Race-ism and the City

The Young Du Bois and the Role of Place in Social Theory, 1893-1901

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In the late-nineteenth century the young W. E. B. Du Bois, like other social scientists, sought to work out a social theory that would provide a guide for social planning and the practice of social welfare in the present and the future. And like other late-nineteenth-century social scientists Du Bois gave a new emphasis to "place" as physical/social environment by ascribing to it a role in the processes of cultural change that in the late-nineteenth century seemed a striking factor in the development of races and nations. The young Frederick Jackson Turner, for example, partici-pated in the growing sensitivity to the role of place by arguing in 1893 that the moving American frontier had been the arena where European peoples encountered and adapted to an unfamiliar landscape and society formed by another people (the Indians). Turner argued that this recurring process of adaptation in the settlement of the continent by whites exerted an influence on European peoples so that they became the American people, a whole new nationality characterized by frontier traits that tran-scended enduring race-based subcultural distinctions. Those traits also persisted as the American nationality while settling the continent passed through the then conventional view of the economic stages of civilization, moving from the hunting and gathering, the pastoral, the agricultural, the mercantile, and into the modern industrial and (in America, thanks to the frontier) capitalistic and democratic stage.[1]

Du Bois also expressed this new sensitivity to place as physical/social environment as a factor in the development of races and nations. As a young black social scientist, however, he sought to develop a theory of the development of races and nations by focusing on the Negro race, especially the Negro race in the cities of industrial America, the place where it encountered a physical/social environment formed by another people, the Americanized European races, the most advanced of which had not only reached the industrial stage of civilization but also dominated American cities, the acknowledged centers of the industrial democratic capitalist American civilization in the late-nineteenth century.[2]

Du Bois, like other turn of the century social scientists, wondered if the American Negro race had reached a stage of development that would enable it to survive in the modern city, and also if in the city it could continue to develop as a race. He began this work in a series of publications on the Negro and the city between 1896 and 1901,[3] including *The Philadelphia Negro*,[4] which he wrote for the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania to satisfy its desire for a survey of the problems of the Negroes in the Seventh Ward of Philadelphia and for suggestions for the solution of those problems, especially the problem of employment and the economic viability of the Negro in the modern industrial city.

Du Bois delivered that kind of study and more, for he surveyed all the Negroes of Philadelphia, not just those of the Seventh Ward. He also took the occasion to work out elements of his social theory about the development of the Negro race in a particular type of place in America, not on the frontier or in the rural South, but in the American city, especially in the nineteenth century industrial democratic capitalist American city. Thus the book opens with a history of the Negro in Philadelphia, which argues that the Negro race, abducted from Africa and thrust into an advanced stage of civilization among more advanced races, had displayed the capacity to start its climb through the stages of civilization in America only to be stopped twice in its tracks by virulent outbursts of discrimination and repression. The first occurred during the mid-nineteenth century influx of European peasants, and the second during the later influx of American Negro peasants and city-dwellers from the industrializing South.[5] These factors, he argued, explained the American Negro problems in cities, which he defined as the backwardness of the higher Negro classes, the sharp divisions among the Negro classes, the large number of Negroes in menial occupations, and vice, crime and idleness in the Negro slums in the city's Seventh Ward.

Du Bois treated these problems as symptoms of the unnatural retardation of the progress of the Negro race in America through the stages of civilization toward the urban industrial and democratic period but did not systematically explicate the stage of development occupied by the Ameri-

can Negro race in Philadelphia at the turn of the century. Nonetheless, he said enough to identify that stage as "medieval." This conception appears, for example, in his depiction of the Negro "aristocracy," a term he used not as an ironic metaphor for the race's upper class but as an authentic historical label indicating that the upper class ought to play the role of a "real" aristocracy in leading the race to the next stage of development, a role he noted that all aristocracies had been slow to learn. As a result, he observed, ties of mutual interest did not hold together the Negro social classes. "Instead," we have "classes who have much to hold them apart, and only community of blood and color prejudice to bind them together. If the Negroes were by themselves [not living in a modern American-dominated city] either a strong aristocratic system or a dictatorship would for the present prevail. With, however, democracy thus prematurely thrust upon them, the first impulse of the best, the wisest and richest is to segregate themselves from the mass."[6]

