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W. E. B. Du Bois: 1900 - 1930

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Raydora Susan Drummer

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of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in College and University
Administration

in the Department of Educational Administration

Kathryn M. Moore
Major professor

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TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP
IN THE LIFE OF W. E. B. DU BOIS:
1900 - 1930

By

Raydora Susan Drummer

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Educational Administration

1995

ABSTRACT

TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP IN THE LIFE OF W. E. B. DU BOIS: 1900 - 1930

By

Raydora Susan Drummer

In the opening decades of the twentieth century, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois gained national recognition for his leadership role in the struggle to obtain citizenship rights for African Americans.

This study explored the transformational leadership characteristics of W. E. B. Du Bois from 1900 through 1930. Specifically, this study examined Du Bois's transformational leadership behaviors through four of his major career attainments, which were creative writing, scholarly research, civil rights activism, and Pan Africanism. The method of inquiry for this investigation was a historical descriptive analysis of the biographical data on Du Bois, measured against the theoretical framework of transformational leadership.

Transformational leadership was first described as a theoretical construct in 1978 by James MacGregor Burns in

his Pulitzer Prize winning book, Leadership. Four major characteristics of transformational leadership were synthesized out of a review of the literature and were utilized as the working model for the study: 1. Visionary leadership, characterized by a missionary zeal to see the fruition of a vision, and an overwhelming desire to impart that vision to others. 2. Intellectual leadership, demonstrated in part by a willingness to take risks in raising questions which challenge the prevailing social or organizational structure. 3. Inspirational leadership, which spurs followers on to decisive action through the effective use of language symbols, and 4. Shared leadership, which is the transformational leader's empowerment of followers in order that they might also become leaders and perhaps agents of social and moral change.

Since transformational leaders, as innovators of change, often use unconventional methods in their approach to solving problems, this study was significant for its ability to provide a clearer definition of Du Bois's complex leadership behaviors as they were reexamined and reframed under this theoretical light.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 1903 William Edward Burghardt Du Bois found himself at the forefront of an ongoing predicament in American society dubbed "the Negro problem." He wrote of this in his classical work, The Souls of Black Folk:

Between me and the other world there is ever an unasked question: unasked by some through feelings of delicacy: by others through the difficulty of rightly framing it. They approach me in a half-hesitant sort of way, eye me curiously or compassionately, and then, instead of saying directly, How does it feel to be a problem? they say, I know an excellent colored man in my town; or I fought at Mechanicsville; or Do not these Southern outrages make your blood boil? At these I smile, or am interested, or reduce the boiling to a simmer, as the occasion may require. To the real question, How does it feel to be a problem? I answer seldom a word.¹

This "problem" which plagued the nation from its founding through the mid twentieth century was the biracial system of government which legally, socially, and psychologically segregated black Americans from white. Du Bois's particular metaphor for the psychological aspect of the separation was "the veil." It was behind this veil that he was born and reared in New England from 1868 through young adulthood. After that time he ventured South where he witnessed a fuller threading of the veil in all its subtle

entanglements.²

In the South especially, it was evident that the strain of maintaining a biracial society was an impediment to both races. On a purely practical level, the constant vying for limited public resources and civic services such as education, medical care, housing and sanitation raised tensions within and between the two communities. Black leaders, at the bottom of the power structure, were nonetheless compelled to vie for "separate but equal" resources in a system in which they were not preferred. Both races played a high price for maintaining this system, as has been noted by some historians and sociologists. Gunnar Myrdal commented in An American Dilemma in 1944, "The white South is virtually obsessed by the Negro problem. It has allowed the Negro problem to rule its politics and its business, fetter its intelligence and human liberties, and hamper its progress in all directions." Regarding the consequence to the black community, Myrdal noted in the same work that "The Negro genius is imprisoned in the Negro problem."³

In the early part of the twentieth century especially, the discussion about citizenship rights for blacks was a topic all black leaders inevitably had to address as a basic

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component of their outreach to the black community. The need to eventually focus attention on "the Negro problem" was in itself a type of handicap for black leaders.⁴ Yet W. E. B. Du Bois, having found himself in a leadership role within the black community, was prepared to take on the challenges inherent to the position.

This study will analyze some of the struggles of black leadership in the early part of the twentieth century by examining the transformational leadership style of W. E. B. Du Bois between 1900 and 1930, the time of his highest public profile.

Transformational leaders, according to the definition offered by N. M. Tichy and others, are fueled by a need to confront reality as they see it and to express the truth even if it is painful to hearers.⁵ Transformational leaders are agents of social or organizational change. They often courageously declare truth which is geared toward unbalancing the status quo. They seek to foster paradigm shifts within the cognition of followers in an effort to goad them into ultimately transforming their environment.⁶ Most importantly, transformational leaders are visionaries. They have a strong perception of a possible future which is radically different from what they currently experience.

Their major agenda is to help others imagine that future and then inspire and empower them to work towards its attainment.⁷

For these reasons, transformational leaders are not always understood, welcomed, nor encouraged in their mission during their lifetimes. Only later perhaps when their vision, dream or prophecy comes to fruition are they hailed as great. Within their lifetimes more often than not, they are considered dangerous even by other leaders.

In response to conflicting personal viewpoints about the race question over the years, along with the national upheaval caused by The Souls of Black Folk, Theodore Roosevelt once referred to Du Bois as "a dangerous person."⁸ Nor was Roosevelt the only individual who considered him dangerous. Throughout his public tenure as the leading black intellectual of the first half of the twentieth century, Du Bois made numerous enemies as well as friends for his radical stance regarding full citizenship rights for blacks. His insights were unusual and revealing, thus upsetting to many. Whereas most black leaders historically worked from one of two major ideological camps regarding race: the integrationist struggle for civil rights, equality and freedom, or the accommodationist acceptance of segregation,

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economic separatism and group solidarity,⁹ Du Bois required another ideology. It incorporated integration while maintaining the notion of race distinction:

He [the American Negro] would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that the Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face.¹⁰

To be at once proud to be an American as well as eagerly embrace one's own cultural heritage was an idea decades before its time; years before modern phrases were coined which expressed celebration of diversity. This inclination to work outside the standard ideologies was a trademark of Du Bois's career. It is also a characteristic of transformational leadership.¹¹

Du Bois's entire life it seems was motivated by a vision and a need to communicate it. His vision of an equitable future for blacks compelled him to set goals which broke new ground in many areas of life. His desire to be liberally educated, for instance, resulted in him being the first black person to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard in 1895.¹² He was the first black person to earn a Ph.D. in History ever. His thesis, The Suppression of the African

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Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870, was the first scientific historical monograph written by a black person, and it became the first volume of the Harvard University Historical Series in 1896.¹³ A believer in empirical research and a practitioner of creative writing throughout his life, in 1943 he was the first black person elected to the National Institute of Arts and letters. His 1935 account of the Reconstruction era, Black Reconstruction in America, was the first account of the era written from the perspective of a black American.¹⁴

These are but few of the concrete examples of areas where Du Bois continually broke new ground. There are other ways in which Du Bois created fundamental changes in the African American psyche through his transformational style of leadership. These will be discussed in greater detail further on in the body of the study.

Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of this study is to highlight the transformational leadership characteristics of W. E. B. Du Bois from 1900 through 1930. Specifically, this study will examine Du Bois's transformational leadership behaviors through four of his major career achievements. Du Bois's

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public outreach was so broad and his interests so catholic that researchers sometimes have had difficulty categorizing his career attainments under a singular heading. He has been described for instance as an educator, a sociologist, a novelist, a Pan Africanist and simply, as a civil rights activist.¹⁵ This investigation identified four major career activities which Du Bois engaged in between 1900 and 1930. These were writing, scholarly research, civil rights activism, and Pan Africanism. This study therefore aims to test the applicability of the theoretical construct of transformational leadership in Du Bois's life as described by these four career areas.

Another purpose of this study is to review other styles of leadership which were prevalent in Du Bois's day, and then to observe their effect upon his development as a transformational leader. Although the theoretical construct was only first described in 1978, researchers easily identified world-class figures whose historical activities classified them as transformational leaders under the accepted definition.¹⁶ This investigation will examine the function of transformational leadership on Du Bois's development throughout his formative and young adult years. As will be seen in chapter two of this study, even from his

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teenage years Du Bois viewed himself as a leader to the black race, or at least as a leader in process. On his route to maturity he was presented with a number of leadership role models. Wendell Phillips, Otto von Bismarck and Jefferson Davis were individuals whom he used as topics for his commencement addresses when he graduated from Great Barrington high school in 1884, Fisk University in 1888, and Harvard Graduate School in 1890, respectively.¹⁷ In other writings elsewhere he also made reference to a number of black leaders whom he identified as being his personal heroes and heroines.¹⁸ This study will look at the various styles of leadership which spurred Du Bois's own development as a leader and empowered his visions of the future.

Finally, this study aims to offer Du Bois as an example of an African American who has made significant contributions as a transformational leader. Presently there is much talk about the need for a diverse representation of positive role models for society.¹⁹ Researchers also are interested in expanding their knowledge base by examining the biographical data of leaders. Studies undertaken by Bernard M. Bass and others have offered many historical figures in such fields as politics, education, and religion as models of outstanding transformational leadership, yet

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there have been few African Americans numbered among them. This study aims to enhance that representation through its investigation into the life of Du Bois.

Significance of the Study

This study is important for its distinctive approach to examining Du Bois's leadership behaviors. There have been pockets of research which have dealt with him broadly as a leader, but none from the perspective of transformational leadership. This may be because the theoretical construct was not in place at the time when the major writings about his leadership role in history were released. Yet difficulties researchers have had pinpointing the nature of his effect on society may in fact stem from his use of this particular style of leadership. Since transformational leaders, as innovators of change, are unconventional in their approach, this study will be significant for its ability to bring a fresh appreciation of Du Bois's work as it is reexamined and reframed under a new theoretical light.

This study will offer important clues to understanding how transformational leaders operate in times of extreme adversity. In the present era, Bernard M. Bass found that a growing number of organizations are actively seeking out

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transformational leaders for their ability to thrive in turbulent environments. This type of leader is desired more today because organizations have an increasing need for visionaries. Men and women who seek change, who are aggressively innovative, and who are willing to disrupt the status quo, are currently viewed as leaders who are capable of moving institutions forward.²⁰ In Du Bois's day, however, radical individuals such as himself were viewed as instigators of strife in society. African American leaders in particular were observed with fear and suspicion unless they could be controlled by the ruling majority.²¹ The present study will be helpful in comparing how transformational leaders fare in welcoming environments as opposed to social settings which are less than accepting. These findings may provide useful generalizations about leadership behaviors in times of stress versus times of tranquility.

