

WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS
AS HISTORIAN

I. Early Life and Education

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was born on February 23, 1868 at Great Barrington, in western Massachusetts. At that time, the small New England town had a population of approximately 5,050 persons, of whom fifty were colored. Very early in life he was made aware of America's caste system based on race, but his own temperament and intellectual superiority permitted him to rise above this in his local community. Later, however, these early experiences plus those he received when attending college at Fisk University and later at Harvard were deciding factors in a life devoted to erasing racial barriers. He felt that "the Negro ~~population~~^{problem} was....a matter of systematic and intelligent understanding. The world was thinking wrong about race, because it did not know....The cure was knowledge based on scientific investigation." This cure he sought both through scientific studies and through propaganda.

His background is interesting. On his maternal side, reaching back from the eighth generation,¹ he is a descendant of one Tom Burghardt who, when a boy, was stolen from the West African coast and enslaved. He became the property of the Coenrod Burghardt family, associated prominently in Dutch colonial history² and "particularly identified" with the little town of Great Barrington.

This slave was a soldier during the Revolutionary War. An official record exists of his service in the Record Index of the Military Archives of Massachusetts, Volume 23, page 2. After the war,³ he was regarded as a freeman. Tom Burghardt was Du Bois' great great grandfather.

1. W. E. B. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn. An Essay Toward an Autobiography (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940) p. 113.

↪ 2. Ibid., p. 110.

↪ 3. Ibid., p. 111.

On his paternal side, he can trace his parentage back many more generations to Chretien Du Bois, a French Huguenot farmer and artisan, who lived near Lille in French Flanders.⁴ His great grandfather was Dr. James Du Bois, "physician and landholder along the Hudson and in the Bahaman Islands." This doctor had two sons, Alexander and John, by a slave woman on his West Indian plantation. About the year 1810, he brought them to the United States and entered them in the private Episcopal School at Cheshire, Connecticut. At their father's death, two years later, they were removed from the school and bound out as apprentices to a shoemaker, as the father's will had made no provision for his sons.⁵

Du Bois' father, Alfred, the son of Alexander, was a handsome, irresponsible, gay and carefree fellow, who neither settled long at one place nor at any one job.⁶ In fact, the boy was reared by his mother and was closely associated with his mother's family, members of whom were small farmers or personal or domestic servants. He did not see his paternal grandfather until he was fifteen years old; and he never knew his father except through a picture, which showed him dressed in the uniform of the Union Army. He did not, however, actually serve in the war.

His mother supported herself and her son by boarding her brother, a barber. This was supplemented infrequently by domestic service and by gifts from charitable friends. Du Bois added to their income by various types of jobs, such as splitting kindling, mowing lawns, selling newspapers and distributing tea for the A and P Stores. When in high school, he became local correspondent for the Springfield Republican.⁷

Being free, his people for generations had attended school "for longer or shorter periods," so most of them could read and write, and he was brought up with the idea of regular school attendance.⁸

4. Ibid., p. 105.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., p. 108-109.

7. Ibid., p. 13.

8. Ibid., p. 12.

He excelled in his studies and was guided into the college preparatory course by his high school principal, who recognized the boy's unusual ability. As a college preparatory student, he occupied a special position in the small community, since few students from the town went to college.

He was graduated from the high school in 1884 at the age of sixteen, the first colored boy to stay in school long enough for that honor. He wanted to go to Harvard because "it was the greatest and oldest college," but his training had not adequately prepared him for Harvard and even if it had done so, he was without personal funds to defray his expenses there. After working a year as timekeeper on a construction job, earning \$1.00 a day,⁹ he was offered a scholarship to Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, then a small denominational school started by the Congregationalists for the Freedmen. This scholarship was made up of funds from four Connecticut churches, obtained through the good offices of the Reverend C. C. Painter, one-time Indian Agent, who formerly pastored these churches.¹⁰ Of these years, Du Bois says:

more The three years at Fisk were years of growth and development. I learned new things about the world. My knowledge of the race problem became definite. I saw discrimination in ways of which I had never dreamed; the separation of passengers on the railways of the South was just beginning; the race separation in living quarters throughout the cities and towns was manifest; the public disdain and even insult in race contact on the street continually took my breath; I came in contact for the first time with a sort of violence that I had never realized in New England; I remember going down and looking wide-eyed at the door of a public building, filled with buck-shot, where the editor of the leading daily paper had been publicly murdered the day before. I was astonished to find many of my fellow students carrying fire-arms and to hear their stories of adventure.¹¹

But his years at Fisk were inspiring and beneficial because of personal contacts with New England scholars who were still teaching in southern Negro Colleges:

9. Ibid., p. 20.
 10. Ibid., p. 22.
 11. Ibid., p. 30.

"Adam Spence...first taught me to know what the Greek language meant. In a funny little basement room crowded with apparatus, Frederick Chase gave me insight into natural science and talked with me about future study. I knew the President, Erastus Cravath, to be honest and sincere."¹² During his summers, he taught a rural school in the back country out from Nashville at twenty-eight dollars per month, and there gained experiences that helped to formulate his life's philosophy and furnished valuable materials for his later writings. He was graduated from Fisk in 1888 *having chosen "Bismarck" as the subject of his graduation paper,* and went to Harvard as he had planned, *having* obtained one of its numerous scholarships, ~~which~~ *this* he supplemented *after* with funds received from winning an oratorical contest.¹³

In 1890, he received another bachelor's degree from Harvard and took "Jefferson Davis" as the subject of his commencement address. He was commended by the Nation for the way he handled his subject; "with absolute good taste, great moderation, and almost contemptuous fairness."¹⁴ Still through various fellowships and scholarships, he obtained the master's degree in 1891 and the doctorate in 1895.

In the meantime, he had been influenced by the "extraordinary aggregation of great men" of the Harvard of 1888: He became a close friend as well as a pupil of William James. He had long talks with Josiah Royce and read Kant's Critique with Santayana. Nathaniel Shaler, "who made the eons of geology a living thing," became attracted by Du Bois' keen mind. Albert Bushnell Hart discussed with him "the tides and meaning of history" and appointed himself counselor to his graduate study, and he studied under Barrett Wendell "the pundit of Harvard English." Charles Eliot Norton, Frank Taussig, George Lyman Kittredge, while not close friends, were inspiring teachers. And although they were retired from active teach-

12. Ibid., p. 31.

13. Ibid., p. 36.

14. Ibid., p. 42.

ing, he had some contact with Oliver Wendell Holmes and James Russell Lowell.¹⁵ It was Hart who encouraged him to study at the University of Berlin, where he remained two years. He states: "It was at Harvard that my education, turning from philosophy, centered in history, then in economics and social problems. Today my course of study would have been called sociology; but in that day Harvard did not recognize any such science."¹⁶ He bombarded ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes of the newly established Slater Fund into giving him \$375 per year and lending him the same amount for his study abroad "properly to finish my education," he said. Both he and his professors felt that "careful training in an European University" was "absolutely indispensable." There he sat under "the fire-eating Pan-German, Von Treitschke." He was intimately associated with a number of scholars who at that time were establishing German leadership in scholarly attainments. It was during this time that he began to see the race problem in America, the problems of the peoples of Africa and Asia, and the political development of Europe as one.¹⁷