The classification of the Negro as "medieval" carried a dual meaning. It suggests that Du Bois believed that the same factors that had retarded the progress of the Negro race through the stages of economic civilization had also retarded the progress of the Negro race through the stages in the development of its "genius," a genius that it, like other races, carried in its blood. Indeed, Du Bois had made that case explicitly in an essay on the conservation of races which appeared in 1897, shortly after he started work on the project that produced *The Philadelphia Negro.*

That essay advocated the conservation of the geniuses of the races. In it Du Bois argued that mankind began as several races sharply distinguished by physical traits that lived a nomadic life in roaming communities of blood. As they settled in cities these races became more similar in their external physical appearance but tended to differentiate and break into subraces according to the tendency of their geniuses. This process continued as cities came together as nations and as nations developed through the stages of civilization toward urban industrialism. By 1897, said Du Bois, the world contained eight races: the Slavs of Eastern Europe, the Teutons of middle Europe, the English of Great Britain and America, the Romance "nation" of southern and western Europe, the Negroes of Africa and America, the Semitic people of western Asia and northern Africa, the Hindus of central Asia and the Mongolians of eastern Asia. To this list he added other "minor race groups," such as the American Indians, and several created by the splitting of the larger races into smaller territorial groupings, which divided the Slavs into Czech, Magyar, Pole and Russian, the Teutons into German, Scandinavian and Dutch, the English into the Scotch, Irish and the "conglomerate American," and the Negroes into the Mulattoes and Zamboes of America and the Egyptians, Bantus and Bushmen of Africa.

Each of the eight great races, Du Bois contended, carried and exhibited a "spiritual" continuity and cohesiveness. Each was bound together, according to the young Du Bois, first by a race identity and common blood, second by a common history, laws, religion and similar habits of thought and third by "a conscious striving together or certain ideals of life." These ideals represented the genius of the race, which among the advanced races (all white) manifested themselves at the national stage of race development and during the "modern" industrial stage of civilization. In 1897, wrote Du Bois, the English nation stood for constitutional liberty and commercial freedom, the German nation stood for science and philosophy and the Romance nation stood for literature and art.

The less advanced race groups (including the Slavic), Du Bois added, had not yet reached the stage of the realization of their genius, but continued to strive, each in its own way, to develop for civilization "its particular message, its particular ideal. . . ." Though the complete message of the whole Negro race had not yet emerged, Du Bois argued that it could be realized by "the development of Negro genius, of Negro literature and art, of Negro spirit," which could be attained only by "Negroes bound and welded together, Negroes inspired by one vast ideal." Du Bois assigned the role of leadership in these tasks to "the advance guard of the Negro people—the 8,000,000 people of Negro blood in the United States of America—," whose destiny rested not in a "servile imitation of Anglo-Saxon culture" but in a "stalwart originality which shall unswervingly follow Negro ideals."[7]

Du Bois did not and could not know what such striving might yield. But he thought the American Negro had already shown some characteristic traits and talents that provided clues to the genius of the Negro race. These included the "sweet mild melodies of the Negro slave," fairy tales of African derivation, a simple faith and reverence that stood out "in a dusty desert of dollars and smartness" and a taste for city life manifested in a tendency to move from the southern countryside to small cities of the South, thence to the larger cities of the South and thence to large Northern cities, the most "modern" in America.[8]

