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Spiritual Fatherland: African-American Intellectuals and Germany, 1850-1920

In recent years there has been an increase of scholarly interest in the interaction of Germans and Africans.¹ Most studies have been one-dimensional because they are restricted to German reactions to slavery or German views on race and the African. The African-American or African perspective is usually neglected. Germans and German-Americans had pro- and antislavery views but how did African-Americans view Germans both here and abroad? How and why did these views evolve? Were they totally subsumed in the competition and conflict that have characterized the interaction of African-Americans and ethnic groups since the eighteenth century?

To suggest some answers to these questions I have selected the period 1850-1920 because of its importance to the Americanization process of both groups. German immigration would reach unprecedented heights during the period and nativism, xenophobia, and nationalism were competing forces that helped create the German-American community. The Americanization process for Africans was much slower and more complex. In 1850 the majority of Africans in the United States were slaves. The free Africans in the North were not only victimized by institutionalized discrimination but also denied the basic rights of citizenship. Once slavery had been abolished, it was soon replaced by officially sanctioned racism in the form of poll taxes, sharecropping, Jim Crow laws, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, and lynching.

Despite seemingly overwhelming pressure to marginalize and dehumanize them, the Africans persevered in the slow process of defining themselves as African-Americans. Coming to terms with this dual identity figured prominently on the agenda of Black intellectuals during the period and, in fact, permeates their literary production. This search for identity coincides with an intensification of the relationship between Germans and Africans.

To reconstruct the African-American image of Germans and Germany it is necessary first to turn to the antebellum period. Although interaction between Germans and Africans in the New World dates from the sixteenth century when German merchants engaged in the slave trade, there is only

scattered evidence of the African image of Germans before 1800. The reasons for this paucity of documentation are manifold. For the most part, Africans were routinely denied access to literacy and thus seldom had the means to record their thoughts and feelings for posterity. In those situations in which the Africans had access, e.g., as part of the religious instruction provided by Lutherans, Moravians, Quakers, etc., the range of subject matter was inherently limited and seldom touched on temporal or mundane concerns.

The strictures placed by the majority community on the African's access to literacy in the eighteenth century meant that only the growth of a free African community that could achieve a certain autonomy and the intensification of the abolition campaign could create a literate African-American elite capable of reflecting on its social status and able to develop strategies to effect change. Thus it is in the first half of the nineteenth century that we find two texts that typify that African elite's perception of Germans.

Commencing in 1830 members of a nascent African-American middle class met in a series of national conferences to develop strategies that would address the pressing needs of the day: education, employment, civil rights, etc. At the 1852 convention held on January 14, 15, 16, 17, and 19 in Cincinnati the assembled delegates adopted a preamble which stated:²

Whereas, a most cruel and bitter prejudice exists in the United States against the colored race—a prejudice unjust, unnatural, and opposed to the civilization of the age. And whereas, if this state of things is changed and the colored people assume their proper station, it must be by virtue of their own individual action.

The assemblage then adopted thirty-one resolutions that included four rather interesting statements of intent:³

13. Resolved, That we should unite ourselves in business transactions with the masses of whites, so that the distinction of Irishmen, German, and African may be lost in the general appellation of American citizens.

15. Resolved, That we recommend the teaching of the German Language in our schools, believing that it will prove a great auxiliary to our cause.

17. Resolved, That we sympathize with the oppressed Hungarians and German Socialists in their efforts to throw off the yoke of despotism and reestablish their liberty, and that we hail Gottfried Kinkle [*sic*] and Louis Kossuth, and their representatives on this continent as the true apostles of European liberty.

19. Resolved, That tyranny in Russia, Austria and America is the same and that tyrants throughout the world are united against the oppressed, and therefore the Russian Serf, the Hungarian Peasant, the American Slave and all other oppressed people, should unite against tyrants and despotism.

These resolutions are rather revealing.

These delegates were obviously concerned with setting aside the differences that put them at odds with the ethnic groups. This was especially germane in Ohio since it was here in the 1820s that the enactment of draconian Black codes designed to expropriate African-Americans and the eruption of anti-Black urban riots had prompted Bishop Richard Allen of the A.M.E. Church to convene the first of the national meetings in Philadelphia in 1830. More important than desiring to eliminate conflicts with groups that economic competition had placed on a collision course with them, the assemblage urged solidarity with the political struggles that had forced some of the immigrants to leave their homelands.