II. Later Life and Activities

From 1894 to 1896, he taught Greek, Latin, English and German at Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio. He left Wilberforce because "its religion was narrow dogma; its finances cramped; its policies too intertwined with intrigue and worse and its future in grave doubt." But Du Bois was almost fired from this job soon after his arrival for refusing to offer prayer when requested to do so at a student prayer meeting. At his appearance at their meeting, the student leader had said we will now have prayer by Dr. Du Bois. But Dr. Du Bois answered, *Oh* no you won't and left. He had similar difficulty later at Atlanta University, but was able to compromise the situation by reading his prayers from the Episcopal Prayer Book and by composing others for special occasions beforehand.

15. Ibid., pp. 37-38. See also Edwin R. Embree 13 Against the Odds (New York, The Viking Press, 1944) pp. 153-~~165~~.*e*

16. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 39.

17. Commonweal 34:31-4, My 2, 1941.

He spent the year 1896-97 at the University of Pennsylvania as an assistant instructor, making a social study entitled The Philadelphia Negro for that institution, which was published in 1899. From 1897 to 1910, as Professor of History and Economics at Atlanta University, he planned and directed sociological studies on Negro life with the hope of making "the laws of social living clearer, surer and more definite." It was at this time that he became known as one of the leading sociologists of the day, through the publication of the Atlanta University Studies on various problems relating to Negro life.¹⁸

From 1910 through ¹⁹³⁴1932 he was Director of Publications and Research of the newly established National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and edited the Crisis, the official organ of that organization, continuously during those years.¹⁹

In 1928, he went to Russia "on a journey of free inquiry" to see "the most momentous change in modern human history which had taken place since the French Revolution." Of his Russian journey, he said: "Since that trip my mental outlook and the aspect of the world will never be the same." This impression was later revealed through his writings, particularly Black Reconstruction, and through other activities.

Upon his return, he felt that the program of the NAACP should be revised to include organization among colored people to effect a stronger economic position; and that Negroes "and all the colored races of the world" had to work together and in union in a "massed might of an organized body," for equality. He wanted a racial program for economic salvation along the path of peace and organization. But he soon found that he was out of step with the policy of his organization, which did not wish to extend its program in this direction.

18. Current Biography 1940, pp. 259-60.

19. Who's Who in America, 1956-57.

Previously, he and the Association's officers had been able to reconcile their differences and there had been little interference with his editorial policy or in the operation of the Crisis. But when he began to criticize the policy and the work of the Association through its own official organ, the Board voted a denial of his right to do this; so he resigned and returned in ¹⁹³⁴ 1933 as Professor of Sociology to Atlanta University. He had broken completely with the NAACP and the Crisis, in spite of the fact that in 1909 the Niagara Movement which he had founded, with twenty-five other Negro leaders in 1905, had ^{been} merged with the new Association.

In 1936, he obtained a grant from the Oberlaender Trust to restudy Germany and spent five months there and in England, France and Austria interviewing scholars as Chairman of the editorial board of the Encyclopedia of the Negro, which had been projected by the Phelps Stokes Fund in 1932. At this time, he also took a two months' trip around the world. This journey with other tours abroad gave him further insights into the world's problems.

During this second period at Atlanta University he edited Phylon, a Review of Race and Culture, and was able to complete his work, Black Reconstruction.

In 1944, he returned to New York and the NAACP as Director of Special Research "specifically for the purpose of concentrating on study of colonial peoples and peoples of Negro descent throughout the world, and to revive the Pan-African Congresses" which he had organized in 1919.²⁰ It was then that his book The World and Africa (1947) was released.

He was dismissed a second time from the NAACP in 1948, evidently for his membership in the Council on African Affairs, which had been placed on the Attorney-General's list of subversive organizations.²¹

20. W. E. B. Du Bois, In Battle for Peace (New York, Masses and Mainstream, 1952) p. 16.

21. Ibid., p. 17.

He then became Vice-President of the Council on African Affairs, the remuneration of which was office space and the services of a secretary. He accepted office in the Council because of his "belief in the work which the Council should do for Africa" and "because of my belief that no man or organization should be denied the right to a legal career because of political or religious beliefs."²²

In the meantime he had served as consultant at the United Nations Organization Conference in San Francisco²³ and in 1950 he ran for senator from New York under the American Labor Party's sponsorship.²⁴

On February 9, 1951, as an officer of the Peace Information Center he was indicted for "failure to register as agent of a foreign principal,"²⁵ but was acquitted of the charge.²⁶

In 1952, he published an account of his peace activities entitled In Battle for Peace, The Story of My 83rd Birthday, with comments by Shirley Graham, his second wife, also a writer, whom he married at the time of his indictment. Although already engaged, the marriage was rushed up, so, as his wife, she could visit him were he sent to prison.

At the age of eighty-eight, Dr. Du Bois maintained an office in downtown New York and fulfilled speaking engagements.²⁷

At the age of ninety-one, Dr. Du Bois had completed Book One of a proposed trilogy The Black Flame, and as of March 1, 1959, was again traveling in Europe and Asia.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., Chapter 6.

25. Ibid., pp. 55, 63.

26. Ibid., Chapter 13.

27. The Pittsburgh Courier, March 24, 1956, p. 8.

III. General Survey of Works Having Historical Significance

Du Bois has not confined his literary efforts to history but has made excursions into several fields of intellectual endeavor--history, sociology, and literature, including fiction. There is one link, however, that all of his works have in common--they deal with the Negro and his problems.

It is quite evident that he had mapped out for himself a career in sociology, although history was his major field. This is indicated by his early interest in social problems; by his work in connection with the Atlanta Conference, which assembled each year at Atlanta University; by his editing annually the Proceedings of these conferences and by his own studies in the field. The Philadelphia Negro, made early in his career, has withstood the criticism of the years.²⁸

This career was interrupted because support for his work was no longer available. As he saw it, philanthropy was interested only in the type of program being carried on at Tuskegee Institute in industrial education and was not at all concerned about scientific studies that would reveal the Negro in his true perspective. For this reason, he was forced to accept the offer to connect himself with the newly organized National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and also to turn away from science to propaganda, he said.

In addition to his Atlanta University Studies, the Philadelphia study, and Dusk of Dawn, his autobiography, Du Bois has written three novels, The Quest of the Silver Fleece (1911), Dark Princess (1928), and The Ordeal of Mansart (1957), *Book One* of a trilogy entitled The Black Flame. The Ordeal of Mansart is essentially the story of the Negro in America from 1870 to 1916. Neither The Quest of the Silver

28. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 49.