Whatever the Negro genius might be, Du Bois thought that it could be realized in the United States without a "fatal collision" of the races, and that the leadership in that process would come from city Negroes. He argued that the races inhabiting the United States, including the Negro, already shared the same laws, language and religion, and that if a satisfactory adjustment could be made for the Negro in economic life "two or three great national ideals" might thrive and develop in the same country. On these grounds the young Du Bois contended that the American Negro wanted neither to Africanize America nor to "bleach Negro blood in the flow of white Americanism."[9] The American Negro, he asserted, wished only to be welcomed as a "co-worker in the kingdom of culture, to escape

both death and isolation," and to secure in the multi-racial cities of the United States the opportunity to realize its racial genius and to move into the democratic industrial capitalist stage of civilization without "being cursed and spit on."[10]

If given that opportunity, Du Bois in effect contended, the modern American city could be for the American Negro race what the American frontier had been for the white European races. In the modern American city the American Negro race had already adapted to the laws, language and religion of the modern American nationality and had shown signs of the capacity to make a living in a democratic industrial capitalist economy. In addition, by moving to the city the masses of the American Negro race joined the Negro aristocracy in the "medieval" stage of development of the genius of the race, the first step in the accentuation of its genius. Having taken that step the American city Negro needed only to perfect his social organization, an achievement that would facilitate his economic progress and start the renaissance of the Negro race. That renaissance would lead to the realization of the unknown genius of the Negro race, an event that would earn for the Negro the respect of whites, improve race relations in the United States and ultimately, as American Negroes led Negroes in other places to the renaissance, improve race relations internationally. At that far distant moment of racial equality, the Negro and white races in the United States would confront the opportunity to lead in the creation of a universal humanity encompassing the genius of all the races and unified by the striving to realize some common purpose, which Du Bois hoped would be the ideal of the brotherhood of man.

Though not fully explicated in *The Philadelphia Negro*, this theory of the development of races and nations informed the recommendations for handling the Negro problems in Philadelphia that Du Bois laid out in the final chapter of the book. There he asserted, for example, that the Negro race in America would not, as some believed, die out, for "a nation that has endured the slave-trade, slavery, reconstruction and present injustice three hundred years, and under it increased in numbers and efficiency, is not in any immediate danger of extinction." And there too he cited "voluntary or involuntary emigration" as an impractical "dream of men who forget that there are half as many Negroes in the United States as Spaniards in Spain."

Given that, Du Bois noted, "several plain propositions" seemed "axiomatic." First, "the Negro is here to stay." Second, it "is to the advantage of . . . black and white, that every Negro should make the best of himself." Third, the Negro should strive to "raise himself by every effort to the standards of modern civilization and not to lower those standards in any degree." Fourth, white people should "guard their civilization against debauchment by themselves or others" but recognize that it could be done in a way not "to hinder and retard the efforts of an earnest people to rise"

simply for the lack of faith "in the ability of that people." Fifth, "with a spirit of self-help, mutual aid and co-operation, the two races should strive *side by side* [emphasis added] to realize the ideals of the republic and make this truly a land of equal opportunity for all men."

His vision established, Du Bois then discussed the duty of the "two races." Negroes faced "an appalling work of social reform." They had "no right to ask that the civilization and morality of the land be seriously menaced for their benefit," for "men have a right to demand that the members of a civilized community be civilized; that the fabric of human culture, so laboriously woven, be not wantonly or ignorantly destroyed." Du Bois did not expect "complete civilization in thirty or one hundred years, but at least every effort and sacrifice possible" by Negroes "toward making themselves fit members of the community within a reasonable length of time; that they may early become a source of strength and help instead of a burden."

Du Bois here, though he did not say so, was talking about the Negro becoming an interdependent yet self-sufficient racial unit, as his elaboration of the point indicates. "Modern society," he noted, "has too many problems of its own, too much proper anxiety as to its own ability to survive under its present organization, for it lightly to shoulder all the burdens of a less advanced people." It therefore "can rightly demand that as far as possible and rapidly as possible the Negro bend his energy to the solving of his own social problems—contributing to his poor, paying his share of taxes and supporting schools and public administration." In return, "the Negro has a right to demand freedom *for self-development, and no more aid from without* [emphasis added] than is really helpful for furthering that development." But "the bulk of the work of raising the Negro must be done by the Negro himself, and the greatest help for him will be not to hinder and curtail and discourage his efforts."