Not just content to provide lip service to the revolutionary movements in Europe, the convention took the extraordinary step of urging German-language instruction in the African schools. It must be recalled that prior to the Civil War African-Americans in the North primarily attended segregated schools and even after *de jure* segregation had ended, *de facto* segregation continued until well into our century. Given the social, economic, and political restrictions imposed upon Africans by antebellum America, one must ask what possible utility the convention delegates hoped from having their children learn German in segregated schools ostensibly designed to prepare them for a segregated society.

The appeal of German to African-Americans was more than just exoticism. The Ohioans characterized it after all as "a great auxiliary to [their] cause." Africans had been exposed to the language since the colonial period. Advertisements for runaways and slaves offered for sale document in some cases the slave's proficiency in languages, especially in German. In 1839 Ohio school law was amended to permit the teaching of German and it is possible that before the Civil War some African children may have attended Cincinnati's bilingual schools.⁴ African-American interest in German should probably be seen in the context of the advances which Cincinnati's German-speaking population made in promoting their own cultural identity. Also, especially in Pennsylvania, the proximity and economic interdependence of Africans and Germans in locations such as Bethlehem, Lancaster, York, and Reading resulted in the Africans becoming not only proficient in German—the African members of the Moravian brotherhood traveled between the Caribbean, North America, and Europe—some also acquired a command of Pennsylvania German through marriage or daily contact. There is considerable anecdotal evidence of this proficiency acquired through necessity.

African-Americans' admiration of German language and culture most certainly resulted from their awareness of the high esteem in which white Americans held both. It was, after all, in the first half of the nineteenth century that American intellectuals such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, George Ticknor, Margaret Fuller, and John Quincy Adams were discovering modern German thinkers and writers and introducing them to the American reading public. The proximity of some of these intellectuals to the antislavery campaign would guarantee that African-American intellectuals would be aware of their writings.

It is perhaps a measure of the extent of the African participation in the growing American fascination with things German that Ira Aldridge (1807-67), the greatest African-American actor of his day and arguably one of the greatest Shakespearian tragedians of the century, began his stellar career in New York City in 1820-21 playing "Rolla" in an English-language adaptation of August von Kotzebue's *Pizarro*.⁵ During a triumphant tour of the continent Aldridge was accompanied by a German troupe. They recited in German and he apparently spoke entirely in English, resorting to German to cue the end of a soliloquy.⁶

African-Americans were fascinated by German culture and civilization but they also appreciated the more mundane aspects of the Germans themselves. In the antebellum period Africans struggled to define themselves culturally and resist actions designed to rob them of their heritage and reduce them to eternal servitude. These forces were colonization, institutionalized racism, and a pervasive discrimination that jeopardized the meager progress they had made into the nation's economic mainstream.

African-American newspapers played an important role in this process of self-definition. In the pages of *Freedom's Journal* and *Colored American*, the first Black periodicals, one finds advice and recommendations for building respectability and self-esteem. Temperance and industry are, of course, touted as important virtues and in an 1838 editorial the "simple, yet rational management" of a German family was praised as an example worth emulating.⁷ German culture, civilization, and mores were idealized as standards but this perspective was neither undifferentiated nor uncritical as our second antebellum document proves.

Frederick Douglass (1817-95) had a special relationship to Germans and Germany especially in the 1850s. Soon after the appearance of the second edition of his autobiography he had a fateful encounter. Otilie Assing, the niece of Karl August Varnhagen von Ense (1785-1858), sought him out in Rochester. The resulting friendship lasted three decades. Together they launched a project which they hoped would have an impact on the central issue of the day: slavery. The decision to translate the autobiography into German was part of a strategy to attract German immigrants to the abolition cause.⁸ With the assistance of Varnhagen von Ense and Ludmilla Assing, Otilie's sister, a suitable publisher in Germany was found and in 1860 the autobiography was issued by Hamburg's

and Hoffmann and Campe, the publishers of Heine and the writers of "Junges Deutschland."