Fleece nor Dark Princess was successful, although Du Bois calls Dark Princess his favorite book.²⁹

His four volumes of essays are The Souls of Black Folk (1903); Darkwater (1920); The Gift of Black Folk - The Negroes in the Making of America (1924); and Black Folk: Then and Now -- An Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race (1939). Of these, The Souls of Black Folk is of superior merit. Besides the historical value of some of the chapters, it is important as a study in classic English and is the volume that made him famous. The chapter on the Freedman's Bureau is of especial historical significance. It also contains an essay that challenged the leadership of Booker T. Washington. "Outwardly...a clash of conflicting theories of education," it was "actually a bitter political fight over the Negro's place in American society."³⁰ In fact, The Souls of Black Folk has been called "one of the few genuinely great books written in America in the first quarter of this century."³¹

The Gift of Black Folk was a contribution to a series fostered by the Knights of Columbus largely to offset the propaganda of the Ku Klux Klan. The volume was hurriedly done and Du Bois himself says it contains some "unpardonable errors," but calls it "basically sound."³² It has nine historical essays, each of which develops a specific contribution that the Negro has made. Its thesis is that "the contribution of the Negro to American nationality as slave, freedman and citizen is far from negligible"; that the Negro has not only been the subject of American literature but has created it. His "folklore and music are among the choicest heritages of this land."³³ Besides, this group has "played a peculiar spiritual role in America as a sort of living breathing test of our ideals and as an example of the faith, hope and tolerance of our religion."

29. Ibid., p. 270.

30. Nation, J1 24, 1935.

31. New York Herald Tribune, Je 13, 1935.

32. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 269.

33. See Preface to Gift of Black Folk, pp. i - ii.

In addition, the book undertakes to show "how the black fugitive, soldier and freedman after the Civil War helped to restore the union, establish public schools, enfranchise the poor whites and initiated democracy in America." The whole idea is carried much further in Black Reconstruction.

Black Folk Then and Now is a restatement of what was attempted in The Negro published in 1915, and is a history of the Negro in the United States, Africa, the West Indies and Latin America. Much of it had already appeared in his previous essays and in his major work, Black Reconstruction. Of this book Du Bois writes, "If not entirely according to the results of thorough scholarship, at least with scholarship as good as I am able to command with the time and money at my disposal....Far too few studies in history and sociology are works of exact scholarship." But because of world conditions in 1939, he felt impelled to publish it.³⁴

Darkwater, dealing mainly with the race problem, was not successful because of its "too strident tone."

John Brown is his only biography. The reason he gives for writing it is that it afforded an opportunity to lay new emphasis upon the material that such authors as Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, Richard Josiah Hinton, James Redpath, William Elsey Connelley and others had "so carefully collected" and "to treat these facts from a different point of view, that of the little known but vastly important inner development of the Negro American."

John Brown, he said, worked with Negroes and was a companion of their daily life. He knew their faults and virtues, and felt "the bitter tragedy of their lot." And his story would be incomplete unless due emphasis were given this phase of his activity. Since few records of Brown's friendship ^{with} ~~the~~ black men exist, he

34. See Preface to Black Folk: Then and Now, also Benjamin G. Brawley, A Short History of the American Negro 4th ed. (New York, The Viking Press, 1944), pp. 236-237, for a brief summary of his works.

felt, he had to depend on quoting from the works of previous authors. He wanted his book to be "a record and a tribute to the man who of all Americans has perhaps come nearest to touching the real soul of black folk."³⁵ He said John Brown's raid aroused and directed the conscience of the nation and led straight to the Civil War and beyond.

Two miscellaneous works remain to be mentioned: Color and Democracy (1945), which sets forth the author's ideas on colonialism³⁶ and in which he warns that North America and Europe can no longer be regarded as the world for which civilization exists, but that the majority of the inhabitants of the earth who, for the most part, are colored must be regarded as having the right and capacity to share in human progress; and In Battle for Peace; the Story of My 83rd Birthday, an account of his work with the Peace Information Center and the story of his indictment and acquittal of subversive activities.

IV. Major Historical Works

The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to America 1638-1870 (1896) and Black Reconstruction (1935) are Du Bois' major historical works.³⁷

1. The Suppression of the African Slave Trade

The Suppression is Du Bois' first book.³⁸ It was begun during his residence as Rogers Memorial Fellow at Harvard, as a Master's thesis and completed as a doctoral dissertation (1895). Later he worked it over in order to make it readable literature.³⁹ Written according to the German standards of scholarship, it is based to a large extent upon a study of primary sources, consisting

35. See Preface to John Brown.

36. See Preface to Color and Democracy.

37. Michael Kraus, The Writing of American History (Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 1944) pp. 310-311. e

38. Rayford W. Logan, The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901 (New York, The Dial Press, Inc., 1954) p. 331.

39. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 269.

of national, state and colonial statutes, documents, reports of societies, personal narratives and other similar materials. He also made use of secondary sources.

At the December, 1891 annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington, he read a preliminary paper on the subject entitled, "The Enforcement of the Slave Trade Laws," which appeared in the annual report of the Association for that year.⁴⁰

His dissertation was published as the first volume in the Harvard Historical Studies.⁴¹ It is concerned with the connection of the United States with the African slave trade from its beginning to its close.

The first six pages of the work relate to ~~the use of~~ the English slave trade and are introductory to the main theme. Three chapters describe the attitude of the North American colonies toward this traffic before the War of Independence in terms of the economy of each--planting, farming and trading.

The rest of the volume reveals that during the early part of the National period the Southern States apologized for slavery, the Middle States denounced it and the Eastern States tolerated it. Yet all three sections considered it a temporary institution, the cornerstone of which was the slave trade. In spite of this, the Act of 1807 prohibiting the trade under heavy penalties became in practice a dead letter.

It also shows that in the face of unanswerable proof, slave trade laws were systematically violated and the Federal Government remained apathetic.

Even when the National Government was not actually negligent, official judgment "was prone to" construe the law in favor of the slave traders and the courts could not be depended upon to punish clear cases of violation.

40. Ibid., p. 44.

41. Ibid., p. 269.

It was not until the Lincoln administration that "un-compromising suppression" took place, consisting of the hanging of a law breaker, and that a treaty was signed with Great Britain which "commissioned war vessels of either government...to search merchant vessels on the high seas and specified coasts, and if they were found to be slavers, or, on account of their construction or equipment, were suspected to be such, they were to be sent for condemnation to one of the mixed courts established at New York, Sierra Leone, and the Cape of Good Hope."

Du Bois holds that the Constitutional Convention compromises on slavery and the slave trade were a great political mistake; that it was the plain duty of the Convention in founding a new nation "to compromise with a threatening social evil only in case its settlement would thereby be postponed to a more favorable time....There never was a time in the history of America when the system had a slighter economic, political and moral justification than in 1787," he says, "and yet with this real, existent, growing evil before their eyes, a bargain largely of dollars and cents was allowed to open the highway that led straight to the Civil War.