This study is important for its multi-disciplinary applications. The disciplinary foci utilized in this study will be leadership theory, history, political economy, along with the sub disciplines of human development theory, psychohistory and biography. All of these topic areas will be discussed to some degree at key points during the course

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Regarding the discipline of history in this study, Du Bois himself is an important historical figure, for he was a prolific writer about every conceivable topic presented to him on a national and an international level between 1900 and 1930. During that era, there was much for him to comment on. Among major events in world history, there was the death of Queen Victoria in 1901, World War I in 1914, the passing of the Nineteenth Amendment which gave American women the vote in 1920, Ghandi's emergence as a leader in India in 1920, and the beginnings of the Great Depression in the 1930s.²²

Key events in African American history during that period included, Booker T. Washington as a force between 1895 and 1915, The Great Migration of blacks from southern to northern cities in 1910-1920, Marcus Garvey's era from 1917 through 1923, the Chicago race riots of 1919, the decade of the Harlem Renaissance beginning in 1920, the emergence of the New Negro in 1920, and the black campus rebellions in the 1920s.²³ For the first half of the twentieth century, Du Bois projected himself into each of these major national and international events through his writings, and public speaking, through his social science

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investigations of the black community, and through his involvements as an agitator for civil rights.

Along with world history and African American history, this research will utilize the discipline of leadership theory in its investigation. Further on in the review section of this chapter, leadership theory will be examined in three focal areas: leadership theory overview, transformational leadership theory, and African American leadership. This breakdown is vital to understanding the complex nature of Du Bois as an African American leader in the early part of the twentieth century. In the biracial system where he operated, styles and views of leadership differed between the black community and the white. Restricted by the bonds of social caste, and prevented from full participation in the political system of government, black leaders were given little power to address the massive social issues facing their communities. Also, limited monetary resources required black leaders to be more creative than white leaders in meeting their communities' basic needs for education, medical care, civic and social services. As a race leader in the early twentieth century, Du Bois was one of the preeminent voices in the nation confronting society about its treatment of African

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Americans. This study therefore will be rich in its comparison of leadership on three separate levels. It will examine broad theories of leadership, transformational leadership theory, and expectations of leadership within the black community in the early part the twentieth century.

Lastly, there have been few in depth biographical studies of transformational leaders overall. There have been even fewer studies of transformational leaders who are minorities. This research will bridge the gap of both needs by discussing an individual who was an African American transformational leader. The study of Du Bois will help to highlight black achievement in an area of leadership where contributions by blacks have traditionally been overlooked.

Limitations of the Study

Du Bois lived an extraordinarily long and productive life. His writings, which he began producing from age fifteen until his death at ninety-five, encompass a full eighty-nine reels of microfiche in the library! He has generated so many documents in fact that some researchers have dedicated part of their careers to compiling anthologies of works written by and about him.²⁴ It suffices to say therefore that any meticulous study of him

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must be confined to a specific time period. The era between 1900 and 1930 was chosen, because during that time, Du Bois was most active and at the height of national visibility. The limitation is that the remaining thirty-three years of his life are yet to be examined for qualities of transformational leadership. His political ideologies changed enough later on in his life that a study of the transition in his thinking and its impact on his leadership style would be invaluable. These later changes might be more rationally decipherable once Du Bois's leadership profile has been established through the prism of transformational leadership.

Methodology

The method of inquiry for this study will be a historical descriptive analysis of the biographical data on Du Bois, measured against the theoretical framework of transformational leadership. This study will examine primary source materials. It will evaluate Du Bois's speeches, personal papers, writings and first-hand accounts by others about his performance as a leader. The primary sources will be supplemented with key secondary source writings by critics, historians, and biographers. A study by David

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Levering Lewis, W. E. B. D Bois: A Biography of a Race, 1868 - 1919, won the 1994 Pulitzer Prize for biographical research. It will also be referred to and utilized throughout this investigation.

Regarding the of use scholarly biographies for the purpose of measuring leadership capability, House, Woycke and Fodor, in 1988 noted that it is a standard practice among researchers in the social sciences.²⁵

Significantly, the reliability of this method has also been tested by theorists in the field of leadership. Bernard M. Bass, Bruce Avolio and Laurie Goodheim, in an article entitled "Biography and the Assessment of Transformational Leadership at the World-Class Level," in 1987 reported the results of an investigation about the ability of volunteer subjects to recognize transformational leadership qualities in historical figures. In the study, 149 undergraduate students were administered a leadership questionnaire to assess the skills of certain individuals whose biographies they were asked to read. It was found that there was substantial evidence to support the construct's validity and reliability in the use of biographical data as a measure of leadership style and ability.²⁶

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Research Design

This study will examine Du Bois's transformational leadership activities between 1900 and 1930 focussing on four specific areas. His other involvements will also be covered throughout the course of the study. The four major activity areas include (1) Du Bois's work as a writer, (2) his involvement in empirical research, (3) his active recruitment of other black leaders in the struggle for civil rights, (4) and his work as a Pan Africanist, in which he sought to organize peoples of African descent onto a united worldwide platform.

In the forthcoming chapters, each of Du Bois's four activities will be examined in turn through the theoretical framework of transformational leadership. Four major characteristics of transformational leadership were synthesized out of a preliminary review of the literature, and will be utilized as the working construct: 1. Visionary leadership, characterized by a missionary zeal to see the fruition of a vision, and an overwhelming desire to impart that vision to others. 2. Intellectual leadership, demonstrated in part by the willingness to take risks in

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asking questions which challenge the prevailing social or organizational structure. 3. Inspirational leadership, which spurs followers on to decisive action through the effective use of language symbols, and 4. Shared leadership, which is the transformational leader's empowerment of followers in order that they might also become leaders with him or her, and perhaps agents of social and moral change.

The current chapter consists of an introduction of the problem, and a review of the literature, from which the theoretical construct will be derived.

Chapter two of this study seeks out the roots of Du Bois's development as a leader through a brief background investigation of his childhood and youth in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Early evidences of his leadership abilities seemed to have come through his experiences as a fifteen-year-old news correspondent to T. Thomas Fortune's black journal, the New York Globe, later called, the New York Age.²⁷

Du Bois's involvements as a writer will be chronicled in chapter three. His influence will be measured by the ways his writing fostered the development of a strong black intelligentsia in America.

Chapter four will examine how Du Bois's interest as an empiricist helped transform society. Although some might suggest that during the years he was engaged in civil rights activism, he abandoned scientific research, there is strong evidence to suggest otherwise. Even after decades of work with the NAACP Du Bois returned to Atlanta University firmly attached to his idea of the one-hundred year plan of sociological studies which would showcase black achievement and struggle in America.²⁸ Throughout his life he seemed to believe that scholarly truth could assist in the social liberation of the black masses.²⁹ This chapter will scrutinize his early empirical research, his Atlanta studies, his later historical research projects about Reconstruction, John Brown, and other topics. Also, his views on classical education for blacks will be examined.

In the fifth chapter Du Bois's ability as an agent of transformation will be examined in the light of his recruitment of a contingent of trained black leadership for the purpose of racial uplift. The Niagara Movement for civil rights, which he spearheaded in 1905, was the official call to the "Talented Tenth" of liberally educated black professionals to lead the masses in the fight for full citizenship rights.³⁰ In addition, this chapter will review

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Du Bois's administrative style as the principal director of his new national organization and movement.

Chapter six will look at his involvement in the world wide Pan African Conferences, in which he participated beginning in 1900.³¹ Some historians have referred to Du Bois as "the first black American to develop explicitly the concept of Pan Africanism."³² The conferences were designed to bring together black leaders from Africa, America and the West Indies to network and share solutions to problems common to people of African descent. As his reputation as a Pan Africanist grew over the years, Du Bois became a recognized leader and champion of human rights to individuals in a number of countries around the world.³³

The amazing legacy about Du Bois in all these activities is not so much that he carried them out, but that he oftentimes did them simultaneously. Transformational leaders are known for their amazingly high degree of energy, and Du Bois had plenty of it.³⁴

The seventh and final chapter will complete the study with a summary discussion. It will offer some recommendations and conclusions about the mark Du Bois has made on history as a transformational leader.

Terms

The key concepts used in this study will be defined as follows:

Accommodationists: African Americans who placate white separatists by agreeing to settle for less than full citizenship rights for blacks.

Atlanta Compromise: A speech given by Booker T. Washington in 1895 before the Cotton States Exposition. In it he struck a bargain with Southern white planters and Northern white capitalists that, in exchange for certain economic concessions, blacks would refrain from seeking equal rights.

Biracial: A dual system of government whereby whites and blacks are provided with "separate but equal" resources.

Black Migration: The period beginning around 1910 when millions of blacks abandoned Southern rural areas in search of freedom and job opportunities in Northern cities.

Black Power: African Americans banding together in a unified front for the purpose of strengthening racial dignity while weakening the forces of oppression set against them.

Charisma: The ability to sway followers by virtue of one's personality, to arouse emotions and to inspire certain behaviors in others.

Citizenship Rights: Those freedoms designated to every American citizen under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution which guarantee life, liberty, access to property, due process of law, equal protection of the law and equal rights of political participation.

Color Line: A conceptual barrier that separates black from whites and prevents them from being able to interact on a social, intellectual, or emotional level.

Community: A group of people, not necessarily confined to a specific region, who share common interests, concerns, goals, culture or heritage.

Conservatives: Those who seek to maintain the status quo in politics or an organization. They are content to uphold systems as they are and tend to resist change.

Disenfranchise: To remove or deprive citizenship rights.

Gradualists: Those who believe that, although a very few may be culturally and intelligently prepared, it will take many years for the vast majority of blacks to "qualify" for equal citizenship and participation in the American democracy.

Harlem Renaissance: The period in African American history between 1918 through 1930 when there was a flourishing of art of all kinds in the black community.

Inspirational: A thought, idea, symbol or object, not necessarily tied to an individual, which has the power to transform attitudes, beliefs and values.

Integrationists: Those Americans, black or white who firmly adhere to and actively seek the fulfillment of the American Creed of equal justice, access and freedom for all citizens.