Terry Pickett has described how Douglass's relationship to Otilie Assing made German liberal ideas accessible to the abolition movement,⁹ but Otilie was also apparently an important contact for Douglass to the German immigrant community in New York City. Douglass was a confidant of John Brown and after the debacle at Harper's Ferry he was in danger of being apprehended as a coconspirator. Otilie played a significant role both in Douglass's involvement with John Brown and in his successful escape from the authorities after the insurrection had gone awry.

In his autobiography Douglass mentions the charlatan Colonel Forbes, an English soldier of fortune who was to train John Brown's men. Forbes visited Douglass in Rochester seeking financial support for the project. Douglass contributed from his own funds and then sent Forbes to Otilie who introduced him to some of Douglass's German friends in New York.¹⁰ It is unclear whether the funds ever benefitted Brown and his men but after their capture at Harper's Ferry, Otilie and another of Douglass's friends helped Douglass avoid capture in New York City and safely reach Rochester and eventually Canada.

Who were Douglass's German friends in New York City? A clue is given in an editorial from the August 1859 issue of his newspaper. Titled "Adopted Citizens and Slavery" the article examines Irish and German immigrant attitudes on the slavery issue. Douglass excuses Irish duplicity in the proslavery camp because of that group's impoverished condition and because they had been deceived into believing that abolition would mean they would lose their jobs to the hordes of freed Africans that would swarm North. Consequently, the Irish supported the enemy: the proslavery Democratic Party and its leader President James Buchanan.

Although the Irish are mentioned, the main subject of Douglass's editorial are the Germans. That he holds them in high esteem is clear from his assessment: "A German has only to be a German to be utterly opposed to slavery. In feeling, as well as in conviction and principle, they are anti-slavery."¹¹ High praise indeed, if somewhat idealistic. Douglass shows himself, however, to be knowledgeable about the German-American political scene—perhaps thanks to Otilie who wrote for the German-American press. He accuses New York's *Staats-Zeitung* of demagoguery because it misled its readership, German mechanics and laborers, into believing that the Republican Party was allied with the Know-Nothings and nativists in a campaign to deprive immigrants of their rights. Similiar tactics in the last presidential election had duped the immigrants into voting for Buchanan and Douglass feared a repeat performance in 1860.¹²

The *Staats-Zeitung's* campaign of misinformation was in Douglass's mind deliberate and pernicious. He considered the slavery question the alpha and omega of American political life and the newspaper's obstructionist tactics deprived the abolition camp of one of its potentially greatest allies. He did not, however, believe the deception would have any permanence. The antislavery

activities of Germans in Missouri and Texas encouraged him that the Germans would eventually follow their true nature. Rather than a question of principle or inclination Douglass considered German support of the Democratic Party the result of their ignorance of English. Since they only had access to the German-language press, deceptions such as that perpetrated by the *Staats-Zeitung* were possible.

Douglass obviously had great hopes for the forty-eighters, the political refugees who were also lauded by the delegates in Cincinnati seven years before. These immigrants—unlike the older, more conservative German settlers—subscribed to liberal and socialist thought. They seemed a heaven-sent source of support for Douglass and his abolitionist friends. A sizeable community of the newcomers lived in New York City and, interestingly enough, it was also in New York City that German freemasons would brand nonrecognition of Prince Hall Freemasonry as racism and agitate for its acceptance into the world community of freemasonry.¹³

Another champion was the socialist Karl Daniel Adolf Douai (1819-88), editor of the *San Antonio-Zeitung* and noted educator. His abolitionist views incited popular feeling against him and he was forced to sell his newspaper to his enemies for a pittance and leave Texas in 1856. Reportedly, after leaving Texas he went to Philadelphia where its African-American residents honored him in a public rally and offered to finance a newspaper for him.¹⁴ Douai declined the offer and settled in Boston. After the Civil War he received a newspaper from Texas that carried this announcement:¹⁵

This paper, which is owned, edited, and whose types are set by Negroes, is printed upon the same press which Dr. Adolf Douai first battled for the emancipation of the black man. He has the gratitude of the colored race who will ever remember his endeavors in behalf of freedom.

One can characterize the African-American perception of Germans during the antebellum period as that of an important ally in the struggle for freedom and self-determination. The recent immigrant, especially the intellectual fleeing political oppression in Europe, was directly courted by African-American leaders such as Douglass who perceived an intrinsic love of personal freedom in the German character. This idealized image of the German united two seemingly diametrically opposed forces: the liberalism of the revolutionary and the conservatism of German family values. To the African-American, however, both impulses were extremely valuable in the struggle against a system that threatened him on an individual and group level.