"...No person would have seen the Civil War with more surprise and horror," he avers, "then ^{the} the Revolutionists of 1776; yet from the small apparently dying institution of their day arose the walled and castled Slave-Power. From this we may conclude," says Du Bois, "that it behooves nations as well as men to do things at the very moment when they ought to be done."

In The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States, Du Bois is the scientific historian. Irrelevant matter has been rigidly excluded. He approaches his subject with objectivity, though subjectivity is not absent. Attention was called to this by a critic in The Independent of November 17, 1904, who said that while "he uses an impersonal and judicial attitude of the traditional author...one who is born with a cause is predestined to a certain narrowness of view and at the same time to some clearness of vision within his limits with which the world often finds it well to reckon....The work loses "something of that

breadth of view which the more cosmopolitan races have, and with this goes an intensity of feeling and conviction which both wins and repels sympathy, and now enlightens now puzzles."

The research is exhaustive and the results well synthesized. He is even meticulous. For example, on page 105, footnote 2, when referring to a bill introduced on December 12, 1805, by Senator R. Bradley of Vermont "to prohibit the introduction of slaves after 1808," Du Bois writes: "On account of the meager records it is difficult to follow the course of this bill. I have pieced together information from various sources and trust that this account is approximately correct." And he cautions: "The collection of laws available for this research was...nearly complete; on the other hand, facts and statistics bearing on the economic side of the study have been difficult to find, and my conclusions are consequently liable to modification from this source."⁴²

At the time his Suppression was written, critics felt it was not only a critical account but it was a definitive account of the subject and that "he had produced a book by which every judgment on the subject of which it treats must be tested, at least for many years to come." It was predicted that it would "long remain the authoritative work on the subject."⁴³

Du Bois cites specific authority for important statements of fact and the conclusions of the study were tested by the general principles laid down in German universities.⁴⁴ On very few pages are footnotes omitted; to be exact, on only nineteen, and some of the footnotes are extremely enlightening, as ^{are} those on page twenty-eight showing how the slave trade made "a perfect circle," and on page 173 revealing how the Southern States voted at their Commercial Convention in 1859 on

42. See Preface to The Suppression of the African Slave Trade.

43. Nation 63:468 D 31, 1896.

44. See Preface to Suppression of the African Slave Trade.

the matter of reopening the slave trade. At the end of each chapter is placed a brief summary and in some instances a transitory paragraph to the next chapter.

Bernard C. Steiner of Johns Hopkins University felt that the author was too severe in his condemnation of the founders of the Constitution for their slave-trade compromise. He states that the advantages of union were so great and the margin by which it was finally secured so narrow, that it is easily understood how the Federalists "made all things bend to the one object."

He also thought that Du Bois' indictment against the United States which did not tax the slave trade, when it was in its power to do so, and which scarcely attempted to enforce the prohibitory Act of 1807, is just.⁴⁵

Another critic noted Du Bois' "moralistic attitude" and spoke of it as "his hortatory application," which seemed to "disclose a lack of appreciation of the subject in its historical proportions." He stated Du Bois had shown good judgment in the choice of his subject and had been "most industrious in gathering and arranging his material" but that "the substance of his monograph may be reached more succinctly in Lalor's Encyclopaedia of Political Science."⁴⁶

The narrative portion of the volume takes up approximately two-thirds of the whole; appendices containing chronological lists of colonial and state laws from 1641 to 1871, aiming to restrict the slave trade, a list of numerous cases of vessels engaged in the American trade and an excellent bibliography take up the other third. These are as valuable as the narrative itself.

2. Black Reconstruction

Long before its publication in 1935, Du Bois had been working on this study. In 1910 he had presented a paper before The American Historical Association on

45. Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science 9:432-4 My 1897.

46. Atlantic Monthly LXXIX - No. 474, April, 1897, pp. 560-2. ~~e~~

579: No. 479, 560-62 Ap 1897

"Black Reconstruction and Its Benefits" which "greatly exercised Ulrich B. Phillips, protagonist of the slave South," but which brought praise from Dunning of Columbia, Hart of Harvard and others. He was convinced at that time and has been more certain since, he states, "that the reason for certain adjectives applied to Reconstruction is purely racial. Reconstruction was 'tragic,' 'terrible,' a 'great mistake,' and a 'humiliation' not because of what actually happened" but "because here an attempt was initiated to make American democracy and the tenets of the Declaration of Independence apply not only to white men but to black men."

In Black Reconstruction, he sets out to revise the concept of the whole period, and in doing this Du Bois centers his attention on the Negro. The book has several themes, which may be summarized as follows:

1. Reconstruction was an attempt to restore to America the democracy whose existence and spread slavery had hindered and threatened to destroy.

2. The slaves won the war by a general strike, which transferred their labor from the Confederate planter to the northern invader. Further, that the North could not have won the war had the Negro remained in slavery and that "arms in his hands and the prospect of arms in a million more...hands brought peace and emancipation."

3. The Freedmen's Bureau was "the most extraordinary and far-reaching institution of social uplift that America has ever attempted," being a dictatorship intended to curb landowners and capitalists "in the interest of a black and white labor class."

4. The greatest opportunity for a real labor movement which the nation has ever seen or is likely to see was found in the South after the war; but the labor movement did not realize it.

5. Negro legislators "were ordinary men who according to their training and experience and economic condition did extraordinarily well" and do not deserve the abuse that they have usually been given, as they were no more responsible for waste

and corruption in the South than the laboring class was to blame for greater waste and dishonesty in the North and they were not proved incapable of self-government. He refutes the misrepresentations of Reconstruction Governments and concludes that what happened was a "perfectly normal development."

6. Negro suffrage failed because it was overthrown by force. Never having been thoroughly converted to the idea of equality, the North accepted the doctrine of the survival of the fittest as proof that what it had attempted in the South was impossible.

In his last chapter, entitled "The Propaganda of History," the historians of the Reconstruction Period receive the full blast of Du Bois' revision. He calls inexcusable the interpretation of United States history between 1866 and 1876, as something the nation ought to be ashamed of; or that it retarded the American Negro more than anything that has happened to him, while at the same time it wounded again a part of the nation already "hurt to death."

No historian or institution is too sacred for his criticism. He accuses James Ford Rhodes, Columbia and Johns Hopkins Universities, John W. Burgess, William A. Dunning, their works and their students with producing volumes which for the most part have been one-sided and partisan. He particularly condemns Hamilton's Southern Legislation in Respect of Freedmen as the climax, when he characterizes the Black Codes "not only...on the whole reasonable, temperate and kindly, but in the main necessary."

Garner's Reconstruction in Mississippi and Simkins' and Woody's Reconstruction in South Carolina and some others while influenced by the same general attitude have more "scientific poise" and cultural background, he writes.