Then Du Bois ticked off a list of particular things Negroes should do. Negro homes must "cease to be, as they often are, breeders of idleness and extravagance and complaint," and become places where the "homely virtues of honesty, truth and chastity . . . and self-respect" are taught a people "whose fellow-citizens half-despise them . . . as the surest road to gain the respect of others." Negroes should also cooperate to provide jobs for their sons and daughters and strive to establish "rational means of amusement" for "young folks" in homes and churches and elsewhere. He suggested in addition preventive and rescue work by Negroes, including the keeping of young and unchaperoned girls off the streets at night, warning against the lodging system, urging home ownership outside crowded and "tainted neighborhoods," lecturing on health and habits, denouncing gambling and policy-making and acquainting the mass with sewing schools, mothers' meetings, parks and airing places. And Negroes should counsel other Negroes on expenditures, discouraging the wasting of

money on dress, furniture, elaborate entertainments, costly church edifices and "insurance" schemes, while encouraging home buying, educating children, giving simple healthful amusements to the young and saving against hard times.

But "above all," said Du Bois, "the better classes of Negroes should recognize their duty toward the masses," and remember that the "spirit of the twentieth century is to be the turning of the high toward the lowly . . . , the recognition that in the slums of modern society lie the answers to most of our puzzling problems of organization and life, and that only as we solve these problems is our [racial] culture assured and our [racial] progress certain." Especially in the city, he added, the Negro does not appreciate this, for "his social evolution in cities like Philadelphia is approaching a medieval stage when the centrifugal forces of repulsion between social classes are becoming more powerful than those of attraction." This he could understand given the powerful past and present force of prejudice in America. Yet "the Negro must learn the lesson that other nations have learned so laboriously and imperfectly, that his better classes have their chief excuse for being in the work they may do toward lifting the rabble," especially "in a city like Philadelphia which has so distinct and creditable a Negro aristocracy."

Finally, Du Bois recommended for Negroes the cultivation of "a spirit of calm, patient persistence in their attitude toward their fellow citizens rather than of loud and intemperate complaint," and "some finesse" in advising both their fellow citizens and whites of error. It will not, he said, "improve matters to call names and impute unworthy motives to all men," and would be helpful to remember that "social reforms move slowly . . ."

As for the duty of whites, Du Bois began by warning them once more of their preoccupation with the question "which just now is of least importance, . . . that of the social intermingling of the races." By that phrase he meant the mixing of what he saw as entities which were and for the foreseeable future and longer would and should be separate, interdependent and self-sufficient racial units. As he put it, the old question, "Would you want your sister to marry a Nigger?" comprised a problem itself, and an unnecessary one, because it still stood "as a rave sentinel to stop much rational discussion." Since intermarriage and other kinds of "social" mixing were not likely to occur because virtually no one wanted or advocated them, it was now a "little less than foolish" to consider these issues, although "a century from to-day we might find ourselves seriously discussing such questions of social policy."

Much graver immediately was the issue of the "natural" repugnance of whites to close intermingling with "unfortunate ex-slaves," especially the migrating freedmen recently arrived in Philadelphia. This repugnance, claimed Du Bois, too often yielded a "discrimination that very seriously hinders them from being anything better." Objection to their ignorance, for

example, he approved, but only so far as it did not create that ignorance and lead to actions "keeping them ignorant." Here Du Bois came down *exclusively* on discrimination in employment, the exclusion of Negroes from work, the confining of them regardless of training, talents and aspirations to menial tasks. To him it was as "wrong to make scullions of engineers as it is to make engineers of scullions," and a "paradox of the time that young men and women from some of the best Negro families in the city—families born and reared here and schooled in the best traditions of the municipality have actually had to go to the South to get work, if they wished to be aught but chambermaids and bootblacks." Such a policy led only "to crime and increased excuse for crime . . . , increased poverty and more reason to be poor, . . . increased political serfdom of the mass of blacks to the bosses and rascals who divide the spoils . . . Surely here lies the first duty of a civilized city."