The Civil War's elimination of slavery was only an interlude in the African-American's ongoing struggle for rights and dignity. From 1865-1920 African-Americans slipped or were pushed into what historians term the "Nadir," a time when the rights and freedoms gained through war were brutally

taken away under the accompaniment of perennial mob frenzies of lynching, murder, and intimidation. During this dark period from the end of Reconstruction to the end of World War I Germany and Germans were seen by African-American intellectuals in a new but largely positive light. Representative for this new phase are the academically trained intellectuals such as W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963) or Alain LeRoy Locke (1885-1954).

Ingeborg Solbrig has convincingly traced the influence of Herder on these two intellectual giants but in the case of Du Bois the influence was much broader based than Herder.¹⁶ Du Bois was a product of his age. In the second half of the nineteenth century Germany represented not only the epitome of learning but also the ultimate credentializer. Du Bois notes in his autobiography that the German doctorate was the entree which he—and many other academics also—considered essential to a successful career.¹⁷ Germany was, however, more than just a vehicle for Du Bois's ambition.

He was a man on a mission who felt such a deep obligation to his race that all other considerations were secondary. If we are to believe his autobiography, then his commitment to improving his race dictated his choice in a career and in a wife. Du Bois's decision to pursue German credentials was both a result of the Eurocentric education provided African-American intellectuals after the Civil War as well as the affinity which he felt to the new nation. The German Reich was born in that phase of American history, Reconstruction, when African-Americans were filled with hope for the future by the granting of suffrage, the appearance of men of color for the first time in state legislatures and in Congress, as well as the creation of African-American colleges and universities.

Prior to the Civil War only twenty-eight African-Americans had received degrees from recognized American colleges.¹⁸ Clearly, the future of African-Americans depended in large part on the type of education to which they would be allowed access. From early on the alternatives were either manual training or higher education. In the institutions specifically created for African-Americans such as Lincoln University (1853), Wilberforce (1856), or Fisk (1865) classical training was at the core of the college curriculum. When Du Bois attended Fisk (1885-88), he also studied German—a language which had apparently been taught there since 1869 when the college department was organized.¹⁹ The affinity which Du Bois had developed for Germany was apparent in the speech which he gave at the 1888 commencement exercises. As he recalled, his speech on Bismarck was the result of his enthusiasm "at the rise of the new German Empire" under that leader.²⁰

Du Bois probably continued his study of Germany at Harvard since in his autobiography when citing the dominance of German Ph.D.s at Johns Hopkins and the then new University of Chicago, he notes that "even Harvard had imported Munsterberg [*sic*] for the new experimental psychology, and Kuno Frank [*sic*] had long taught there."²¹ Du Bois refers, of course, to Hugo Münsterberg (1863-1916), the eminent psychologist, and Kuno Francke (1855-1930), who had taught German at Harvard since 1884 and in 1896

published *Social Forces in German Literature*—a sociological approach to literature that might have appealed to Du Bois. Unfortunately, there is no other indication that Du Bois was exposed to the thoughts of this most influential Germanist.

Du Bois's real exposure to things German occurred, of course, during his visit to Germany 1892-94. Meagerly supported by the Slater Fund he was able to spend four semesters at the University of Berlin. The academic and extra-academic experiences deeply affected him and he variously described his *Wanderjahre*—his term—as showing him “something of the possible beauty and elegance of life”²² and permitting him to look “at the world as a man and not simply from a narrow racial and provincial outlook.”²³

Besides the many human contacts—in this regard one can mention the Marbachs in Eisenach, the unnamed shop clerk with whom he lived in Berlin, and fellow students such as the Englishman John Dollar or Stanislaus Ritter von Estreicher, a future victim of the Holocaust,²⁴ who invited him to visit Poland—Du Bois also developed important intellectual contacts. During his studies at the university he had written two papers in German: for Professor Gustav Schmoller “Der Groß- und Klein-Betrieb des Ackerbaus in der [sic] Südstaaten der Vereinigten Staaten, 1840-90” and for Professor Adolph Wagner “Die landwirtschaftliche Entwicklung in den Südstaaten der Vereinigten Staaten.”