Intelligentsia: Usually influential middle, to upper class professionals and business men/women in the black community

Jim Crow: A body of laws which stripped blacks of gains they had made during the Radical Reconstruction era of the South between 1867 and 1877, and gradually disenfranchised them.

Liberals: Those who tend to embrace change for the purpose of advancing progress or reform in a community or organization.

Marcus Garvey: A charismatic black nationalist who gained a huge following of blacks, mainly from the working classes, between 1917 and 1923 with his "Back to Africa" movement and espousal of race pride. His Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which he founded in 1914 aimed to develop Africa as a continent of refuge for blacks.

Militant: Vocal and active aggressiveness in the fight for civil rights without concern for maintaining the status quo.

NAACP: The National Association for the Advancement of

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Colored People was founded in 1909 with Du Bois as a founding member. Its purpose was to be a national spearhead organization, legally battling for civil rights.

Nationalists: African Americans who believe that blacks will find equality and justice by breaking away from the white social structure in America and forming their own separate system of government. (This may be more on an ideological rather than a pragmatical level).

Negro Problem: The burden carried by all black leaders to eventually focus their energies on race relationships and associated issues dealing with social integration. For white leaders it means the burden of having to constantly consider the race question during decision-making under a biracial system of government.

New Negro Movement: An era heralded by Alain Locke in the 1920s when blacks, having returned from World War I's fight for the democracy of whites in Europe, refused to continue to accept second class citizenship for themselves at home in America.

Pan Africanism: A worldwide movement aimed at unifying African blacks and the black Diaspora; that is those persons scattered throughout America, the West Indies, and Europe whose ancestry originated from Africa.

Race Men: African Americans who were verbally militant in their rejection of the biracial system of government, which they viewed as illegal and immoral. They insisted upon equal citizenship rights for all people.

Racists: Persons with enough power or clout to impede the social, economic or political progress of people whose ethnic backgrounds they detest.

Radicals: Persons who are sometimes considered extreme in their ideas about social reform. They believe in going to the root of problems in order to solve them effectively.

Revisionist History: Interpretations by some historians to correct the interpretation, that Reconstruction of the South after the Civil War was a failure due to the policies of blacks who were elected to Congress between 1867 and 1877.

Segregationists: Those who believe in total separation of the races through a biracial system of government.

Tuskegee Machine: The monopoly of power that Booker T. Washington wielded over politically ambitious black individuals, the black press, and black institutions of higher education between 1895 and 1915.

Uncle Toms: Blacks who embrace segregation and inequality as acceptable, thereby assisting white supremacists in the disenfranchisement of the black community.

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Uplift/ Uplift Organizations: Self-help ideologies and organizations within the black community.

Visionary: One who has a strong mental image of a different future organization, community or society; is mobilized by that image, and compelled to share it with others.

White Supremists: Those who view blacks and other non-white races as biologically and psychologically inferior to whites and as people who should never be integrated into white society.

Literature Review

The literature review for this study will be sectioned into three main areas: leadership theory overview, transformational leadership theory, and ideas of leadership generated by African Americans. A succinct overview of leadership theory will provide a general background for understanding the emergence of theories about transformational leadership discussed in the second review. As has already been expressed, a review of ideologies about leadership which have arisen from the African American experience will be imperative to a full understanding of Du Bois as a black leader in early twentieth century America.

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1. Leadership Theory Overview

Interest in leaders and the study of leadership has been a part of civilization as long as humans have populated the planet. Yet in many ways its full dynamics remains an enigma. James MacGregor Burns in his Pulitzer Prize winning book, Leadership, noted "If we know all too much about our leaders, we know far too little about leadership. We fail to grasp the essence of leadership that is relevant to our modern age and hence we cannot even agree on the standards by which to measure, recruit, and reject it... Leadership is one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth."³⁵

Even if not fully understood, leadership has received a fair amount of commentary throughout recorded history. Hammurabi, king of ancient Babylon wrote a code of laws after he ascended the throne around 2285 B.C.E. In it he charged all future kings to observe the laws written therein in order to insure a prosperous and just reign. Moreover he warned that unjust kings who departed from the laws should expect their subjects to revolt.³⁶

Plato suggested in his Republic that good rulers were those who placed the interests of their subjects above their

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own. He likened rulers to shepherds leading their flocks.³⁷

Lord Shang Yang, a high official of the state of Ch'in in China between 359 and 338 B.C.E., also wrote a body of laws. He believed that intelligent rulers were those who relied upon the law which in turn promoted orderly government. He challenged princes and ministers to rule with good faith and right standards.³⁸

Aristotle asserted in his Politics that kings who voluntarily limited the range and grasp of their power were ensured of a long and peaceful reign.³⁹ The idea of moral leadership also ranked high in many ancient cultures. In the Old Testament of the Hebrew Bible, a mother advised her son, and future king about his duty to his subjects: "Speak up for those who cannot speak for themselves, for the rights of all who are destitute. Speak up and judge fairly; defend the rights of the poor and needy."⁴⁰ These are but a few of the "ancients" who offered suggestions about qualities necessary in leaders.

A common thread binding these ideas of leadership together over time up through the modern era seems to be their focus mainly upon world-class leaders such as statesmen, kings or military heroes. Consequently most biographies written about men and women in power adhered to

the 'Great Man' theory of leadership. According to this theory, history has been made by great individuals who, due to innate capabilities, 'rose to the top' of the masses to lead them in a particular direction. Those born to leadership were held to have inherited their gifts through generations of superior genes.⁴¹ This theory was highly popular in the 1800s during Du Bois's era. One of his Harvard professors, William James wrote about it in 1880.

In an article entitled "Great Men, Great Thoughts and Their Environment," James argued that all progress in history was the result of great individuals who helped move society forward.⁴² Thomas Carlyle in 1840 published On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History in which he espoused that "the history of the world was the Biography of Great Men" who arose, not as a result of circumstance, but of God who called them forward.⁴³ Albert Wiggam in 1924 urged society to improve the human stock by selective breeding among persons with high morals and strong intellects.⁴⁴ As late as 1960 Eugene Jennings felt that great men were endowed with near supernatural abilities to shape organizations and events.⁴⁵

The desire to learn about the specific characteristics inherent in great men led to the emergence of trait theories

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in the 1920s. Trait theories in themselves were not new but interest in them grew. Researchers began attempting to categorize and group certain traits common among great leaders such as height, weight, age, personality, education intelligence, and so forth. Kohs & Irle in 1920 studied 116 college students to determine the influence of certain traits upon their future success in the armed services.⁴⁶ Some theorists explained leadership behavior through the operation of specific characteristics.⁴⁷ In 1940 Bird listed 79 traits leaders often exhibited including bravery, brilliance, persistence, and friendliness.⁴⁸ Others attempted to identify certain traits in childhood as a predictor of future behavior.⁴⁹

Situational theories of leadership emerged at the same time as great men views. Proponents of these theories held that leadership was not the result of innate characteristics or abilities in individuals. Rather societal factors, events, or historical forces created the necessary climate from which leadership emanated. In other words specific situations in history made the leader and not the other way around as great men theorists espoused.⁵⁰

Those who held to this theory included Hegel who felt that outstanding leadership could not be credited to

individuals, as they had no choice but to behave as situations dictated.⁵¹ He viewed leadership as a response to the needs of the society at a given time.⁵² Mumford wrote in 1909 that social processes, tensions and problems stimulated the rise of leadership.⁵³

A marriage between trait and situational theories occurred through the development of personal-situational theories around the 1930s. Theorists of this type thought that the best explanations of leadership behavior resulted from the interaction between certain characteristics in individuals and the specific needs which arose in society. Thus, one variable depended upon the other, according to these theories.⁵⁴ Westburg in 1931 argued that leaders must be studied in terms of behavioral traits in conjunction with their environment.⁵⁵ Similarly, Hook in 1943 felt that some societal factors could even determine which traits would be demonstrated by the leader and which ones would lie dormant.⁵⁶

Some theories of leadership which came forth in the early part of the twentieth century originated from various other disciplines. Psychoanalytic theories were based on explanations of emotional development in early childhood, and especially parent-child interactions. Erikson, Freud and

others sought to interpret leadership behavior as reactions to familial histories.⁵⁷ Freud wrote Moses and Monotheism in 1922, arguing that early childhood traumas, neuroses, and latent sexual aggressions explained leadership in "the phenomena of religion."⁵⁸

From psychoanalytic theories there emerged a flood of studies in the form of psychohistories. Biographies of world class leaders were written examining the influence of childhood crises, fantasies and emotional deprivations upon their leadership behavior later in life.⁵⁹

In 1971 Davis wrote a psychohistorical study on the roots of Theodore Roosevelt's development as a leader. The study attempted to show that Roosevelt's numerous health problems in childhood and his parent's response fostered his resilient character during his presidency.⁶⁰ Ward's psychohistorical study of Henry Kissinger portrayed a man who continually searched for heroes during his childhood.⁶¹ A number of studies about Adolf Hitler appeared in the 1970s revealing possible early psychosis which effected his maturation.⁶² Significantly, A. Davis looked at the psychological backgrounds of four African American leaders; Frederick Douglas, W. E. B. Du Bois, Richard Wright, and Martin Luther King Jr. in Leadership, Love and Aggression.

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Using Freud's work as the theoretical base, the author investigated how each of these men resolved racially-derived childhood conflicts such as guilt, fear, anger, and transformed them into patterns of constructive leadership in adulthood.⁶³

Psychohistories offered important clues to the origins of leaders' thought processes. Nevertheless researchers in other disciplines began to criticize the tendency of these types of studies to focus on negative and irrational behavior.⁶⁴ From the business sector especially, around the 1960s and 1970s, a vast number of studies and theories began to be developed about the nature of positive leadership. In fact, the majority of new theories about leadership and administration in the last thirty years or so have mainly emanated from the field of business. Many of these researchers borrowed ideas from psychology to measure healthy leadership styles. New models based upon motivational factors were developed which looked at the effect of leadership behavior upon followers.