The second and *final* duty he prescribed for whites in their efforts for the uplifting of the Negro involved recognizing "the existence of the better class of Negro" and gaining its "active aid and co-operation by generous and polite conduct." He urged "social sympathy" between "what is best in both races." The better class of Negro wanted neither help nor pity, but a "generous recognition of its difficulties." Composed of men and women "educated and in many cases cultured," they could "be a vast power in the city, and the only power that could successfully cope with many phases of the Negro problems." But their aid could not be won out of "selfish motives, or kept by churlish and ungentle manners; and above all they object to being patronized."

Du Bois believed this point of sufficient importance to provide illustrations of how not to approach Negroes to gain their confidence and co-operation, how to avoid expressions of "unconscious prejudice and half-conscious actions" by those who do "not intend to wound or annoy."

> One is not compelled to discuss the Negro question with every Negro one meets or tell him of a father who was connected with the Underground Railroad; one is not compelled to stare at the solitary black face in the audience as though it were not human; it is not necessary to sneer, or be unkind or boorish, if the Negroes in the room or on the street are not all the best behaved or have not the most elegant manners, it is hardly necessary to strike from the dwindling list of one's boyhood and girlhood acquaintances or school-day friends all those who happen to have Negro blood, simply because one has not the courage now to greet them on the street. The little decencies of daily intercourse can go on, the courtesies of life be exchanged even across the color line without any

danger to the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon or the social ambition of the Negro. Without doubt social differences are facts not fancies and cannot lightly be swept aside; but they hardly need to be looked upon as excuses for downright meanness and incivility.

Thus Du Bois concluded his study and his advice on the duty of whites. For them he suggested in summary a "polite and sympathetic attitude toward these striving thousands; a delicate avoidance of that which wounds and embitters . . . ; a generous granting of opportunity . . . ; a seconding of their efforts, and a desire to reward honest success . . ." That, "added to a proper striving" by the Negro race, "will go far even in our day toward making all men, white and black, realize what the great founder of the city meant, when he named it the City of Brotherly Love."

Whatever Penn may have meant, it seems clear what Du Bois meant. He defined history as a process in which human action forged race-based social units during the struggle of each race to realize its genius. That process led to a drive for modernity among the races of Europe and to the creation in the United States of a multi-racial society, one that included imported Africans and their descendants. The history of the United States, according to Du Bois, consisted of efforts, not always successful or enlightened, by race leaders to manage and mold the races into a coherent entity. This view of history also suggested to Du Bois that these efforts would yield an uncertain future in which others would manage and arrange racial relations according to their own lights.

From this perspective on race, history and the future Du Bois sought to establish a racial policy for his generation that would guarantee both the survival, integrity and progress of the Negro race and the coherence and progress of the United States. And he saw the United States at the turn of the century as a racially diverse society, but not as a society of equal racial units in the sense that each ranked as units equivalent in weight and presenting therefore legitimate alternatives to the others. Rather, he saw the American society as comprised of a hierarchical structure of internally diverse, cohesive, self-sufficient and interdependent (as opposed to dependent) races, each different from the other in genius but all capable of attaining an acceptable level of modern civilization through cooperation and competition within a democratic polity. Such a diverse entity would be held together by the guarantee of equal opportunity to all races in the competition for a place in the modernizing hierarchy of races, and by an appropriate distribution of respect for those races on the lower runs of the hierarchy of modernism, races which might or might not catch up to the races at the top of the ladder of civilization, but which in any case would ultimately realize their genius. The Negro in Philadelphia, like others elsewhere in America, Du Bois contended in the 1890s, needed to be

civilized, but it could be done, and the crisis of the American Negro and the United States could be averted if each race took care of itself while giving the others a clear field and a fair chance.