Du Bois had hoped to develop this economic study of the South into a doctoral dissertation but was denied admittance to the oral examination because of a technicality: he had not spent enough semesters in attendance. Thus, temporarily denied his German doctorate in economics, Du Bois returned to Harvard to receive the Ph.D. in history and embark on his historical career as a pioneer in the emerging field of sociology. At least one contact which he maintained from his Berlin days was Max Weber. Weber had taught there before accepting an appointment at Heidelberg. In 1904, while in the United States, Weber visited Du Bois and a year later wrote him to obtain permission to translate *The Souls of Black Folk*. That did not occur immediately but in 1906 Weber published Du Bois's article “Die Negerfrage in den Vereinigten Staaten” in his journal *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*.²⁵

Throughout his long and distinguished career Du Bois made frequent reference to Germany in his speeches and writings. He began his academic career teaching Latin, Greek, German, and English at Wilberforce in 1894. Between the two world wars and during the cold war he visited Germany again. On the first occasion he was commissioned to report on conditions in Hitler's Germany and on the later occasion he visited the German Democratic Republic to receive the once-denied doctorate in economics from the Humboldt University. There is a marvelous consistency in Du Bois's apparent inconsistency on things German. An admitted admirer of Bismarck and Wilhelm II—Du Bois patterned his own beard after the latter's—he despised Hitler and extolled the virtues of socialism in the German Democratic Republic.

It is clear from references in *The Souls of Black Folk*, his first great work after his dissertation, that for Du Bois Germany was essentially the Germany of Frederick Douglass. They both saw and appreciated the Germany of "Dichter und Denker," of Herder, Goethe, and Schiller, and of music and art. The political element was also strong, especially the liberal tradition. In 1892 Du Bois noted that he frequently attended the meetings of the Social Democrats to whom he was strongly drawn. By contrast, he was also astonished by the "pageantry and patriotism" displayed by most Germans. Such feelings were alien to him as the member of a marginalized minority.²⁶

Du Bois's image of Germany would shift in time because of his development of a Pan-African, anticapitalist *Weltanschauung* that centered on an African diaspora characterized by colonialism, racism, and economic exploitation. Within that historical perspective, he perceived the German Democratic Republic as the legitimate heir to nineteenth-century German liberalism and *Humanität*—a view shared by many progressive German writers and thinkers such as Heinrich Mann, Anna Seghers, Bertolt Brecht and others who rejected the rejuvenated capitalism in West Germany after World War II.

Between 1850 and 1920 African-Americans saw in Germany a "Spiritual Fatherland," a *locus amoenus* of philosophical traditions emanating from the Enlightenment. The underlying focus on human rights appealed to them in the midst of their own struggle for dignity. The prominence of German-Americans such as Carl Schurz and Adolph Douai in the antislavery struggle perhaps blinded African-Americans to the contributions which Germans made to the emerging pseudoscience of scientific racism; even Du Bois, perhaps the most racially-minded thinker since Martin R. Delany, chose to ignore the imprecations of von Treitschke on the inferiority of mulattoes. Nevertheless, it was the "other" Germany that appealed to African-Americans; the Germany of Dora Marbach to whom Du Bois was attracted because she saw him as a man and not just a man of color. It is ironic, however, that in the 1850s African-Americans would seek Germans as allies in the fight against slavery and in 1918 when Germany was the political enemy their relationship would be considered treasonous.

A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, socialist activists of the period, published the decidedly antiwar journal titled *Messenger: World's Greatest Negro Monthly*. In 1918 they printed an editorial with the provocative title "Pro-Germanism among Negroes." In it they discussed a recent convention of the NAACP in which Justin Carter of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, had publicly criticized racist outrages committed against Black soldiers in France by their white comrades. Carter's comments provoked a representative from the Department of Intelligence who was apparently monitoring the convention to state that it was believed that African-Americans had become the dupes of German propaganda.