House, Filley and Kerr tested a hypothesis in 1971 which located the center of motivation for followers within the leader.⁶⁵ In 1960 McGregor postulated in The Human Side of the Enterprise that people can be motivated to work but

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managers fail to utilize workers' potential when they neglect to address their needs.⁶⁶ Likert found that there was increased satisfaction and performance of employees whose supervisors were supportive and sensitive to their concerns.⁶⁷ Hersey and Blanchard located the leaders' skill at motivating and changing followers in the ability of leaders to respond appropriately to the various maturity level of followers.⁶⁸ Fiedler developed a contingency model in 1967 which compared group dynamics under task-oriented with person, or process-orientated leaders. He found that effective leadership is dependent upon group performance, the group structure as well as the leader's capabilities.⁶⁹

In light of the cross-pollination of ideas about leadership between numerous disciplines over the last half century, Caple and Newton observed in 1991 that there was a need for a synthesizer. Someone needed to weave together the various ideological threads into a unified whole. They believed that James MacGregor Burns in 1978 was the first to accomplish this feat through his study on transformational leadership in his seminal work, Leadership.⁷⁰

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2. Transformational Leadership

In 1978, George MacGregor Burns completed a major work on transformational leadership which brought together motivational and human development theories with leadership in a way not done before. With minor variations of the theme in some instances, his work remains the foundation upon which all subsequent studies about transformational leadership is built.

In Burns's view, true leadership cannot divorce itself from the concept of followership as had been done historically. To him, true leadership is not an elitist activity of leaders shepherding masses who obligingly follow them, but a relationship whereby the needs and motivations of both merge toward the advancement of common goals. This interactive, even symbiotic relationship is a vital element of the transformation process which then occurs within leaders, followers, and society ultimately.⁷¹

House, Woycke, and Fodor in 1988 also discussed the differences between transformational and traditional theories of leadership. They pointed out that traditional, also known as transactional-based theories, usually focus on the effect the leader's behavior has on the cognition,

motivation, and performance levels of followers in the drive to have them meet organizational goals. In contrast, transformational theories have as their impetus the leader's effect upon the emotions, self-esteem, trust-relationship, and motivation of followers to perform beyond organizational expectations. The driving force behind the follower's commitment arises out of a clearly communicated vision and mission, inspirational symbols about the mission and empowerment to meet set challenges.⁷²

In his study Burns defined transactional and transformational leadership and the differences between them:

The relations of most leaders and followers are transactional- leaders approach followers with an eye to exchanging one thing for another: jobs for votes, or subsidies for campaign contributions. Such transactions comprise the bulk of the relationships among leaders and followers especially in groups, legislatures, and parties. Transforming leadership, while more complex, is more potent. The transforming leader recognizes and exploits an existing need or demand of the potential follower. But beyond that, the transforming leader looks for potential motives in followers, seeks to satisfy higher needs, and engages the full person of the follower. The result of transforming leadership is a relationship of mutual stimulation and elevation that converts followers into leaders and may convert leaders into moral agents.⁷³

Embodied in the idea of transformation is change. For Burns, change lies deeper than what can be quickly seen or

evidenced in surface behavior. But change which alters values, and attitudes has the potential to entirely transform society, institutions and individuals.⁷⁴

Moreover, Burns housed his faith in people's ability to change and to foster change in others in the developmental theories of Maslow and Kohlberg mainly and also Piaget, Rickson, Rokeach and Piaget.⁷⁵

In a brilliant study of more than fifteen world-class figures in as many nations and eras, Burns conducted psychohistorical research by examining their leadership styles through the lens of their various childhood experiences and deprivations. He found that their background histories demonstrated that all leaders share with followers similar needs on Maslow's hierarchy scale of needs including self-esteem, gratification, and so forth. He thus believed that leaders and followers could be mutually benefitted by raising one another to higher levels of motivation and morality as they joined forces toward reaching common purposes.⁷⁶

While leaders and followers could be mutually profited, Burns believed that transformational leaders had the potential to foster greater change in followers when they operated about one level higher on Maslow's scale of needs

and on Kohlberg's stages of moral reasoning.⁷⁷ The leader, with the higher perspective, could thereby bring followers along in the developmental process by raising their level of dissatisfaction with inconsistencies between their values of social justice or freedom, for example, and their manifested behavior.⁷⁸ This particular technique of exploiting tensions and conflict within followers as a means of transforming values into actions has been utilized by civil rights activists for generations.

Transformational leaders generally embrace conflict. They desire to cause cognitive and social dissonance if it will eventually effect change. Erik Erikson's eight stages of human development is a study in personal conflict or paradigm shifts as individuals move from lower to higher levels of growth. According to Erikson, people must settle certain questions in order to move along from stage to stage. These stages include trust versus mistrust, autonomy versus shame, and so forth. Burns believes that since conflict produces consciousness, transformational leaders must embrace conflict in order to make conscious that which lies unconscious in followers.⁷⁹

Transformational leaders are courageous. Tichy and Devanna found that leaders cause transformation when they

resist the temptation to conform, but bravely confront followers with the reality that they may not want to hear. This involves taking risks intellectually as well as emotionally.⁸⁰

Transformational leaders are intellectual risk-takers. Intellectual leaders, according to Burns, morally and analytically connect themselves to the social, political milieus where they reside in order to interject ideas which can foster change.⁸¹ Bernard M. Bass, who based his 1985 work on Burns, found that intellectual leaders who are transformational help followers view old problems in new, creative ways through the communication of clear messages and the projection of ideas and images into their minds.⁸²

Because transformational leaders are adept at reading their environment, they are also better equipped to perceive changes likely to occur within it while envisioning a possible future. Transformational leaders therefore are visionaries. Marshall Sashkin presented a theory of visionary leadership in 1988. He proposed that successful transformation depended upon the leader's ability to first envision change on a cognitive level, to willingly take risks by backing the vision, to replicate the vision in others, to transcribe the vision into obtainable goals, and

then to empower followers to work toward its attainment.⁸³

Along with the ability to impart a clear vision, one of the most important elements of transformational leadership, according to Bass and others, is charisma.⁸⁴ House in 1977 defined charisma by the way it effected followers: high devotion, loyalty and identification with the leader's values, goals, behavior, inspiration, self-esteem and trust in the leader's views.⁸⁵ The idea of charisma then is embodied in the personality of the leader, who has the ability to sway followers in one particular direction or another through the power of his or her presence.⁸⁶

Yukl, in 1981, observed that the enthralling presence of charismatic leaders makes them more easily able to publicly express what followers generally feel but are unable to communicate.⁸⁷ The public proclamations of these leaders often become inspirational slogans which are then spouted by followers as the symbolic banner of their cause. Consider Martin Luther King Jr.'s civil rights theme song, "We Shall Overcome." and Marcus Garvey's inspirational chant to the black masses, "Up, you mighty race!"⁸⁸

There are differences between inspiration and charisma, however, as Bass has pointed out. He found that charisma is

a characteristic or trait of an individual. It is an outpouring of their personality or behavior. Inspiration, on the other hand, need not spring from leadership or from any individual at all. He noted that such things as collective values can inspire: patriotism, race pride. Even inanimate objects can inspire one to behave or think in certain ways, such as the flag, the U. S. Constitution or the Bible. Bass recognized that most leaders do not need to be charismatic in order to be inspirational, although they often are.⁸⁹

Charisma is one of the traditional 'traits' of leaders which has been studied in depth for years, long before Burns revisited it in his 1978 study. He noted that, through overuse, the word had begun to lose some of the impact of its meaning. In his study he therefore dubbed charismatic leadership 'heroic leadership', stressing the personal nature of the term.⁹⁰ He defined heroic leadership as "belief in leaders because of their personage alone, aside from their tested capacities, experience, or stand on issues; faith in the leaders' capacity to overcome obstacles and crises; readiness to grant to leaders the powers to handle crises; mass support for such leaders expressed directly-through votes, applause, letters, shaking hands rather than through intermediaries or institutions."⁹¹

He found though that heroic/ charismatic leadership may not necessarily be transformational if the would-be leaders are so caught up in their own personal magnetism that they do not allow opposition to their ideas.⁹² Avolio and Gibbons in 1988 pointed out the difference between charisma that is transforming and that which is not. They showed that "pure" charismatic leaders are more concerned with attracting a loyal group of followers who are merely devoted to fulfilling their visions. Transformational leaders would additionally be interested in environmental needs or changes, developing themselves, and especially, developing their followers into leaders who are capable of independent thought.⁹³

The propensity of certain individuals to foster leadership and critical thinking in others, Burns believed, was a rather common occurrence in society and not limited to the realms of kings, statesmen, or other 'great men'. He found evidence of transforming leadership, in fact, among teachers, parents, pastors, and others who daily helped elevate those under their charge.⁹⁴ He believed that while great men could be transformational leaders, they were so only if "they help make their followers into leaders. Only by standing on their shoulders can true greatness in

leadership be achieved."⁹⁵

Bass also showed that transformational leadership need not be limited to world class leaders. In an article, "From Transactional to Transformational Leadership: Learning to Share the Vision," he discussed the likelihood that such leadership could be learned by supervisors in numerous professions. He found that businesses, the military and other organizations reported increases in overall employee performance and satisfaction under the guidance of leaders who were more transformational than transactional in their approach.⁹⁶

Bass grounded his work in Burns's earlier study with the exception of two main points of departure. Whereas Burns considered transformational leadership to be only beneficial to society, Bass argued that leaders could likewise cause negative transformation. Secondly, Burns viewed leaders operating either as transformational or transactional, with no blending of the two styles. But Bass believed that most leaders necessarily incorporate elements from both styles at various times and in different amounts according to their own personalities or the particular situations they encountered.⁹⁷

In a study utilizing Bass's Multi factor Leadership Questionnaire, which measures transactional and transformational behavioral patterns of leaders, Kirby Paradise and King, found that transformational styles were commonly used by grade and high school teachers and by professors in higher education. They also concluded that most professionals could enhance their overall effectiveness through being purposefully trained in this style of leadership.⁹⁸

The possibility of increasing organizational or institutional effectiveness through transformational leadership has attracted a number of studies in recent years. Silins's 1992 investigation tested Bass's model of transformational and transactional leadership to assess its usefulness as applied to school reform. Canonical and factor analysis along with a correlational model were applied to survey data from 679 elementary school teachers. The findings showed that of the two constructs, transformational leadership had the greater potential to bring about effective school reform.⁹⁹

Regarding biographical research on transformational leaders, Bass, Avolio and Goodheim's investigation has already been discussed. Additionally, Anderson studied the

life of Qurratu'l-Ayn Tahirih, a Muslim woman from Tehran, Iran killed in 1852 for her political viewpoints. Anderson asserted that Tahirih incorporated the style of transformational leadership in her outreach to oppressed Muslim women in the late nineteenth century.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, in 1987 Jitmoud wrote a dissertation highlighting the life of Muhammad, whom the researcher believed was a transformational leader.¹⁰¹ L. B. Lontos in 1993 conducted a set of research interviews profiling the transformational leadership style of a high school principal in Eugene, Oregon. The study identified specific behaviors the administrator commonly manifested which helped affect greater achievement and performance among students and teachers at the school.¹⁰²

While an exhaustive examination of available works on transformational leadership was not practical, this review has considered the main points relevant to the study at hand. Tichy and Devanna in their book, The Transformational Leader, summarized seven major characteristics they found embodied in the style. They observed that transformational leaders:

1. Identify themselves as agents of change;
2. Are courageous individuals; they are wise

risk-takers;

3. Believe in people and work for their empowerment;
4. Are value-driven; their behavior is consistent with their core beliefs;
5. Are life-long learners in that they are able to view mistakes as potential growth-producing experiences;
6. Have the ability to deal with complexity ambiguity and uncertainty; they are entranced by the world of ideas;
7. Are visionaries who are able to impart their visions and dreams to others.¹⁰³

In the next section of this chapter, leadership as it has occurred historically in the African American community will be briefly considered, followed by a synthesis in which the specific theoretical constructs utilized for this study will be identified.