In this perspective it seems appropriate to classify the young Du Bois as a characteristic turn of the century student of race, city and regional life. That is, he conceived of cities and regions as physical and social environments inhabited by interdependent agglomerations of races, each of them stamped by distinctive physiological, psychological and social characteristics derived from their biological and historical heritage, and each carrying within it a race-based genius. While he doubted the availability of the essences of these geniuses for direct study and analysis, he believed in the possibility of identifying and encouraging them by monitoring statistically the behavior of the races in the present and future and by the analysis of their heritages and tendencies through the study of their pasts, a project he proposed for the study of the Negro race in America and which he sought to carry out at Atlanta University after completing *The Philadelphia Negro*.[11] Such a study of a race and its relationship to other races would yield, Du Bois thought, important scientific information and conclusions about the race and the cities and regions it inhabited. It is important to remember, however, the primacy attributed by the young Du Bois to race, and to the "givenness" of the character and "genius" of the race. This emphasis meant that the condition of a particular city or region depended on its mixture of races and their inter-relationships. Those inter-relationships depended to a large extent upon the stage of each race in civilization, the degree to which each race had realized its own genius and the degree to which the advanced races could understand the necessity for tolerating the development of the civilization and genius of the backward races. This kind of racial tolerance ranked for Du Bois as the necessary precursor to the emergence ultimately of a universal community of purpose dedicated to the brotherhood of man, "that perfection of human life, for which we all long, that one far off Divine event."[12]

In *The Philadelphia Negro*, however, Du Bois looked to the shorter run. He depicted the Negro as a race-based social entity containing the potential and adaptability necessary for successful participation in the competition of modern life in a modernizing nation. He projected, that is, a strategy of equal opportunity among competing races—by which the American Negro might become and function as a separate, internally integrated, cohesive and interdependent social unit somewhere along the lower ranks of the hierarchy of races inhabiting the United States. But his immediate concern focused on a crisis, a fear that the direction of racial policy within the United States might fall irrevocably into the hands of those who would deny this opportunity to the Negro, and thereby destroy the potential for the civilizing of the Negro race and the development of its genius in America. Such an outcome would also disrupt the potential

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for the peaceful development of a homogeneous community of purpose in the United States, a process, Du Bois contended, that might especially benefit from the preservation and utilization of some of the products of the development and conservation of the genius of the Negro race.

Despite the preoccupation of the young Du Bois with the condition of the Negro race in American cities, it seems inappropriate to think of him as an "urban" historian or sociologist, for he seems not to have thought of himself as an urban historian or sociologist, or as an urban anything. Indeed, no one then thought in those terms. That is, the concept of "urban" as we usually think of it emerged in the 1920s, when culture became embedded in place, so that people, place and culture became inseparable. In the second quarter of the twentieth century, where you came from rather than your race determined who you were. In this context of place-based cultural determinism social theorists and planners contended that urbanites regardless of their race or nationality differed culturally from rural dwellers, just as they contended that Southerners differed culturally from Westerners. In that same context the more malleable and new concept of place-based "ethnicity" displaced that of race-based groups, and American society came to be seen as one that was, was becoming, or ought to become culturally pluralistic. Neither the young Du Bois nor other social theorists at the turn of the century thought like that. For them, culture stemmed from race, not place, although place as physical and social environment might "condition" a race-based culture by advancing or retarding its progress through the stages of civilization and/or by advancing or retarding the realization of the genius of the race.[13]

Nor did the concept of race lurk merely in the background of *The Philadelphia Negro*.[14] The young Du Bois was captivated by the idea of race and racial history, specifically by the history of the Negro race in America and especially by the experience of freedmen and their children since the eighteenth century. For Du Bois the Negro in America was not African, Southern, urban or rural in essence, but a distinct race, one shaped by its biologic legacy and its history of repression. That dual inheritance stamped it as inferior to the white races, inferior in its preparation for life in the United States as American society modernized during the nineteenth century. In other words, the American Negro race carried that dual legacy wherever it might be found, and at the turn of the century Du Bois focused his attention on the condition of that portion of the race living in American cities, especially but not exclusively on the children of those emancipated by the Civil War, who by virtue of their emancipation became a nomadic class, the most retarded of all the Negro classes but a class which by 1900 was becoming numerically dominant even among northern Negro city-dwellers.