The *Messenger* noted that it was not so much Pro-Germanism as Anti-Americanism or antilynching sentiment that had moved Blacks to speak out

against racism and discrimination. The real situation was one of choice: "The Negro may be choosing between being burnt by Tennessee, Georgia or Texas mobs or being shot by Germans in Belgium."²⁷ Apparently this editorial was construed as being seditious because Randolph and Chandler were arrested and sentenced from one to two-and-one-half years in prison and the journal was denied second-class mailing privileges.²⁸

Between 1850 and 1920 African-American intellectuals perceived Germany and Germans to be their spiritual kin. Humanitarianism, liberalism, indeed culture itself were synonymous with Germany. With this image African-Americans shared the general attitude of nineteenth-century American intellectuals for whom an education was not complete without training at places such as Heidelberg, Berlin or Göttingen. For African-Americans, however, the identification with Germany's liberal traditions was doubly important because of their own struggle to create and nurture their own cultural identity in the midst of a racist society. The twentieth century's clash of opposing ideologies would challenge that identification or idealization and compel African-American intellectuals such as Chandler, Randolph, and Du Bois to formulate a differentiated view of German society and culture. But in every case Germany and Germans served as touchstone against which American society was measured.

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Notes

¹ Cf. the brief bibliography by Leroy T. Hopkins, "Expanding the Canon: Afro-German Studies," *Unterrichtspraxis* 25, 2 (1992): 121-26. Since that time there have been several new publications such as: Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale U, 1992); Regine and Gerd Riepe, *Du Schwarz Ich Weiss* (Wuppertal: Peter Hammer Verlag, 1992); Allison Blakeley, *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana U, 1993).

² Philip S. Foner and George E. Walker, eds., *Proceedings of the Black State Conventions, 1840-1865* (Philadelphia: Temple U, 1979), 1:276.

³ *Ibid.*, 277.

⁴ Cf. Carolyn Toth, *German-English Bilingual Schools in America: The Cincinnati Tradition in Historical Context* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990), 61.

⁵ Herbert Marshall and Mildred Stock, *Ira Aldridge: The Negro Tragedian* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois UP, 1968), 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 235.

⁷ Samuel Cornish, ed., *Colored American* 2, 33 (Sat., 6 October 1838), p. 1, col. 2.

⁸ Rayford W. Logan, ed., *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, repr. from the rev. ed. of 1892 (New York, 1962), 309.

⁹ Terry H. Pickett, "The Friendship of Frederick Douglass with the German, Otilie Assing," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 73, 1 (Spring 1989): 88.

¹⁰ Logan, 317.

¹¹ *Douglass' Monthly* (August 1859), col. 1.

¹² *Ibid.*, col. 2.

¹³ A brief account of the nineteenth-century relations between German and African-American freemasons can be found in: Joseph A. Walkes, Jr., *Black Square & Compass: 200 Years of Prince Hall Freemasonry* (Richmond: Macoy Publishing & Masonic Supply Co., Inc., 1974), 99-115.

¹⁴ Philip S. Foner, *American Socialism and Black Americans: From the Age of Jackson to World War II* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977), 23.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 22f.

¹⁶ Cf. Ingeborg Solbrig, "American Slavery in Eighteenth-Century German Literature: The Case of Herder's 'Neger-Idyllen,'" *Monatshefte* 82,1 (Spring 1990): 38-49.

¹⁷ Aptheker, Herbert, ed., *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois* (New York: International Publishers, 1968), 150.

¹⁸ Cf. Peter M. Bergman and Mort N. Bergman, *The Chronological History of the Negro in America* (New York: Mentor Books; The New American Library, 1969), 224.

¹⁹ Cf. Joe M. Richardson, *A History of Fisk University, 1865-1946* (U of Alabama P, 1980), 15.

²⁰ "A Pageant in Seven Decades," *W.E.B. Du Bois Speaks: Speeches and Addresses*, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York: Pathfinder, 1970), 1:28.

²¹ *Op. cit.*

²² *Ibid.*, 156.

²³ *Ibid.*, 159.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 175.

²⁵ Letter is found in Herbert Aptheker, ed., *The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois*, vol. 1, *Selections, 1877-1934* (U of Mass. Press, 1973), 106f. Du Bois's article appeared in volume 22 (1906): 31-79 of Weber's publication.

²⁶ *Autobiography*, 168.

²⁷ *Messenger*, New York (March 1918), 13.

²⁸ *The Chronological History of the Negro in America*, *op. cit.*, 386f.