3. African American Leadership

From slavery's inception at colonial Jamestown, Virginia in 1619 through the Civil Rights Movement of the modern era, black history has been the history of the

struggle for freedom, dignity, and equal participation in the American experiment. Holman in his thesis, W. E. B. Du Bois: The Intellectual as Master Propagandist, found that nearly all black leaders in America throughout the centuries have taken up these issues, but in varying degrees. Black leaders commonly fell into one of two ideological camps: acceptance of the systems of slavery and legalized segregation, or revolt against them.¹⁰⁴

Manning asserted in an article dealing with this topic, that the central axis of the history of African Americans in the United States is the tension between accommodation and struggle.¹⁰⁵ Slavery and segregation have been so enmeshed in the nation's development that, historically, no black persons of prominence could avoid eventually making their particular ideological stance known. Poet Phyllis Wheatley, who survived the grueling slave ship voyage to America at the tender age of eight, seemed to have struggled between adaptation to her state of servitude and a not so subtle campaign for freedom when in 1773 she wrote:

Twas mercy brought me from my pagan land
 Taught my benighted soul to understand
 That there's a God, that there's a Savior too!
 Once I redemption neither thought nor knew...

and in another poem penned that same year,

...Should you, my lord, while you peruse my song
 wonder from whence my love of freedom sprung,
 Whence flow these wishes for the common good
 By feelings hearts alone best understood.
 I young in life, by seeming cruel fate
 was snatch'd from Afric's Fancy'd happy seat.
 What pangs excruciating must molest.
 What sorrows labor in my parents' breast?...¹⁰⁶

During the Colonial period in America especially, the decision of many blacks to accommodate themselves to their condition stemmed mainly from the lack of opportunity, the inadvisability of organizing resistance groups on a large scale. In the North, both slaves and freedmen were sprinkled in scattered communities throughout the region. The vast majority of blacks who were in bondage lived in the South where they faced severe penalties, usually death, for attempting to organize uprisings or even to communicate with the few free black settlements sporadically located nearby.¹⁰⁷ For their part, free blacks were keenly aware of the precarious nature of their status. They were especially cautious not to attract attention to themselves by engaging in activities which could potentially jeopardize their already limited liberties.¹⁰⁸

Pockets of resistance nevertheless did exist in the early days before the emergence of organized black abolitionist movements. The historical record is replete

with accounts of black men and women who continually agitated for their own liberation as well as for the liberation of others.¹⁰⁹ Harding chronicled the history of black resistance in his work, There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America. In it he documented the stories of African America's "great men" who led in the crusade for liberty. He accounted all of them as leaders, who through their own examples, spurred others on to decisive action. He recounted the tales of anguished men and women, who on the decks of horrifying slave ships of the Middle Passage, chose to sacrifice themselves to the engulfing, yet liberating seas rather than commit their futures to a life of servitude in the New World.¹¹⁰

Beginning about the mid seventeenth century, small bands of fugitive slaves known as maroons lived in swamps and woodland regions around colonial settlements. Harding asserts that their inclination to plunder local villages was an ongoing source of irritation up through the days of emancipation. Also, disturbing to slave holders, was the fact that the prevalence of maroon populations served as constant reminders to their own bond servants that escape was a viable option.¹¹¹

The fear of black leadership in any form therefore was prevalent in the South, where the large black population could potentially wreck havoc through organized mass revolt. Incidents such as Nat Turner's slave insurrection and slaughter of sixty whites in 1830 lived long in the memories of Southerners, who felt compelled to crush or subdue vestiges of leadership wherever it sprouted.¹¹²

Franklin in his book, The Militant South, asserted that the antebellum South was a violent and dangerous place due to its constant surveillance of slave revolt within its midst, and its defensive stance against criticism from white abolitionists in the North.¹¹³

Some black leadership on a limited scale was allowed in the South however. Drivers, slaves who assisted overseers in controlling field hands, were sometimes employed.¹¹⁴ A loyal servant might also be entrusted with the management of the master's household on various occasions.¹¹⁵ But Sterling Stuckey argued in Slave Cultures: A Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America that there was more to black communal societies on slave plantations than met the master's ever watchful eye. He found that there were clear social patterns and routes of leadership among slave communities which were cleverly disguised for the sake of

survival. He discovered, for instance, that in some early Christian slave church services the baptismal ordinance was in actuality an African ceremonial rite, with the priest-king serving as chief. In this way early slave societies successfully preserved their own cultural heritage and social mores through the Africanization of the Christian religion imposed upon them by their masters.¹¹⁶

Hamilton also showed in his work, The Black Preacher in America, that slave preachers held powerful positions of leadership within their respective communities. While some of them followed their master's mandate to preach only accommodation, submission and obedience in this life, others on different plantations held forth the unadulterated gospel message to their congregation whenever their masters were absent. Still others like, Henry Highland Garnet and Nat Turner, preached resistance and revolt, leading followers to seek emancipation this side of heaven. Certainly the styles varied. Hamilton's final assessment of black preachers in the antebellum era was that "they have this in common: They have all been leaders of their people- a people needing comfort, instruction, encouragement and guidance. At some point during slavery, the various preachers filled, in their own ways, these needs."¹¹⁷

Unlike in the South, black leadership in the North emerged and was able to function under slightly diminished social constraints. Only about 400,000 blacks populated the northern regions, just ten percent of those who resided in the South. Litwack's study, North of Slavery: The Negro of the Free States, 1790-1860, showed that slavery in the regions of the commonwealth was abolished much more rapidly, by 1783. He found too that economic considerations played a role, as working whites strove to eliminate the competition of the free black labor as a prominent influence in Northern industries.¹¹⁸ Litwack discovered that Northern blacks often exerted pressure on the prevailing social structure by raising biblical and moral arguments against slavery. Their proximity to the liberty-promoting Constitution enabled them to align with powerful allies such as Quakers and other white sympathizers, who in turn effectively afflicted the conscience of slave holders by means of public oratory and written appeals.¹¹⁹

Although blacks were able to secure their freedom earlier in the North than their Southern brethren, they were excluded from much of the social and political processes of the American system of government. A despised race, their neighborhoods were relegated to segregated, undesirable

sections of towns and cities.¹²⁰ A. Tocqueville, a French political theorist traveling through the United States in 1831, noted the poisonous air of discrimination in the North. He documented his findings in his book Democracy in America in 1835:

Race prejudice seems stronger in those states that have abolished slavery than in those where it still exists, and nowhere is it more intolerant than in those states where slavery was never known...So the Negro is free, but he cannot share the rights, pleasures, labors, griefs or even the tomb of he whose equal he has been declared.¹²¹

Although the power of the ballot was precluded them, numerous opportunities for leadership existed within the segregated communities where blacks resided. There were strong African American communities for instance in Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, New York, Philadelphia and Washington. After Emancipation in the South, populations greatly increased in the free black sections of Charleston, New Orleans, Mobile, and other major cities.¹²² Many of the most notable blacks leaders of America were groomed in these segregated settings. Ex-slave Bishop Richard Allen founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia when in 1787 he and other black parishioners refused to abide by the "Jim Crow" seating arrangements newly instituted in the white church they had

been attending.¹²³ Hezekiah Grice, less well known, influenced the forming of the important National Negro Convention Movements of 1830 through 1864. These conventions, for the first time, brought together black leaders from various parts of the nation where they attempted to solve problems relative to their race.¹²⁴ Some researchers have dubbed these conventions "the first National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," a precursor of Du Bois's NAACP.¹²⁵

Wolters commented in The New Negro on Campus: Black College Rebellions of the 1920s, that by exiling African Americans to separate townships, the majority culture inadvertently conferred opportunity upon them. For blacks had no other choice than to develop their leadership potential in order to effectively duplicate and run their own schools, hospitals, businesses, churches, and other institutions essential to a viable community.¹²⁶

Green chronicled the historical development of Washington, D. C.'s black community in The Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capitol. Green described the "city within a city" in which the everyday lifestyles of blacks in their communities were virtually unknown to whites. Nevertheless leadership thrived in the

black press, the church, abolition organizations, businesses, schools, fraternities, literary societies, temperance leagues, burial aid committees, insurance groups and other programs focussing on racial uplift.¹²⁷

Black women also were empowered with leadership outlets in their communities. Lowenberg and Bogin discussed the nature of women's work in Black Women of the Nineteenth Century American Life; Their Words, Their Thoughts, Their Feelings. They showed that black women founded many civic organizations which did not have the luxury of focussing energies solely upon leisure activities.¹²⁸ So much outreach was required of women by way of providing shelter to destitute new arrivals to their communities, educating children, and working to bring income into their own households. The pressures of their race and gender also compelled them to look beyond their local concerns. Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, born in 1825 in Baltimore's free black community, became a well known lecturer as she traveled throughout the country advocating uplift of her race, woman suffrage, and the vote for black men.¹²⁹ Similarly, Charlotte Forten Grimke' hailed from an upper class black family in Philadelphia in 1837. In the beginning of the Civil War she ventured south as a missionary teacher

to the slaves newly emancipated by the Union army in the Islands off the coast of South Carolina.¹³⁰