From this it follows that Du Bois' turn of the century work does not represent the precocious product of a visionary ahead of his times, part of

the advanced guard of "cultural pluralism,"[15] which comprised a place-based determinism that did not emerge until the 1920s. From this it also follows that *The Philadelphia Negro* was not the first of a series of works on the American Negro by great sociologists culminating with St. Clair Drake's and Horace R. Caton's *Black Metropolis* (1945).[16] That study sought to examine one of Chicago's many place-based cultures, the culture of the black ghetto, a culture indigenous to a place which stamped its residents, who remained a part of the ghetto even when they left it to take up the arduous and risky task of adjusting to the culture of another place.

Instead, the young Du Bois, like other social theorists of his day, was a race-ist, one who took the category of race as a fundamental and deterministic element in the taxonomy of social reality and who participated in the process of examining the influence of place as physical and social environment on the progress of races as they realized the geniuses within their blood and moved through the stages of civilization.[17] And he sought not equality in the near future for the Negro race in America but a fair chance for that race to prove that it could compete in a modernizing nation, become modern itself and therefore a legitimate part of democratic industrial capitalist America.[18] If given that chance, the young Du Bois concluded, the American city Negro would lead in the development of the Negro's unrealized racial genius as a contribution to the racially pluralistic society of the United States, a society which might then take the lead in forging a trans-national and homogeneous community of purpose. Then, and only then, after the realization of the genius of the Negro race, said the young Du Bois, would the question of racial intermarriage become a serious question of public policy.

Notes

1. Turner's essay, published originally in 1893, may be conveniently found in Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier In American History* (New York,1920), 1-38. For Turner and the new emphasis on place in social theory, however, see Henry D. Shapiro, "The Place of Culture and the Problem of Identity," in Allen Bateau, ed., *Appalachia and America: Autonomy and Regional Dependence* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1983), esp. 109-128. This Turner should not be confused with the "second" Turner, the one who wrote about the significance of sections and the Balkanization of America, a step in the process of embedding culture in place rather than race. See Shapiro, "Place of Culture," 128-134, in his *Appalachia on Our Mind: Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1978), and Zane L. Miller, "Pluralizing America: Walter Prescott Webb, the Chicago School of Sociology, and Regionalism," (forthcoming). I have borrowed the term "race-ist" from Shapiro. Shapiro explains that social theory before the late-nineteenth century made no essential connection between culture and place and people and place, though by the mid-nineteenth century it had become common to use place (merely) as a means of classifying a people who possessed a particular culture. Place, that is, was not yet identified as a factor that might influence a culture. Shapiro also identifies the mid-nineteenth century as the time at which the concept of culture came to mean a way of life, the possession of primitive and untutored individuals and societies, not merely, as before, the possession of cultivated and "mature" individuals and societies. See Shapiro, "The Place of Culture . . . ," op. cit., 111-119.

2. For an analysis of race-ism and the city during the 1880s see Zane L. Miller, "The Rise of the City," *Hayes Historical Journal* III (Spring and Fall, 1980), 73-84, esp. 77-80; For a comparison of Turner and Du Bois that emphasizes their differences see William Toll, "W. E. B. Du Bois and Frederick Jackson Turner: The Unveiling and Preemption of America's 'Inner History.'" *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 65 (April, 1974), 66-78.

3. Du Bois in 1901 also published a series of articles (not discussed in this essay) that compared the Negro problem in New York, Philadelphia and Boston. These articles have been collected and published as W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Black North in 1901: A Social Study* (New York, 1969).

4. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (1899; reprinted New York, 1967).

5. See Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, 73-82, esp. 76-79, and Du Bois' study of the Negro race in the "metropolis" of Prince Edward County, Virginia, "The Negroes of Farmville, Virginia; A Social Study," United States Department of Labor, *Bulletin*, No. 14 (January, 1899), esp. 1-5.

6. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, 176-177, 316-319.

7. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Conservation of Races* (1897, reprinted New York, 1969), esp. 5-15.

8. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Strivings of the Negro People," *Atlantic Monthly*, 80 (July 1987), 194-198; *The Philadelphia Negro*, 73-74.

9. Du Bois, *The Conservation of Races*.

10. Du Bois, "Strivings."

11. For the proposal see W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Study of the Negro Problems," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* XI (January 1898-June 1898), 720, and his "Conditions of the Negro in Various Cities," United States Department of Labor, *Bulletin*, No. 10 (May 1897) 257-369. On the late-nineteenth century tendency to regard essences as effectively hidden from view, as practically unknowable through direct observation, and the consequences of the emergence of that view for the use of specimens and data in the social sciences see Henry D. Shapiro's review of Michael M. Sokal, *An Education in Psychology: James McKeen Cattell's Journals and Letters from Germany and England, 1880-1888* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1981), in *Technology and Culture* 25 (April 1984), 374-376, esp. 376.

12. Du Bois, *Conservation of Races*, 8. On the "community of purpose" in turn of the century social theory as the third stage of civilization after the community of blood and the community of territorial area see Shapiro, "The Place of Culture," 121, 135n8.

13. In addition to the works of Shapiro and Miller cited above, see (on the shift from race-based to place-based conceptions of culture) Andrea Tuttle Kornbluh, "From Culture to Cuisine: Twentieth-Century Views of Race and Ethnicity in the City," in Howard Gilette, Jr. and Zane L. Miller, eds., *American Urbanism: A Historiographical Review* (New York, 1987), 49-58, and her "'The Bowl of Promise': Social Welfare Planners, Cultural Pluralism, and the Metropolitan Community, 1911-1953," unpublished dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1988.

14. This is the view of one of the biographers of Du Bois, who claimed that the race-ism of Du Bois became the "mainstream" of his thought after the onset of the depression of the 1930s. See Francis L. Broderick, *W. E. B. DuBois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis* (Stanford, California, 1959), 168-169.

15. This is the view of another biographer of Du Bois, who cites a 1958 publication for the definition of cultural pluralism. This biographer did not discuss or mention *The Conservation of Races*. See Elliott M. Rudwick, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Propagandist of the Negro Protest* (1960, reprinted New York, 1968), 36, 320n45.

16. This is the view of E. Digby Baltzell expressed on xxv and xxvi of his introduction to the 1967 edition of *The Philadelphia Negro*, and of Drake and Cayton. See St. Clair Drake and Horace A. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (1945, reprinted New York, 1945), 787-788.

17. Joseph P. DeMarco in *The Social Thought of W. E. B. Du Bois* (Lanham, Maryland, 1983) also describes the social theory of the young Du Bois as race-ist. DeMarco did not, however, locate the young Du Bois as one among many social theorists giving a greater emphasis on place while preserving the primacy of race, identify Du Bois' view of the stages of civilization (as opposed to the stages in the development of the genius of a race), discuss the appearance of the "medieval" concept in *The Philadelphia Negro*, or note the displacement during the 1920s of the idea of race-based culture by the idea of place-based culture.

18. For a biography that depicts the young (and the older) Du Bois as a radical democratic opponent of American capitalism and a "cultural pluralist" whose social theory contained no biological content see Manning Marable, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Black Radical Democrat* (Boston, 1986), esp. ix, 25-26, 35-38. Marable, like Broderick, Rudwick and

Balzwell, also overlooks the new emphasis on place in turn of the century social theory, Du Bois' view of the stages of civilization, the "medieval" concept in *The Philadelphia Negro*, and the displacement during the 1920s of the idea of race-based culture by the idea of place-based culture. An argument similar to Marable's may be found in Dan S. Green and Earl Smith, "W. E. B. Du Bois and the Concepts of Race and Class," *Phylon* XLIV (December 1983), 262-272.