He names others who did not try to falsify the picture: Frances Butler Leigh, Susan Smedes, McPherson, Oberholtzer, Nicolay and Hay, as well as foreign travellers such as Sir George Campbell, Georges Clemenceau and Robert Somers.

Some ^{other} personal reminiscences are also exempted. But Beale in his Critical Year, he says, does not even take the Negro into account.

But the worst sin of all, according to Du Bois, is the fact that the chief witness in Reconstruction, the emancipated slave, has been "banned from court," his written Reconstruction record largely destroyed and nearly always neglected and only three or four states have preserved debates in Reconstruction Conventions. The result has been that unfair caricatures of the Negro are carefully preserved while serious speeches, successful administration and upright character have been almost universally ignored and forgotten.

In addition, Du Bois castigates the writers of history textbooks for their role in not setting forth the real facts, saying, such a state of affairs would permit American children "to complete their education without any idea of the part which the black race has played in America; of the tremendous moral problem of abolition; of the cause and meaning of the Civil War and the relation which Reconstruction had to democratic government and the labor movement today."

He holds this omission was more than "difference of emphasis." It was the way in which American historians as scientists treated the period. From this accusation, neither the Beards nor the Encyclopaedia Britannica are exempt.

Black Reconstruction was the culmination of what Du Bois had been writing and thinking all through the years. Some critics thought it one of the most controversial books that had come from the press in a long time. While none denied the validity of his hypothesis, there was pretty general agreement that many of his interpretations were questionable. Sterling D. Spero said that if Du Bois has been content to present the Negro as "an average and ordinary human being who under given environment develops like other human beings," and had stopped there, the book would have been an important contribution, but his "old race consciousness and new Marxism" would not permit him to remain content with his major thesis. Spero objects to Du Bois' turning the Negro plantation slaves into a "revolutionary working class," to his making "the Reconstruction legis-

latures into dictatorships of the proletariat," to his assigning the Negro a "conscious and deliberate role in his own emancipation," and to his assuming that the addition of Negroes to Northern armies was "a decisive factor in winning the war." Nevertheless, he calls the work a "literary event."⁴⁷

Charles S. Johnson called it "a brilliant brief" against "a vast conspiracy of silence," and agreed that "the one opportunity for a dictatorship of labor in the South collapsed before organized and triumphant capital." The great and positive value he saw in this impassioned outburst of a sensitive scholar's long brooding over the miswritten and unwritten history of a people" was that it would "demand a new accounting."⁴⁸

Stating that the publication was one which defied classification, and one which possessed an "unyielding passion for a 'wider beauty' and a greater justice than history affords," Howard W. Odum thought that Du Bois' thesis centered primarily on a sociological problem, rather than an historical epoch. To him the volume was a catalogue of the phenomenon of "race conflict and exploitation of minority peoples, with its long train of resulting processes and cumulative conditioning...visible the world over." So grave, he felt, was the situation that society "must reconstruct the motives and techniques of race relations."

The second significance of the book to Odum was its revelation that race is not/^{an}entirety in itself--"a purely physical product" but "the result of long developed regional folk culture."

And finally, he said, it is false to assume that Negroes are an inferior race and must continue to develop in certain ways because under regional and cultural conditions they have in the past developed in these ways. But while even Du Bois

47. Nation, J1 24, 1935.

48. Survey Graphic, 25:48 Ja 1936.

has not told all of the injustices, it was asking too much to expect a single generation to change the powerful folkways of the centuries.

Concerning motives assigned by Du Bois to planters, poor whites and slaves, Odum thought, "the planters were scarcely wise enough to measure up to his assumptions of their motives, the poorer white folk were not so articulate in their ideals of education as he makes them" and "the slaves fled for refuge toward the Northern armies, but was it true that they wanted to stop the economy of the plantation system, and to do that they left the plantation?"⁴⁹ He thought not.

In addition to some of the criticisms already mentioned, Dr. Avery O. Craven said Black Reconstruction was not even history but simply bitterness against the injustices of slavery and racial prejudice. He charged Du Bois with ignoring source materials "so essential to any rewriting of history," and with using "abolition propaganda and the biased statements of partisan politicians." Then he calls Du Bois to account for his "temper," which, according to Craven, is as bad as his sources.

In spite of his devastating criticism, this historian does see some value in Du Bois' work, particularly in the sketches of Reconstruction in the separate states, which give "a needed emphasis" to the Negroes' part there; and he agrees that too much emphasis has been put on the evils and not enough on the good done "by Negro-carpetbag-scalaway governments." He admits too that Du Bois made "a real contribution when he placed the struggle over Reconstruction in the larger drive for democracy and larger social-economic justice." But his final thrust is that Du Bois distorts facts, although he does not enlarge on this.⁵⁰

49. Yale Review n.s. 25:214 Autumn 1935.

50. American Journal of Sociology 41:535 Ja 1936.

Craven is unfair about the source materials; the fact is Du Bois uses both primary and secondary sources. For example, listed are The Charleston Daily Courier; Congressional Globe; Testimony Before Reconstruction Committee Feb. 21, 1866, Part II; New Orleans Tribune; Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction 1866; New York Tribune; Proceedings of the National Convention of Colored Men, Held in Syracuse, New York, October 4-7, 1864; Proceedings of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction 1866, Part II; Ku Klux Klan Report. South Carolina, Parts I and II; 42 Congress, 2nd Session, House Report II, No. 22, Part I, and others.

But the criticism of this work by Abram L. Harris is classic. Besides reviewing defects already indicated, Harris brought new ones to bear. He declared that Du Bois' "discovery of Marxism as a critical instrument was too recent and sudden for it to discipline his mental processes or basically to change his social philosophy," which is fundamentally that of a racist and comes very near being "racial chauvinism." And if "the Negro's political power and organization represented and experiment in Marxism, the socialistic character of the experiment was wholly unappreciated by Marx himself."

The "'dictatorship of black labor' rested upon the military power of the government, and was therefore compelled to serve the interests of northern capital, which controlled the government. Had Negro control of the Southern States during the Reconstruction been of a different character, it would never have been supported by Stevens and Sumner...members of the capitalist class. There was no fundamental conflict between them and the less radical representations of Northern finance and industry as Dr. Du Bois thinks. The Civil War completed our bourgeois revolution and like all such revolutions produced its...rights and lefts. Sumner and Stevens were simply...the radical exponents of the liberal democratic traditions that had triumphed with the economic success of the revolution. They knew that equal citizenship was meaningless without property, the basis of the democratic rights of man. Thus, in addition to their advocacy of Negro political equality and suffrage rights they sought to make Negroes small land owners. But neither Sumner

nor Stevens would sanction confiscation of land in order to assure the Negro his 'forty acres and a mule.'

