
13. *Ibid.*, 23.
14. Du Bois, *Autobiography*, 107.
15. *Ibid.*, 108.
16. David L. Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868-1919* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993), 60.
17. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 34; Du Bois, *Autobiography*, 136.
18. David L. Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Reader* (New York: Henry Holt, 1995), 17-19.
19. William James, as quoted in Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 39.
20. Lewis, *Biography*, 102.
21. Arnold Rampersad, *The Art and Imagination of W. E. B. Du Bois* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 44.
22. Keith E. Byerman, *Seizing the Word: History, Art, and Self in the Work of W. E. B. Du Bois* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994).
23. Rampersad, *Art and Imagination*, 26.
24. *Ibid.*, 33.
25. Reed, *American Political Thought*, 91; see also Holt, "Political Uses of Alienation," 301.
26. Sandra Adell, *Double-Consciousness/Double Bind: Theoretical Issues in Twentieth-Century Black Literature* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 13; Rampersad, *Art and Imagination*, 74.
27. Du Bois, *Souls*, 5. Subsequent references to *Souls* will be by parenthetical page number only, except where the context does not make the reference clear.
28. Ernest Allen Jr., "Ever Feeling One's Twoness: 'Double Ideals' and 'Double Consciousness' in *The Souls of Black Folk*," *Critique of Anthropology* 12 (1992): 261-72.
29. Browne, "Du Bois, Double-Consciousness," in *Rhetoric and Community*, 83.
30. Dickson D. Bruce Jr., "W. E. B. Du Bois and the Idea of Double Consciousness," *American Literature* 64 (1992): 299-300.
31. *Ibid.*, 300.
32. Reed, *American Political Thought*, 100.
33. Shamoon Zamir, *Dark Voices: W. E. B. Du Bois and American Thought, 1888-1903* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 163-64.
34. Darsey, "Voice of Exile," in *Rhetoric and Community*, 101.
35. Bruce, "Idea of Double-Consciousness," 303. Bruce also provides an account of the medical history of the "double-consciousness," dating its usage to 1817, and suggests that Du Bois may have been familiar with at least some of the history of the medical use of the term (303-5).
36. Reed, *American Political Thought*, 102.

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37. Adell points out that James eventually abandoned "consciousness" entirely as a philosophical proposition, unconvinced that it could exist as an entity. "Fortunately," she continues, "by the time James got around to trying to persuade his students that consciousness did not exist, Du Bois had moved on. Had he been among a later group of students, Du Bois might have hesitated to use what had become, at least for James, a contentious concept" (*Double-Consciousness*, 14).
38. The "problematic question of how one achieves mature self-consciousness and an integrity or wholeness of self in an alienating environment" would become "the dominant focus—political and cultural—of Du Bois's life and work" (Holt, "Political Uses of Alienation," 304).
39. Donald Gibson, introduction to *The Souls of Black Folk*, xii.
40. Rampersad, *Art and Imagination*, 49.
41. Reed, *American Political Thought*, 43.
42. Zamir, *Dark Voices*, 1.
43. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil* (New York: Kraus-Thomson, 1921), 82.
44. Lewis, *Biography*, 213, 225.
45. Du Bois as quoted in M. Aldrich, "Progressive Economists and Scientific Racism: Walter Willcox and Black Americans," 1895–1910 *Phylon* 40 (1979): 8–9.
46. W. E. B. Du Bois *Speaks: Speeches and Addresses, 1890–1919*, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), 48; Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 25–26.
47. J. D. Smith, "Du Bois and Phillips: Symbolic Antagonists of the Progressive Era," *The Centennial Review* 24 (1980): 89.
48. Rampersad, *Art and Imagination*, 54–55. This duality was manifested in another way during the years 1904 to 1906, when Du Bois was editing the *Horizon*. Some of his best poetry was written in response to racist violence, Jim Crowism, and the Atlanta riots.
49. *Ibid.*, 59.
50. Zamir, *Dark Voices*, 6.
51. Reed, *American Political Thought*, 43.
52. Bruce, "Idea of Double-Consciousness," 301.
53. Rampersad, *Art and Imagination*, 89.
54. As Browne points out, Du Bois's critique of Atlanta's greed itself seems doubled. It is clear that Du Bois feared the rise of Mammonism, "but, for all the intensity of that fear, Du Bois could still see and appreciate Atlanta's temptations" ("Du Bois, Double-Consciousness," in *Rhetoric and Community*, 87).