Ida Wells-Barnett was known for her campaign against the widespread lynching of blacks which took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She wrote in her book, U. S. Atrocities, which she published in 1892, about the need for blacks to take a more militant approach toward crimes waged against them: "The more the Afro-American yields and cringes and begs, the more he has to do so, the more he is insulted, outraged and lynched."¹³¹

A powerful tool for many black leaders was the black press. More than any other vehicle, it had the ability to rapidly influence and unite the minds of the black communities throughout the nation. Ida Wells-Barnett and other leaders utilized the press not only to effect change in the ideas of other blacks, but to make an impression on prominent whites whom they knew would read their publications.¹³²

But the press was also utilized at times for discussing divisions rather than unity of thought. Historically whenever there were rifts among the leadership of the black community, the press became one of the major arenas where the divergent ideologies were contested.¹³³ One of the most

famous polarizations of leadership in the national black community occurred between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois between 1900 and 1915. Their heated debates about accommodation versus struggle for equal citizenship rights fairly well split the black community. So prevalent were their distinct philosophies, Washington advocating accommodation, Du Bois for agitation and pursuit of civil rights, that for many years their viewpoints were copiously cited in many books, journal and newspaper articles dealing with the "Negro problem."¹³⁴

In the early stages of their debate, an attempt was made to work toward consensus when in 1903 they collaborated with other leaders on a book entitled, The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative American Negroes of To-day. The book actually provided a single volume in which several leaders simply restated their various viewpoints about the best approach for solving the racial question.¹³⁵

The powerful, opposing thoughts of Washington and Du Bois continued to influence the black community for decades beyond their initial attempt at reconciliation. In 1919, one editorial in the August edition of a black newspaper in Richmond, Virginia, The People's Pilot, described the three schools of black leadership still

prominent in that day:

There are, in America, three Schools of Negro Leadership. 1. The Booker T. Washington idea embraced by Hampton and Tuskegee -the idea that Negroes were created to fit only into a niche of servitude and labor in this great American body politic. 2. The DuBoisian idealism demanded by intellectual statesmanship. This school claims that the Negro is the crux of world democracy -unless he is freed the rest of man-kind must also remain enslaved to some form of detestable autocracy or abortive democracy. Its method is one of publicity and agitation. 3. The Kelly Miller Medium espoused by the followers of Dean Miller of Howard University. This School lost its cue when the so-called two extremes disappeared. The influence of the first extreme died with the death of the great apostle of Industrialism. That incident along with the coming of the war brought the School of Du Bois into the ascendancy.¹³⁶

As this review has shown, although the black community has not always been empowered with the ballot, nor always been of one accord ideologically, throughout its long, active history, it has never been lacking in leadership. From the holds of slave ships anchored off the coasts of Africa in 1600 to the offices of the NAACP in twentieth century New York, black leadership has been and continues to be an active force for social uplift in the world.

Synthesis

In an article, "The Status of Black Leadership: Implications for Black Followers in the 1980s," Davis

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argued that transformational leadership is often the style utilized by people under oppression. The majority culture in power may volley between transactional and transformational styles, but oppressed groups according to Davis, necessarily choose as their leaders those individuals whom they perceive will meet their various neglected needs as presented in Burns's 1978 theory.¹³⁷ The bond between leader and follower is their mutual focus upon reforming social systems in order to improve the qualities of their lives, which they believe have been ignored/suppressed by the ruling class structure.

Historically, African American leaders and followers have engaged in such a symbiotic relationship throughout the centuries they have struggled for liberty and civil rights. Tensions sometimes arose between leaders who desired radical change and those who sought to maintain the status quo through accommodation. This was the case with radical thinking Frederick Douglas and the more accommodating Charles Lenox Redmond in the nineteenth century; Du Bois and Washington in the twentieth.¹³⁸ The majority culture sometimes increased these tensions by giving political clout and financial backing to leaders whom they wanted blacks to support.¹³⁹

Nevertheless, the record clearly shows that followers preferred those leaders whom they believed proposed viable solutions to their many problems. Their leaders of choice often encouraged them to question the status quo, and not simply to resign themselves to their social predicament. Their chosen leaders inspired them to embrace a vision of a newer and brighter future, and then empowered them to work toward its attainment.

As Burns and Bass have also proposed, transformational leaders are more prevalent in society than commonly perceived. But especially among downtrodden populations, transformational leadership may be less the exception than the norm. Oppressed groups in need of liberty, dignity and a sense of self-worth more often require leadership which is revolutionary in nature and guided by exacting moral principles such as justice and social responsibility.¹⁴⁰

Salley's recently published book, The Black 100: A Ranking of the Most Influential African Americans, Past and Present, rated Du Bois fourth after Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Frederick Douglas and Booker T. Washington. In Salley's opinion, all of the hundred individuals chosen "had the greatest influence on Americans of African descent in their struggle for full economic, political and social

equality in American life, and influenced non black people to alter their institutions or practices toward blacks so as to accept their demands for equality."¹⁴¹

The specific influence Du Bois had on African Americans and society at large will be measured in the next four chapters of this study. Four theoretical constructs drawn from the literature will be used to measure Du Bois's transformational leadership with regard to his writing, his empirical research, his civil rights activism, and his involvement in Pan Africanism. The four constructs of transformational leadership utilized in this investigation are as follows:

Construct #1. Visionary Leadership. Transformational leaders are visionaries. They have the ability to perceive a possible future which differs from what they currently experience, and are able to impart their vision to others. Their actions and purposes are driven by the clarity of their vision. Du Bois had a vision of an equitable future for blacks in America, which mobilized him to set clear goals toward that end. The goals also required a visioning process. The ability to foresee himself as a student at Harvard, as the editor of an intellectual journal for blacks, as a leader of a vanguard of other leaders working

toward civil rights, all employed this mental faculty.

Construct #2, Intellectual Leadership. Transformational leaders are intellectual risk-takers. Circumspect in their awareness of the social environment, they are courageous in their determination to raise the necessary questions which might induce conflict, yet awaken society to its larger responsibility. The risks to followers would include a sense of dissonance as they are made aware of available choices. Du Bois's question: "Isn't it possible to be a Negro and an American?" implied the follow-up questions; "If not, why not?" and "Why should we let this situation continue?" Transformational leaders necessarily embrace conflict because often they are the very ones who provoke it. They tend to inherently understand that conflict, which in turn fosters a climate of free interaction of opinion, is often the necessary precondition in the process of social change.

Construct #3, Inspirational Leadership Transformational leaders are inspirational. Even if their personas are not overtly charismatic, they have charismatic appeal and are able to move followers either to decisive action or to reevaluate their values. Through the creative use of language symbols, memories, cultural imagery and other resources, transformational leaders implant forceful images

in the minds of followers. Millions who have read Du Bois's works have testified to the moving power and beauty of his writing style.

Construct #4 Shared Leadership. Transformational leaders work toward the empowerment of others. They aim to transform their followers into leaders who are capable of critical, independent thought. They do this by helping followers look beyond personal low level concerns for safety and security and awaken them to the higher level needs of self-realization, outreach and social responsibility. Du Bois envisioned working together with "...a vanguard of black leaders...a throng" as with the Talented Tenth abolitionists of the antebellum era.¹⁴²

Conclusion

W. E. B. Du Bois's activities between 1900 and 1930 attest to the fact that he consistently displayed the four major characteristics of transformational leadership: visionary leadership, intellectual leadership, inspirational leadership, and shared leadership.

From the time he was a young man, Du Bois had developed the mental capacity to visualize new possibilities for personal and social transformation. He exercised this

facility in all his endeavors throughout his lifetime, specifically as a writer, researcher/ scholar, civil rights activist, and leader of the Pan African movement.

As to his ability to stimulate intellectual discussion, Du Bois was recognized as one of the foremost voices of the black intelligentsia throughout the early half of the twentieth century. His well publicized debates with Booker T. Washington over the right of free access of critical opinion, and over the right of blacks to obtain a college level liberal arts education are legendary.¹⁴³

He was an active inspirational leader to readers and audiences through lectures, books and the hundreds of articles he authored. As a founding member of the NAACP in 1910, he established a civil rights journal, The Crisis, which he edited for over twenty years. In addition, he has been credited for giving language to the black writers of the Harlem Renaissance in the 1920s through his expository on 'double consciousness.'¹⁴⁴

Finally, Du Bois willingly shared his leadership with others. He attempted to empower the black community by galvanizing the "talented tenth" to become co-laborers with him for social change. As a researcher and a writer, he often motivated other writers to openly share their own

visions. In addition, his vision of a unified African world community incorporated the idea of shared leadership.¹⁴⁵

This study will show that Du Bois's activities of social outreach influenced the society of his day, and that the legacy he left behind was one of transformational leadership.

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143. Lewis, W. E. B. Du Bois, 297-342.

144. Ibid., 408-509.; Herbert Aptheker, The Literary Legacy of W. E. B. Du Bois (White Plains, NY: Kraus International Publications, 1989), 183.

145. Lewis, W. E. B. Du Bois, 248-251.

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CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND TO TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP: INFLUENCES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

One of the characteristics of transformational leaders is their strong sense of awareness that they are one day destined to become leaders and agents of change.¹ Their perception of themselves as vital to society's development often fuels and reinforces their visions of the future. In 1883, a precocious, highly intelligent fifteen year-old William Edward Burghardt Du Bois already manifested a magnificent ego and sense of self-importance. At fifteen Du Bois was the Great Barrington, Massachusetts volunteer news correspondent for T. Thomas Fortune's black newspaper, the New York Globe, (later, the New York Age). Du Bois's news items to Fortune seldom focussed only upon events taking place in his hometown. In addition, he was prone to offer readers his personal prescriptions for leadership. In April 14, 1883, Du Bois's first news item neatly sandwiched some unsolicited advice between a discussion of the AME Zion Sewing Society and the birth of Mr. Chin's daughter: "The citizens of the town are forming a Law and Order Society to enforce the laws against liquor selling which have been

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sadly neglected for the past year or two. It would be a good plan," he advised, "if some of the men should join it. By the way I did not notice many colored men at the town meeting last month. It seems that they do not take as much interest in politics as is necessary for the protection of their rights."² In the years beyond the date of this particular entry, Du Bois would consistently offer "good plans" for others as well as for himself concerning their need to take the initiative in leading their respective communities.