"Moreover, the fact that the dominant ideal of Negro life was that of the American common man makes Dr. Du Bois' interpretation all the more fantastic. This ideal which Abraham Lincoln expressed as the right of every man to 'look forward and hope to be a hired laborer this year and the next, work for himself afterwards, and finally hire men to work for him,' was simply re-echoed in Negro life by such leaders as Frederick Douglass and Martin Delaney. Belief in their ability to realize this essential middle-class ambition prevented any 'Marxian experiment' among the Negroes or, for that matter, among the white workingmen of that day.

"And the persistence of the Negro's belief in the possibility of economic and social advancement by means of business enterprise and the accumulation of property by individual members of the race, not to mention his abiding faith in the good will of the wealthy white man, has until this day confined his radicalism mainly to militant civil liberalism."⁵¹

According to Howard K. Beale, Du Bois' use of the revolutionary thesis as applied to the Civil War was valid, as many have accepted it since its pronouncement by Beard. But Du Bois failed in its application "because he did not comprehend the importance in Southern life of the yeoman farmer who was neither slave-owning nor 'poor white.' With proper reservations and qualifications, it is still true for many parts of the South that control by large property holders of political, economic and social life, based on slave labor was displaced by a more democratic way of life, based on free labor, and that this change not only emancipated Negro

51. New Republic 83:367 Ag 7, 1935.

slaves but gave poor white men a chance to seek more political power. It is in terms of this two-fold revolutionary hypothesis that the period needs to be re-examined."⁵²

V. Du Bois, The Historian

Du Bois was the first Negro American to receive the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, from Harvard University.⁵³ He began his career, as has been pointed out, as a scientific historian. His Suppression of the African Slave Trade clearly indicates this. In the early part of his career he not only recognized the merits of the scientific method but was anxious to test his conclusions by the best techniques then known--those used by German scholars. He later transformed this extremely scientific treatise into readable literature.⁵⁴

Much of the material that went into his books were first read before learned societies, later published as articles in journals and then released in book form. Data in The Suppression of the African Slave Trade and in Black Reconstruction went through these stages. Essays used in The Souls of Black Folk and in The Gift of Black Folk are easily recognizable in his larger work, and their titles show the germ of future publications.

At the height of his career, he was one of the best trained men of his time. During his teaching days in Atlanta, he is said to have been "the deepest scholar and most gifted writer" in the city.⁵⁵

Du Bois is under no delusions about his bias as a historian and makes no effort to hide his prejudices. He is openly and belligerently pro-Negro. This partisanship was one of the reasons for his turning propagandist, and he was selected for the post as Director of Research and Publicity of the NAACP because

45: 813-14 J.L. 1940.

-
52. American Historical Review XLV, July 1940, pp. 813-14. e
 53. Rayford W. Logan, The Negro in American Life and Thought, p. 331.
 54. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 269.
 55. Edwin R. Embree, 13 Against the Odds, pp. 153-165.

of "his independence of judgment, his fearlessness in expressing his convictions and his acute and wide-reaching intelligence."⁵⁶ His scientific approach was certainly not helped by his realization that prejudices are not necessarily changed by knowledge, nor by his whole approach to the leadership of Booker T. Washington as educator and as leader and spokesman for the Negro race. Both of these factors had profound effect on his career, as he reveals in Dusk of Dawn.

"I do not for a moment doubt," he says, "that my Negro descent and narrow group culture have in many cases predisposed me to interpret my facts too favorably for my race...I realize that the truth of history lies not in the mouths of partisans but rather in the calm science that sits between. Her cause I seek to serve, and wherever I fail, I am at least paying Truth the respect of earnest effort."⁵⁷

In spite of Du Bois' great respect for "Truth," one may doubt if he has ever been objective since writing The Suppression of the African Slave Trade.

Nevertheless, no one can read Black Reconstruction without profound respect for the scholarship of its author; nor can one deny the sensitiveness of his feeling, the "passionate earnestness of his conviction" and "the uncompromising sharpness of his thought and expression."

While he without doubt tipped the scale in favor of the Negro, it is equally true that only in such over-emphasis could he call attention to the over-balance in the other direction of those who had previously set out to rewrite Reconstruction from the Southern point of view.

Du Bois restored a balance that was lacking in the writings of this period⁵⁸ as his was the first and only version of Reconstruction written and interpreted from the point of view of "the efforts and experiences of the Negro" and in which he puts the struggle of this group in a world setting. In turning revisionist,

56. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 314.

57. W. E. B. Du Bois, Black Folk: Then and Now (New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1939). See Preface.

58. New York Herald-Tribune, Je 13, 1935.

he thus made an original contribution to American historiography and "boldly established" his own new version of it.

This scholar, however, does not always practice the tenets of good scholarship. In the historical essays appearing in The Souls of Black Folk, while no sources are given, there is every evidence that sources were utilized.

And in quoting sources, Du Bois is not at all careful. For example, in Black Reconstruction, on page 159, he quotes from page eighty-nine of Ficklin and makes the "s" in "State" small where Ficklin had capitalized it. Ficklin, on page 77, used the word d___ fool, with the first word omitted. Du Bois writes out both words. On page fourteen, in quoting from Woodson, page 218, he changes "crowned headed tyrants" to "crown-headed tyrants" and makes the capital "D" in "Democrat" small.

In John Brown, page 104, he leaves out a whole sentence in quoted material from Frederick Douglass' Life and Times, but does not indicate such omission. There are four errors of quotation in this one passage.

Two more examples will suffice for Du Bois' disregard for these minutiae. On page 125 of F. B. Sanborn's The Life and Letters of John Brown, where Sanborn makes a Bible quotation, using Roman numerals, Du Bois uses Arabic numbers and his own punctuation. On page 608, Sanborn uses "should," Du Bois quotes it as "would"; and changes "indorsing" to "endorsing."

While not one of his major works, it seems that John Brown is the essence of this scholar's worst work according to critics, even though he thought it one of the best things he had done. It "met a curious fate," he says, because he unconsciously "had entrenched on the chosen field of a writer who controlled powerful literary vehicles." This writer severely criticized his work, "most unfairly," he felt; and he was not given an opportunity to defend himself.⁵⁹

59. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 268.

No doubt one of the criticisms appeared in the Nation of October 28, 1909. Three charges were made against John Brown. The first was that it lacked originality. This accusation does not appear to be valid, for Du Bois admitted this in his Preface. The second charge was that he repeated errors that were found in the works on which he relied, although much new evidence "had come to light in Kansas and elsewhere of importance to the interpreter of Brown and his times." And the third criticism was that Du Bois made errors of his own that could have been avoided had he taken time to do so.

The critic ended with the statement that in spite of its unreliability as a contribution to America's history, the book is readable and the last chapter "is a notable discussion of the race question."