55. Bruce, "Idea of Double-Consciousness," 301.
56. W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Conservation of Races," in W. E. B. Du Bois *Speaks*, 81.
57. Du Bois, *Souls*, 214. These three "gifts" are expanded upon in much greater detail in Du Bois's *The Gift of Black Folk: The Negroes in the Making of America* (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1975).
58. Du Bois, "Conservation," in W. E. B. Du Bois *Speaks*, 81.
59. Holt, "Political Uses of Alienation," 305.
60. Browne, "Du Bois, Double-Consciousness," in *Rhetoric and Community*, 83.
61. Lewis, *Biography*, 150. In fact, Washington easily could have been describing Du Bois just as he appears in pictures taken soon after his return from Europe: "The white people who questioned the wisdom of starting this new school [Tuskegee] had in their minds pictures of what was called an educated Negro, with a high hat, imitation gold eye-glasses, a showy walking-stick, kid gloves, fancy boots, and what not—in a word, a man who was determined to live by his wits" (*Three Negro Classics* [New York: Avon Books, 1965], 92).
62. Rampersad, *Art and Imagination*, 48.
63. Lewis, *Biography*, 243.
64. However, as Reed points out, strains of this thought emerge into the contemporary public sphere in Afrocentrism (*American Political Thought*, 139). Much of the rhetoric of Malcolm X, particularly while he was a minister of Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, also builds an emancipatory case on essentialist notions. Indeed, much of the rhetoric that might be termed "black nationalism" rests on at least some essentialist

- principles, and the emergence of this thought into the discourse of the black intelligentsia can be traced, in large part, back to Du Bois. See Manning Marable, *Through the Prism of Race and Class: Modern Black Nationalism in the U.S.* (Dayton, Ohio: Black Research Associates, 1980); and Marable, *Black Radical Democrat*.
65. Allen, "Ever Feeling One's Twoness," 274.
 66. Adell, *Double-Consciousness*, 22.
 67. Zamir, *Dark Voices*, 139.
 68. Gibson, introduction to *Souls*, xxiv.
 69. Reed, *American Political Thought*, 108. But David P. Thelen argues persuasively that such psychological or "social tension" hypotheses concerning the origin of the Progressive movement are at least open to question ("Social Tensions and the Origins of Progressivism," *Journal of Southern History* 56 [1969]: 323-41). The thesis that guides Reed's investigation is that Du Bois's conception of double-consciousness has little to do with its later appropriation by contemporary theorists and critics; this may be so, but this does not diminish the potential theoretical utility of Du Boisian double-consciousness. We take up this matter later in this essay.
 70. Reed, *American Political Thought*, 111.
 71. *Ibid.*, 112, 111.
 72. *Ibid.*, 107. Pan-Africanism had a counterpart in the thought of white Progressives, in their interest in a sort of pan-Europeanism. As Stanley Caine notes, "obligations to Europe pervaded the reform movement." Intellectuals, in particular, helped to "bring to light relevant parts of the European experience that would aid Americans in achieving a better society. As America's problems, revolving around urbanization and industrialization, came to resemble those with which Europeans were already dealing, many who had earlier viewed Europe with skepticism now sought to learn from its successes and failures" (Caine, "The Origins of Progressivism," in *The Progressive Era*, ed. Lewis Gould [Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1974], 17).
 73. Zamir, *Dark Voices*, 137.
 74. Bruce, "Idea of Double-Consciousness," 302.
 75. See Reed, *American Political Thought*, 43-51.
 76. Du Bois, "Conservation," in *W. E. B. Du Bois Speaks*, 73. Subsequent references to the text will be to this version by page number only. The speech can also be found in its originally printed form ("The Conservation of Races" [Washington, D.C.: American Negro Academy, 1897]).
 77. Anthony Appiah believes that Du Bois's movement toward a sociohistorical definition of race is "uncompleted" in this early speech. We disagree, suggesting instead that what Appiah has uncovered in the text is not an arrested or uncompleted argument but rather an attempt by Du Bois to hold two competing and contradictory definitions of race in solution (Appiah, "The Uncompleted Argument: Du Bois and the Illusion of Race," *Critical Inquiry* 12 [1985]: 21-37).