Perhaps Du Bois had no other choice than to think of himself as a 'Chosen son of the Race' given the circumstances of his birth and the manner in which he was reared. Born just five years after the Proclamation that emancipated four million of his southern brethren, Du Bois enjoyed the somewhat freer atmosphere of New England, which was comparatively sparsely populated by blacks. New England and the North, recent victors in the campaign against the rebellious South, and perhaps still basking in the afterglow of having successfully defended Right, sent missionaries South to help rebuild destroyed communities and educate the new masses of freedmen.³ The brief spell of optimism at the close to the Civil War seemed also to have had positive

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implications for the few blacks who resided among whites in northern communities. It is possible that Du Bois's white neighbors in Great Barrington believed that he was to be their own contribution to the later Reconstruction effort when they collected money to send him south to Fisk University after the death of his mother in 1884.⁴

In their consideration of him and his impoverished but proud mother, his white New England friends supported his intellectual gifts and fueled his view of himself as a leader of his people and occasional example to other whites. A news report to the New York Freeman, (the Globe's newly adopted name) dated January 31, 1885 displayed Du Bois's glowing pride in his achievements. "Your Correspondent had the honor of being elected president recently of the high school lyceum, of which he is the only colored member."⁵

Du Bois's keen egocentricity no doubt stemmed from the fact that, in the small close-knit black community which dwelt among a majority of whites, he was often the sole representative of his race in his age group. When Du Bois entered Great Barrington High School, for instance, he was the only black student. When he graduated in June, 1884, not only was he the only black student, but he was the valedictorian and the youngest graduate among the class of

commencement speakers.

In fact, throughout the period, which he later dubbed "The Age of Miracles" between his eighteenth and twenty-fifth years, Du Bois was often in settings where he was the sole African American.⁶ Perhaps because of this, he felt a keen sense of responsibility to be a proper ambassador of his race by attempting to intellectually outshine his classmates. This was evidenced in his confession of having once been embarrassed over the less than glowing performance of the second only black boy who attended his school. He recalled the experience: "Once during my course another dark boy had attended the school for a short time, but I was very much ashamed of him because he did not excel the whites as I was quite used to doing." ⁷

In keeping with the characteristic of transformational leaders, Du Bois consistently aspired to visions beyond the concrete, obtainable horizon. Often throughout his youthful years, Du Bois was the lone individual, black or white, who tended to be the bearer of monumental ideals. In high school, for example, his teachers carefully coaxed him off his lofty goal of one day attending Harvard. For it was common knowledge in that day that even the white sons of the

paper mill owners of their community dared not aspire to attend such a venerable institution!⁸

Of all the many influences in Du Bois's young life, his mother's daily attentions made the most lasting impressions. She and generations of her free black family were reared in New England under a strong puritan ethic governed by adherence to the ideals of piety, thrift, hard work and service.⁹ Du Bois's mother, Mary Silvina Burghardt Du Bois, herself followed these precepts. She in turn instilled them in her son, nurturing him to believe that there were no goals a black man could not aspire to as long as he put forth the necessary determination and effort to achieve them. These parental lessons of themselves were somewhat unusual considering the times. African Americans as a whole after 1877 began experiencing growing opposition to their attempts to achieve equality in the American democracy. Nevertheless, in Mary Silvina's desire for her son to know a better future, she refused to destroy his youthful aspirations.

Psychohistorians have shown that parental figures often play essential roles in the formulation of their children's identities, which are then later played out in various adult leadership behaviors.¹⁰ Davis's in depth psychohistorical

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study of Du Bois as a youth in his book Leadership, Love and Aggression makes this point, Davis theorized that Du Bois's intellectual gifts, his natural precociousness, and his mother's high expectations for him, combined powerfully with a childhood sense of shame over his possible illegitimacy and his father's abandonment of him and his mother shortly after his birth.¹¹ Davis demonstrated that Du Bois's many accomplishments throughout his long, illustrious life were, in part, motivated by an attempt to "prove -more than anything else in his life- that he is the moral and intellectual equal of any white man despite the fact that whites think him, and he suspects himself to be, 'illegitimate' -a 'common darky' or a 'coon,' as most Yankees would call a Negro in that part of Massachusetts."¹²

Du Bois was also among the last generation to be reared under the strict moral code of the Victorian era. In his lifelong quest for equality, Du Bois was often guided and sometimes even hindered by the expectations of his rigid upbringing. Thus, his leadership style in adulthood was nurtured by a youthful longing to prove his self-worth to the point of outdistancing whites intellectually and morally in all aspects of life.¹³

Before he left New England to study at Fisk University, Du Bois began learning the rudiments of leadership through his involvements in his African American community's literary and social societies such as the Sons of Freedom. He was the recording secretary of the A.M.E. Zion Sewing Society where he was also groomed in the art of debate on numerous occasions. Among the topics Du Bois argued were, "Should Indians be educated at Hampton Institute?" and "Which is of the more use to a country, the Warrior, the Statesman or the Poet?"¹⁴ Thus, by his high school graduation, Du Bois confidently delivered his commencement address on the topic of Wendell Phillips, a nineteenth century crusader of the abolitionist cause, which reportedly "provoked repeated applause", above the other twelve speeches delivered.¹⁵

Autobiographical accounts suggest that by the time Du Bois set out for Fisk in Nashville at the age of 17 his view of his future role as a leader to his people was solidified. "The freed slaves, if properly led, had a great future.", he reminisced, "Temporarily they were deprived of their full voting privileges, but this was but a passing setback. Black folk were bound in time to play a large role in the South. They needed trained leadership. I was sent to

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Du Bois had received excellent college preparatory courses in Latin and Greek through the able tutelage of his progressive high school principal, Frank Hosmer. As a result, Du Bois was entered in Fisk in the sophomore class. Du Bois's tenure at Fisk was one of the few times during his early development when he was not the only black student among his peers, although he was still outstanding with regard to his age, as the youngest enrolled in his class. In any event it must have been both humbling and exhilarating to find himself suddenly surrounded by so many African American men and women who were as bright and cultured as he. In his diaries and autobiographical accounts of his experiences at Fisk, he mentioned a number of colleagues whom he found particularly worthy of emulation, along with some whom he considered to be poor examples of leadership. His white college professors, however, received the highest praise, as he felt the closest affinity with their New England style expectations for hard work, thrift and service.¹⁷

During his years at Fisk, Du Bois continued his role of the writer-warrior as a co-editor, and later editor-in-chief of the school's student newspaper, the Fisk Herald. His

writings displayed the same fiery emotional appeal as his earlier work with the Globe, and it was a harbinger of his future career as a propagandist writer. In his editorial column, the "The Toothpick," Du Bois posed questions in a polemical manner, challenging even his school. "Why isn't there a Fisk student at Leipzig?," he demanded to know, "or a Fisk metaphysician at Berlin?"¹⁸

But perhaps his most enlightening experiences at Fisk involved the two summers he taught school to poor black families in Nashville's bottom farmland communities. It was during this time that he learned to transfer theory into practice and gained respect for on-sight investigation. Later in 1903, he wrote eloquently of these summer experiences in the chapter entitled "The Meaning of Progress," in his book, The Souls of Black Folk. And for the duration of his life he continued to value the ethnographic investigative method because it continually brought the researcher into direct contact with individuals in their respective communities.¹⁹

While Du Bois was appreciative of his development at Fisk under the dedicated guidance of professors Thomas Chase, Adam Spence, President Erastus Cravath, and others, he never abandoned his dream of one day completing a degree

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at Harvard. In fact, Fisk seemed to have had the peculiar effect on him of heightening his desire to attend Harvard, an institution he viewed as better equipped to broaden his world view in preparation for leadership.²⁰

Du Bois chose at the end of his term at Fisk Otto von Bismarck as the topic of his graduation speech. He was determined to assist the black masses after the manner of that nineteenth century German political leader, whom he admitted, "was my hero. (because) he had made a nation out of a mass of bickering peoples. He had dominated the whole development with his strength until he was crowned an emperor at Versailles. This foreshadowed in my mind the kind of thing that American Negroes must do, marching forth with strength and determination under trained leadership."²¹

With Bismarck anchored in his mind as the leadership template, Du Bois doggedly march toward his future and was able to win a place as a member of Harvard's Junior undergraduate class in the fall of 1888. Some historians have shown that, at that particular point in history, there was a movement among colleges like Harvard to enlarge the role and outreach of their institutions. For the very first time, in some instances, they began accepting applications from bright, enthusiastic boys from poor white, black,

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immigrant and other families as well as from well-to-do white families from which aristocracy they had been used to admitting for the past two centuries.²² Du Bois entered Harvard under this new wave, though it could hardly have been termed a tidal wave. He was one of only a handful of African Americans who attended the institution at the time, and was the first black Ph.D. to ever graduate from the school.²³

It suffices to say that a combination of good fortune, determination and natural ability seemed to mark Du Bois's early years, all playing perfectly into his hands and into his great expectations of self-development in preparation for leadership. His guidance from Harvard could not have come at a more opportune time. He received the highest quality of education the nation had to offer by some of its greatest intellectuals and gifted scholars. Among his professors were William James in psychology, George Santayana and Josiah Royce in philosophy Nathaniel Shaler in geology, George Palmer in ethics, Barrett Wendell in English, and Albert Bushnell Hart in history. All reinforced for Du Bois that his youth had consisted of a personal encounter with a 'miraculous age.' At the time, he may not have been fully aware of his fortunate situation.