In The Civil War and Reconstruction, J. G. Randall lists both of Du Bois' major works in his bibliography as well as his article, "Reconstruction and its Benefits." Hesselbine in his The South in American History also lists Black Reconstruction on page 538, and carries photographs of both Woodson and Du Bois in the chapter on "Nationalization of the South 1900-1930." Robert Selph Henry in his The Story of Reconstruction quotes Du Bois on the "Courts in the South," page 386; on "Negroes and Schools," page 435 and on "Freedmen's Bureau Agents," page 61.

Howard K. Beale recognizes Du Bois' ability as historian when he stated that he is one "to whom we must turn for re-interpretation," because "his race and social philosophy give his work Black Reconstruction freshness." And though he states the book is far "too wordy," and "is distorted by insistence upon molding facts into a Marxian pattern, yet in describing the Negro's role Du Bois has presented a mass of material formerly ignored, that every future historian must ^erekon with."⁶⁰

60. Howard K. Beale, "On Rewriting History," American Historical Review, July 1940, p. 809.

In his works, Du Bois is always the crusader. In Black Reconstruction his language "shows the devotion of the zealot for a cause,"⁶¹ and he give^(S) no quarter to those historians and biographers at whom he strikes.

Also as a crusader, he stands in judgment upon those whom he exposes. He concludes his The Suppression of the African Slave Trade with a warning to America about the way the slave trade was handled. In the last chapter of John Brown, entitled "The Legacy of John Brown" he does the same thing. In Black Reconstruction, he repeats the pattern. At all times he is the jurist.

Du Bois has had a highly successful writing career, but in the forty years before 1940, he had received less than five hundred dollars annually from his writings. Despite his lack of remuneration, he declares he has enjoyed doing what he did and has said that he wanted to say "not want men would rather hear."⁶² Up to 1938, only 16,038 copies of The Souls of Black Folk had been published and sold. That has been considered his most popular book. However, a new edition was released in 1953. The Suppression of the African Slave Trade was priced at \$2.00 and had "a modest sale." Only a little more than 6,000 copies of his The Gift of Black Folk were issued, and between June 15, 1939 through 1951, 4,568 copies of Black Folk: Then and Now had been printed and sold. It has been out of print since 1951.⁶³

Du Bois is a master of the English language and a writer of "uncommon" ability. His prose has been called impassioned with an "intense, fragile beauty," which "takes on almost poetic form."⁶⁴ One writer states, he is so brilliant "that ^{at times} the wizardry of his words almost blinds one. Because he is a passionate and bitter pleader...he does not always qualify as an impartial interpreter of facts, but as

61. American Journal of Sociology 41:535 Ja 1936.

62. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 270.

63. Data from the publishers; that for Black Reconstruction could not be obtained.

64. See Ralph W. Bullock, In Spite of Handicaps (New York, Association Press, 1927) p. 140; Current History 42:47, Ag 1935; Edwin R. Embree, Brown America (New York, The Viking Press, 1943) p. 195.

a scintillating lawyer for the defense, he is magnificent."⁶⁵ The development of Du Bois' style is most apparent when one compares that of his Suppression and Black Reconstruction. In the first book, it is simple and direct. In the second, it is complex and florid.

The last chapter of Black Reconstruction clearly brings out this point. Here he repeats the idea that Negroes have been misrepresented by writers of history. Had he expressed this thought once with some elaboration, the whole chapter would have been more effective.

In Black Reconstruction, he ends each of his chapters with a verse or two of poetry and even includes a German poem. In The Souls of Black Folk he not only uses verse but musical bars as well at the beginning of the chapters. Since this book is in great part literature, no doubt such liberty is permissible.

Another distinguishing feature of Du Bois' style is his use of symbolism. One sees it in the titles of most of his works, and by his frequent use of "The Veil," a name for the barriers that separate the races in America.

VI. Conclusion

Du Bois has been for more than sixty years militant theorist of the Negro's struggle for equal rights. The Negro intellectual owes ^{more} to him in terms of literary values and scholarly achievements than to any other man. He created what never existed before, a Negro intelligentsia. The ideas that he has pronounced and the controversies into which he projected himself have had perceptible effect on the relations between the races.

Perhaps no one has characterized Du Bois better than has Edwin R. Embree in his 13 Against the Odds. He writes:

Du Bois "breaks every mold into which the average American tries to put "The Negro." Born not in the southern rurals but in New England, educated at Harvard and Berlin, his features

65. The Catholic World 142:245 N 1935.

not black but finely chisled in bronze, precise in speech, erudite, fastidious and haughty, he is a Boston Brahmin... The segregation and the slights which beset this distinguished gentleman every day of his life in America have eaten into his soul. They have not stunted his mind, nor dulled his eloquence. They have simply turned the whole force of his keen and gifted personality into passionate warfare against the wrongs of color caste in the United States and throughout the world...The text of all of his writings is "color; the unfinished business of democracy." 66

sermons and his deeds

At no time has Du Bois' sincerity been questioned and although those whom he has sought to lead have not agreed either with all of his theories or with all of his methods, he has retained their respect.

He himself states that his life has had its significance and its only deep significance because it has been a part of a problem. 67

One can only speculate on what great works may have resulted had Du Bois seen fit to devote his full time and efforts to scientific history for which by preparation and temperament he is eminently equipped. As editor, sociologist, teacher, lecturer, historian, publicist, one can well understand that he spread himself much too thin for greatness in the field of history.

66. Edwin R. Embree, 13 Against the Odds, p. 153.

67. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, p. vii.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

LIST OF THE BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, AND SELECTED ARTICLES
BY WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS ON OR
RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH

I. Books and Pamphlets

- The Amenia Conference, an Historic Negro Gathering. Amenia, New York: Priv. print. at the Troutbeck press. 1925. 18 pp.
- Black Folk; Then and Now. An Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1939, 401 pp. (A new edition of "The Negro" published in 1915).
- Black Reconstruction. An Essay Toward a History of the Part which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America 1860-1888. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1935. 745 pp.
- Darkwater; Voices from Within the Veil. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920. 276 pp.
- Disfranchisement. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Assn., 1912. 10 pp.
- Dusk of Dawn. An Essay Toward a Race Concept. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940. 334 pp.
- "The Enforcement of the Slave-Trade Laws." In American Historical Association, Annual Report...for the year 1891. Washington: 1892.
- From Servitude to Service; Being the Old South Lectures on the History and Work of Southern Institutions for the Education of the Negro. Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1905. 232 pp.
- The Gift of Black Folk; the Negroes in the Making of America. Boston: Stratford Co., 1924. 349 pp.
- John Brown. Philadelphia: G. W. Jacobs & Co., 1909. 406 pp.
- The Negro. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1915. 254 pp.
- The Souls of Black Folk; Essays and Sketches. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903. 264 pp.
- The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America 1638-1870. New York: London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1896. 335 pp.
- "What the Negro has done for the United States and Texas." Washington: U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1936. 10 pp.