 78. Thomas K. McCraw, "The Progressive Legacy," in *The Progressive Era*, 192.
 79. Dewey W. Grantham Jr., "The Progressive Movement and the Negro," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 54 (1955): 461.
 80. Lewis Gould, introduction to *The Progressive Era*, 10.
 81. Grantham, "Progressive Movement," 465.
 82. Alex Lichtenstein, "Good Roads and Chain Gangs in the Progressive South: The Negro Convict is a Slave," *Journal of Southern History* 59 (1993): 91.
 83. Raymond Hall, *Black Separatism in the United States* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1978), 53.
 84. David W. Southern, *The Malignant Heritage: Yankee Progressives and the Negro Question, 1901-1914* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1968), 1.
 85. Gould notes that "the period itself is . . . full of contradictions and paradoxes" (introduction to *The Progressive Era*, 8-9), and Caine suggests, vaguely, that "Progressivism began with the breaking of chains of intellectual and religious thought that bound Americans in the late nineteenth century to precepts and assumptions that militated against reform" ("Origins," in *The Progressive Era*, 11). Robert Crunden takes as his thesis that "progressivism was a climate of creativity within which writers, artists, politicians, and thinkers functioned" and goes on to argue that "Progressives shared no

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- platform, nor were they members of a single movement" (*Ministers of Reform: The Progressives' Achievement in American Civilization, 1889-1920* [New York: Basic Books, 1982], ix).
86. John White, *Black Leadership in America: From Booker T. Washington to Jesse Jackson*, 2d ed. (New York: Longman, 1990), 44.
 87. Louis Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), vii.
 88. S. Jay Walker, "Booker T. Washington: 'Separatist' in Golden Chains," in *Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason*, ed. Raymond L. Hall (New York: Pergamon Press, 1977), 56.
 89. Lewis, *Biography*, 238.
 90. Booker T. Washington, as quoted in Wilson J. Moses, *The Wings of Ethiopia: Studies in African-American Life and Letters* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990), 99.
 91. See J. P. Flynn, "Booker T. Washington: Uncle Tom or Wooden Horse," *Journal of Negro History* 54 (1969): 262-74.
 92. Louis Harlan, *Booker T. Washington in Perspective* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1988), 111, 115.
 93. Southern, *Malignant Heritage*, 13-14.
 94. For Washington and black nationalism, see Moses, *Wings of Ethiopia*, 95-105. On Washington's fit within Progressive Era politics, see Grantham, "Progressive Movement," 475.
 95. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R.* (1955; reprint, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), 202-3.
 96. Crunden, *Ministers of Reform*, ix.
 97. See, for example, Du Bois's *The Gift of Black Folk* for his exploration of the various contributions made by African Americans to American culture. Though much of this book focuses on the material contributions made by African Americans—through labor and in the armed services, for example—Du Bois also notes that "a Negro American literature has arisen of deep significance, and Negro folk lore and music are among the choicest heritages of this land" (Du Bois, *The Gift of Black Folk*, iii).
 98. Houston A. Baker Jr., "The Black Man of Culture: W. E. B. Du Bois and *The Souls of Black Folk*," in *Critical Essays on W. E. B. Du Bois*, ed. William L. Andrews (Boston: G. K. Hall and Co, 1985), 131-32.
 99. Lewis, *Biography*, 287. Du Bois's original review of *Up from Slavery* is "The Evolution of Negro Leadership," *Dial*, 16 July 1901, 53-55.
 100. Gibson, introduction to *Souls*, xix; Rampersad, *Art and Imagination*, 69, 81.
 101. Rampersad, *Art and Imagination*, 69.
 102. Robert B. Stepto, "The Quest of the Weary Traveler: W. E. B. Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk*," in *Critical Essays on W. E. B. Du Bois*, 149.
 103. Much of the following analysis relies on Robert E. Terrill and Michael C. Leff, "The Polemicist as Artist: Du Bois's Response to Booker T. Washington," in *Argumentation and Values: Proceedings of the Ninth SCA/AFA Conference on Argumentation*, ed. Sally Jackson (Annandale, Va.: Speech Communication Association, 1995), 230-36. See also James Andrews, Michael C. Leff, and Robert E. Terrill, *Reading Rhetorical Texts: An Introduction to Criticism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 116-33.
 104. Du Bois, *Souls*, 30.
 105. Marable, *Black Radical Democrat*, 83.
 106. See Michael Calvin McGee, "A Materialist's Conception of Rhetoric," in *Explorations in Rhetoric: Studies in Honor of Douglas Ehninger*, ed. R. E. McKerrow (Glenview, Ill.: Scott Foresman Co., 1982).
 107. Elliot P. Skinner, *African Americans and U.S. Policy toward Africa, 1850-1924: In Defense of Black Nationality* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1992), 521.
 108. John L. Golden and Richard D. Rieke, *The Rhetoric of Black Americans* (Columbus, Ohio: C. E. Merrill, 1971), 235.
 109. Lewis, *Biography*, 316.
 110. Marable, *Black Radical Democrat*, 92.
 111. Lewis, *Biography*, 327.
 112. *Ibid.*, 338.

113. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Writings in Periodicals Edited by W. E. B. Du Bois: Selections from the "Horizon"* (White Plains, N.Y.: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1985), 3.
114. Du Bois, *Selections from the "Horizon,"* 3. In the interests of textual economy, further references to Du Bois's writings in the *Horizon* will be to this volume by parenthetical page number unless the reference is not clear from the context.
115. Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1987). Bernal's central argument is that features of Greek philosophy and religion can be traced to northern Africa.
116. Du Bois, *Autobiography*, 255.
117. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Writings in Periodicals Edited by W. E. B. Du Bois: Selections from the "Crisis"* (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1983), 1:153. All future references to Du Bois's works in the *Crisis* will be to this volume, by parenthetical page number, unless the reference is not clear from the context.
118. Du Bois, *Autobiography*, 256.
119. See W. E. B. Du Bois, *Selections, 1877-1934*, vol. 1 of *The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois*, ed. Herbert Aptheker (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), 180, 191, 207.
120. Du Bois, *Autobiography*, 293.
121. The brief biographical sketch that follows is based primarily on E. David Cronon, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1955). Hal W. Bochin also provides an excellent brief biographical sketch of Garvey ("Marcus Moziah Garvey," in *African-American Orators: A Bio-critical Sourcebook*, ed. Richard W. Leeman [Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1996]), 151-62. And Du Bois provides his own "brief . . . history of the Garvey movement" (*Selections from the "Crisis,"* 283-84).
122. Marcus M. Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* (New York: Atheneum, 1967), 2:126. Most of Garvey's important speeches and statements have been collected by his widow, Amy Jacques Garvey, in the two volumes of *Philosophy and Opinions*. The first volume was published in 1923, and the second followed in 1925, but most often today these two volumes are found together as a single volume, though retaining the original pagination. Most of the speeches and statements contained in these volumes are culled from Garvey's editorials in the *Negro World*, but many are undated and lack other references to their original place of publication.
123. Booker T. Washington, as quoted in Cronon, *Black Moses*, 19.
124. Hall, *Black Separatism*, 60; Cronon suggests a direct causal connection between "Garvey's amazing success in the rapid organization of the Negro masses" and "his establishment in January, 1918, of the Negro World, the U.N.I.A.'s New York newspaper" (*Black Moses*, 45). The *Negro World* was published weekly until 1933.
125. *Ibid.*, 83.
126. Hugh Mulzac, "Memoirs of a Captain of the Black Star Line," in *Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa*, ed. J. H. Clarke and A. J. Garvey (New York: Random House, 1974), 127-28.
127. Rampersad, *Art and Imagination*, 148.
128. Skinner, *U.S. Policy toward Africa*, 523.
129. Rampersad, *Art and Imagination*, 149.
130. Bernard Boxill, "Two Traditions in African American Political Philosophy," in *African-American Perspectives and Philosophical Traditions*, ed. John P. Pittman (New York: Routledge, 1997).
131. Golden and Rieke, *Rhetoric of Black Americans*, 43.
132. Du Bois, near the end of his life, also commented in detail on these two dominant traditions in African-American political thought. "Historically, beginning with their thought in the eighteenth century and coming down to the twentieth," he wrote, "Negroes have tended to . . . emphasize two lines of action." The first is the assimilationist tradition, based upon "the assumption on one hand that most race prejudice is a matter of ignorance to be cured by information; and on the other hand that much discrimination is a matter of deliberate devilry and unwillingness to be just." "The second group effort to which Negroes have turned," Du Bois continues, "is more extreme and decisive." This is the effort exemplified by the recurrent "back to Africa"

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movements that Du Bois insisted appeal not only to the "inexperienced and to demagogues," but also "to the black man who is tired of begging for justice and recognition from folk who seem to him to have no intention of being just and do not propose to recognize Negroes as men" (*Dusk of Dawn*, 192-95).