of Mansour. New York: Mainstream Publishers, 1957, 316 pp.
 the Ordeal

II. Periodical References

- "Abraham Lincoln." Voice of the Negro, June, 1907.
- "The Beginning of Slavery." Voice of the Negro, February, 1905.
- "The Black Man and the Wounded World. A History of the Negro Race in the World War and After." Crisis 27:110-14 Ja '24.
- "The Black Man Brings his Gifts." Survey Graphic 53:655-57 Mr 1 '25.
- "The Black Man in the Revolution of 1914-1918." Crisis 17:218-23 Mr '19.
- "The Black Star Line." Crisis 24:210-14 S '22.
- "The Black Vote of Philadelphia." Character 15:31-5 O 7 '05.
- "Die Negerfrage in den Vereinigten Staaten." Archiv f. Sozialwiss. u. Sozialpolitik v. 22, p. 31-79, Bubingen, 1906.
- "Documents of the War." Crisis 18:16-21 My '19.
- "Economics of Negro Emancipation." Sociological Review, October, 1911, p. 303.
- "The Election and Democracy." Crisis 21:158-60 F '21.
- "The Enforcement of the Slave Trade Laws." American Historical Association Annual Report for 1891, pp. 163-174, Washington, D. C., 1892.
- "An Essay Toward a History of the Black Man in the Great War." Crisis 18:63-87 Je '19.
- "Forty Years of Freedom." Missionary Review 34:460-61 Je '11.
- "Freedmen's Bureau." Atlantic Monthly 87:354-65 Mr '01.
- "Garrison and the Negro." Independent 59:1316-7 D 7, '05.
- "Georgia Negroes and their Fifty Millions of Savings." World's Work 18:11550-4 My '09.
- "Government and Freedom." Harlem Quarterly 1:29-31, Spring 1950.
- "The Growth of the Niagara Movement." Voice of the Negro 8:44-45 D '05.
- "History of the Great War." Crisis 18: No. 2, Je '19.
- "Marcus Garvey." Crisis 21:58-60 N '20; 112-15 Ja '21.
- "The Negro Since 1900: A Progress Report." In New York Times, November 21, 1928.
- "A portrait of Carter G. Woodson." Masses and Mainstream 3:19;25, Je '50.

- "Possibilities of the Negro." McGirt's Magazine 1:6-10, S '03.
- "Reconstruction and its Benefits." American Historical Review 15:780-99 J1 '10.
- "Republicans and the Black Voter." Nation 110:757⁸ Je 5 '20.
- "South and a Third Party." New Republic 33:138-41 Ja '23.
- "The Star of Ethiopia." The Horizon Guild, 1913.
- "Strivings of the Negro People." Atlantic Monthly 80:194 Ag '97.
- "The Suffrage Fight in Georgia." Independent 51:3226-8 N 30 '99.
- "The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, Negroes and Civil Rights." Lawyers' Guild Review 9:92-5 Spring '49.
- "The U. N. I. A." Crisis 25:120-22 Ja '23.
- "Upbuilding of Black Durham." World's Work 23:334³ Ja '12.
- "The Black Vote of Philadelphia." See pp. 29-35 in Charities, The Negro in the Cities of the North. New York: The Charity Organization Society, 1905. 96 pp.
- "Wilberforce." Crisis 20:176-78 Ag '20.

REFERENCES BY OTHERS RELATING TO WILLIAM EDWARD
BURGHARDT DU BOIS AND HIS MAIN WORKS

I. Book Reviews

- American Historical Review 2:555⁵ Ap '97.
- American Journal of Sociology 41:535 Ja '36.
- Annals American Academy of Political and Social Science 9:432³/₄ My '97.
- Athenaeum 112:224 Ag 13 '98.
- Atlantic Monthly 79:560⁶/₂ Spring '97.
- Booklist 32:6 S '35.
- Books p 1 Je 23 '35.
- Boston Transcript p 2 Je 19 '35.
- Catholic World 142:245 N '35.
- Christian Science Monitor p 12 Ag 7 '35.
- Churchman 149:4 Ag 1 '35.

- Critic 31 (n s 28):100 Ag 21 '97.
- Current History 42:14 Ag '35.
- Dial 23:90 Ag 16 '97.
- English Historical Review 45:572 J1 '97.
- Independent 57:1152 N 17 '04.
- Nation 63:498 D 31 '96.
- Nation 89:405 O 28 '09.
- Nation 141:108 J1 24 '35.
- New England Quarterly 8:608 S '35.
- New Republic 83:367 Ag 7 '35.
- New York Herald p. 17 Je 13 '35.
- New York Herald Tribune Books p 1 Je 23 '35.
- New York Post p 7 Je 15 '35.
- New York Times p 4 Je 16 '35.
- North American Review 240:369 S '35.
- South Atlantic Quarterly 11:267-72 Ja '03.
- Springfield Republican p 5c Je 30 '35.
- Survey Graphic 251:48 Ja '36.
- Yale Review 25:214 Autumn '35.

II. Books and Articles

- Bassett, J. S. "Two Negro Leaders." South Atlantic Quarterly 2:267.
- Beale, Howard D. "On Rewriting Reconstruction History." American Historical Review, July 1940, pp. 809-814.
- Brawley, Benjamin G. The Negro Genius. A New Appraisal of the Achievement of the American Negro in Literature and the Fine Arts. New York: Dodd, Meade & Co., 1937. 366 pp.
- A Short History of the American Negro. 4th ed. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. 288 pp.
- Bullock, Ralph W. In Spite of Handicaps. New York: Association Press, 1927. 140 pp.

Current Biography 1940, pp. 259-60.

Embree, Edwin Rogers. Brown America, the Story of a Tenth of the Nation. New York: The Viking Press, 1943. 248 pp.

____ 13 Against the Odds. New York: The Viking Press, 1944. 261 pp.

Fauset, Arthur Huff. For Freedom; A Biographical Story of the American Negro. Philadelphia: Franklin Publishing & Supply Co., 1927. 200 pp.

Hasseltine, William B. The South in American History. New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1943. 691 pp.

Kraus, Michael. The Writing of American History. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953. 387 pp.

Logan, Rayford W. The Negro in American Life and Thought. The Nadir 1877-1901. New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1954. 380 pp.

Ovington, M. W. The Walls Came Tumbling Down. New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1947. 307 pp.

The Pittsburgh Courier, March 24, 1956, p. 8.


Randall, J. G. The Civil War and Reconstruction. New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1953. 971 pp.

Redding J. Saunders. "W. E. B. Du Bois." American Scholar XVII (Winter 1948).

Streator, George. "Negro Scholar." Commonweal 34:31-4 My 2 '41.

Sheppard, Wheeler. Mistakes of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. Being an Answer to Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois' Attack Upon the Honorable Marcus Garvey. Washington, D. C.: 1921.

Who's Who in America, 1956-57.

Jessie P. Guzman 

Tuskegee Institute