133. Du Bois, *Souls*, 5.
134. Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions*, 1:50.
135. *Ibid.*, 1:25.
136. *Ibid.*, 2:37.
137. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Writings by W. E. B. Du Bois in Periodicals Edited by Others* (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1982), 2:147.
138. Du Bois, *Selections from the "Crisis,"* 331.
139. *Ibid.*, 331-32. On the next page of this issue of the *Crisis*, Du Bois issued a warning to "expect the Demagog [sic] among Negroes more and more." Du Bois does not mention Garvey by name, but it is clear that he must be referring to him.
140. Garvey, *Philosophies and Opinions*, 2:64.
141. *Ibid.*, 2:66.
142. Du Bois, *Selections from the "Crisis,"* 168.
143. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Writings*, ed. Nathan Huggins (New York: Library of America, 1986), 930. An essay with the same title, and some of the same phrases, appeared in 1910 in the *Independent* (Du Bois, *Edited by Others*, 25-29).
144. Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions*, 2:97-98.
145. *Ibid.*, 2:103.
146. *Ibid.*, 2:39.
147. *Ibid.*, 2:96.
148. Care should be taken not to oversimplify Garvey's program. As Cronon points out, "It was never Garvey's intention that all Negroes in the New World would return to Africa and in this sense it is misleading to call his scheme a Back to Africa movement. Rather he believed like many Zionists that once a strong African nation was established Negroes everywhere would automatically gain needed prestige and strength and could look to it for protection if necessary" (*Black Moses*, 184-85). In another remarkable correlation between Du Bois's thought and Garvey's, Du Bois, in an unpublished letter written in 1897, lays out in some detail a plan for a line of ships to carry people and material to Africa. Like Garvey, Du Bois insists in this letter that not all African Americans should go to Africa; only the strongest and most intelligent would be worth the expenditure ("On Migration to Africa," in *Against Racism: Unpublished Essays, Papers, Addresses, 1887-1961*, ed. Herbert Aptheker [Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1985], 43-49).
149. Du Bois, *Selections from the "Crisis,"* 167-68, 188.
150. Du Bois, *Writings*, 948.
151. Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions*, 1:41.
152. Lewis, *Biography*, 456, 505.
153. Du Bois, *Edited by Others*, 176, 178.
154. Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions*, 1:29.
155. *Ibid.*, 2:56-57.
156. *Ibid.*, 2:71.
157. *Ibid.*, 1:52.
158. *Ibid.*, 2:40.
159. As Edwin S. Redkey points out, because of the northern migration of African Americans in the decades just prior to Garvey's arrival, "Garvey's followers . . . were the same Southern black marginal farmers who had responded to the emigration appeals of Bishop Turner and his followers a generation earlier" (*Black Exodus: Black Nationalist and Back-to-Africa Movements, 1890-1910* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969], 177).
160. Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions*, 2:7.
161. *Ibid.*, 1:21, 23, 76.
162. *Ibid.*, 2:303-4.
163. *Ibid.*, 2:57, 310-11, 313, 318.
164. *Ibid.*, 2:43.

165. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 300-3.
166. Du Bois, *Autobiography*, 294.
167. *Ibid.*, 297-98.
168. *Ibid.*, 310.
169. John Hope had died in 1936, leaving the nearly seventy-year-old scholar without an strong administrative ally. Du Bois developed a strongly Afrocentric plan to link black scholars at land-grant universities in a "program of cooperative social studies" that could have rankled any number of potential enemies; Du Bois himself believed that his "sudden retirement then savored of a deliberate plot, although this cannot be proven" (*ibid.*, 319-22).
170. Paul Robeson, *Here I Stand* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958), 119.
171. Du Bois, *Autobiography*, 347.
172. *Ibid.*, 379.
173. *Ibid.*, 395.
174. L. W. Phillips, "W. E. B. Du Bois and Soviet Communism: *The Black Flame* as Socialist Realism," in *Socialist Realism without Shores* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995).