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Later, however, he wrote of his Harvard years in his second autobiography: "The Harvard of 1888 was an extraordinary aggregation of great men. Not often since that day have so many distinguished teachers been together at one place at one time in America...by good fortune, I was thrown into direct contact with many of these men."²⁴

Most of his professors made deep, lasting impressions upon Du Bois, and they became for him his social mainstay in an otherwise lonely academy. Except for limited contact at times with the professional leadership class of Boston's black community, he was an outsider to Harvard's social set. Contact with his professors therefore provided the highlight of his academic career. The thrilling social outlets he reported more often involved the times he was invited to dinner and discourse by William James and other professors he admired.²⁵

In many ways his goals and commitment to his studies were more similar to that of a graduate student than an undergraduate student, due in part to the fact that he had already earned a B.A. degree from Fisk. He exhibited a master's student's singleness of purpose, which was often manifested in his course work. Also Du Bois's vision of himself in leadership seemed to be ever before him. In a

paper he wrote for Barrett Wendell's English class, which the professor subsequently read aloud, he remarked that he had taken the class, though it was known to be quite difficult, because he felt that he had something to say to the world as a leader and he wanted to be able to say it well.²⁶

Through the able influence of professors such as William James and Albert Bushnell Hart, Du Bois majored in history and social sciences instead of his earlier goal of philosophy.²⁷ He took his BA, cum laude from Harvard in 1890, then completed his master's program in June 1892. His master's thesis was the expansion of his doctoral thesis, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870.²⁸

Du Bois began his research in the late nineteenth century when many of the social sciences, history, scientific methods, anthropology and other related fields were breaking onto new ground at the start of their development as separate disciplines. Many of his Harvard professors, in fact, later went on to make major contributions in these fields. The fact was, that some new scientific methods had begun to make major inroads in the scientific community of that era. Around the time Darwin

introduced his famous evolutionary theory, American university professors were also being heavily influenced by the German pragmatic method of research which they learned about on trips abroad to take post graduate work in Paris, Prague or Berlin. It was then common practice for any scholar who aspired to teach at one of America's noted universities to first make a sojourn overseas to study under the venerable lecturers of Europe.²⁹

True to form, Du Bois summarily ignored the enormous barriers of his race and financial status in his desire to also study in Germany. He was now a young man who had become used to miracles, and he demanded nothing less than the best that Harvard and German scholarship could provide in order to fully prepare himself to lead the masses of his people. Again, it seems, through sheer luck in timing, Du Bois was made aware of a philanthropic organization, the Slater Fund, that was willing to help finance any black scholar for advanced study abroad who could prove his intellectual prowess. Du Bois also had heard a disturbing rumor that, though this organization verbally offered funding, it actually doubted that any such individual could be found among the children of Africa. This view served only to fuel Du Bois's old determination to prove that certainly he was

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equal to the task, that he was as intelligent as any white man who could be considered for the scholarship.

When he had received several rebuttals from the organization, even after he had offered his qualifications, along with glowing recommendations from his Harvard professors,³⁰ Du Bois wrote to Rutherford B. Hayes, Chair of the Slater fund. His letter, dated May 25, 1891 was nothing less than indignant in its' tone:

As to my case I personally care little. I am perfectly capable of fighting alone for an education if the trustees do not see fit to help me. On the other hand the injury you have-unwittingly I trust- done to the race I represent, and am not ashamed of, is almost irreparable. You went before a number of keenly observant men who looked upon you as an authority in the matter, and told them in substance that the Negroes of the United States either couldn't or wouldn't embrace a most liberal opportunity for advancement. That statement went all over the country. When now finally you receive three or four applications for the fulfillment of that offer, the offer is suddenly withdrawn, while the impression remains.

If the offer was an experiment, you ought to have had at least one case before withdrawing it; if you have given aid before (and I mean here toward liberal education- not toward training plowmen) then your statement at John Hopkins was partial. From the above facts I think you owe an apology to the Negro people. We are ready to furnish competent men for every European scholarship furnished us off paper. But we can't educate ourselves on nothing, and we can't have the moral courage to try, if in the midst of our work our friends turn public sentiment against us by making statements which injure us and which they cannot stand by.³¹

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Du Bois's tongue-lashing eventually made its intended impact, as he won the scholarship to study in Europe shortly thereafter.

There again in Europe, as in earlier years, his was the only African American face in a photographed crowd of students who studied from 1892 through June 1894 at the prestigious Friedrich-Wilhelm III Universitat, also known as the University of Berlin.

Du Bois was influenced by Professors Gustav von Schmoller and Adolf Wagner, noted scholars in Germany's emerging school of historical economics.³² Their lectures enhanced Albert Bushnell Hart's course of Constitutional and Political History of the United States, and helped crystallize Du Bois's philosophy about a possible approach to assisting blacks in America. The pragmatic method seemed most attractive to him. He desired to gather unadulterated facts about blacks, for he believed that ignorance was the root cause of segregation and racial tensions in America. His hope was that, once research revealed the true nature about the humanity of his people in relation to whites, ignorance, which bred hatred and racism, would eventually be alleviated.³³

His travels around Europe during class breaks seemed to confirm his theory that the main problem with whites in America was simply the walls of segregation which tended to produce unfounded fears and contempt for blacks. For he found that Europeans, uninhibited by the social caste structure of color differentiation, naturally accepted him as a fellow human being with the same aspirations, morals and intelligence as themselves. Indeed, he too tended to think of himself as a well-bred, cultured, middle-class black man, which of course he was. However he also knew that once he left the more accepting European environment and stepped back upon the segregated American shores, he would once again be viewed as a "Negro problem". So it was in Europe that he first trimmed his beard and began to carry a cane in the manner of a European aristocrat or Kaiser. He sported this distinctive look throughout his entire life partly as a defiant, symbolic statement that, he was head and shoulders above what the majority culture in America commonly thought of him in terms of race.³⁴

While celebrating his twenty-fifth birthday in Berlin in 1893, he expressed his exhilaration in shortly embarking upon his chosen life's work:

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I am glad I am living. I rejoice as a strong man to run a race, and I am strong- is it egotism- is it assurance- or is it the silent call of the world spirit that makes me feel that I am royal and that beneath my scepter a world of kings shall bow....I therefore take the world that the Unknown lay in my hands and work for the rise of the Negro people, taking for granted that their best development means the best development of the world...These are my plans: to make a name in science, to make a name in literature, and thus to elevate my race.³⁵

Unfortunately, Du Bois's scholastic contract with the Slater Fund ended just two semesters short of his completion of his Ph.D. degree from the University of Berlin. Rather than renew his funding for an additional year, they suggested to him that he return home and apply his earned German credits toward the doctoral program at Harvard. Thus in June 1894, Du Bois traveled steerage on a ship to New York to find employment and to begin putting into practice the lessons taught him during his youthful age of miracles.³⁶

Once he arrived in the United States, he immediately began sending out letters in search of teaching positions at various black colleges, for he knew that his race prevented him from acceptance at white schools no matter how distinguished his credentials. He even inquired at one point of Booker T. Washington to work at Tuskegee Institute. One

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could only guess what the historical outcome of the relationship between these two men would have been had the winds of fate driven them together professionally at this juncture. Du Bois himself later speculated about this. As it turned out, Du Bois accepted a position from Wilberforce University in Ohio only days before Washington responded to him with an offer of a teaching post in mathematics.³⁷

Du Bois passed his two-year term at Wilberforce, from 1894 to 1896, teaching Latin, Greek, English, German, and history. He also provoked trouble by making an unsuccessful attempt to introduce into the school's more basic curriculum, an undergraduate social science course. Also, he was beginning to discover that not many aspired to his elevated visions of cultural expansion no matter how beneficial the outcome promised to be. Here too at Wilberforce, Du Bois's pattern of upsetting the status quo began to manifest itself in earnest when he headed a coalition of faculty and students to oust Bishop Arnett's son from his post as Professor of Literature because of incompetence. Although Du Bois ultimately won this war of wills, his courage as an intellectual risk-taker left in its wake a cadre of confirmed enemies as well as admirers, so, in 1896, he thought it best to move on to more responsive

pastures where people were more appreciative of his intellectual gifts.³⁸

Before he left Wilberforce, he successfully completed his doctoral dissertation from Harvard, and it became the first entry into the Historical Studies series which began in 1896. He also married Nina Gomer whom he had met at Wilberforce. The new couple then moved to Philadelphia's African American community upon Du Bois's acceptance of a research position at the University of Pennsylvania in 1896.³⁹

The University of Pennsylvania primarily hired him for the purpose of studying Philadelphia's black Seventh ward to determine the role of the black voters in the poor handling of the city's administration. The term of Du Bois's contract was for one year. During that time, he faithfully employed the ground-breaking scientific method he had learned under Schmoller and Wagner at the University of Berlin. Through a single-handed effort, he interviewed over 5,000 Philadelphians door to door in the first ethnographic study ever done of an African American community. He published his findings as The Philadelphia Negro in the fall, 1899. In its thoroughness and exactness it had no equal, and the study was held up as a model of enlightened social science

research for the next forty years.⁴⁰

Unfortunately for Du Bois, his achievements as a man of science did not bear fruit in an offer of a permanent position at the University of Pennsylvania, nor yet at his alma mater Harvard, which had thought so highly of his work. Although he had successfully met his goal of making a name for himself in science, the subsequent elevation of his race as a result of his attainments remained more a nebulous dream than a concrete reality. The doors of opportunity to work as a faculty member in white institutions remained closed. In fact, never in his lifetime was Du Bois ever invited to any prestigious institution to serve on the faculty; no, not even to speak as a guest lecturer for the smaller part of a year. This oversight it seemed was intentional, given Du Bois's notoriety and specific contributions to social science over the next fifteen years.⁴¹

After he completed his project of collecting data for the University of Pennsylvania, in 1897 Du Bois finally won a post at Atlanta University, one of the more outstanding black research institutions in the South. He was named professor of sociology. He was also asked to head the University's sociological research on neighboring black

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communities. Thus in 1897, at the age of 29, he found himself back in the segregated South working among his people. For Du Bois, the age of miracles had come to a close. The era of maturity had begun.⁴²

Conclusion

Over the next sixty years, Du Bois embarked on the struggle to work for equal access and participation of blacks in the American system of democracy. He had a working idea of how he hoped to achieve his goals based on the seeds of transformation that had been planted early in his youth. The four major transformational qualities: visionary leadership, intellectual leadership, inspirational leadership, and shared leadership were set in place during Du Bois's formative years.

As a child, his mother had instilled in him the power of belief in his visions and aspirations. Although he was reared under the veil of color caste, the less segregated, restrained environment of the North gave Du Bois much more opportunity to interact openly with whites than he would have been able to do had he resided in the South. His active imagination continually allowed him to explore various possibilities. His early successes such as winning debates,

academically outdistancing his classmates, or being elected president of a high school club, all helped him to believe that his visions had the power to become reality, to actually transform experience.

Just as the seeds of visionary leadership were nurtured in Du Bois's youth, so were the foundations of intellectual leadership laid in his formative years. From his earliest classroom experiences with Mrs. Cross, his first primary school teacher, he knew that he was a favored child due to his naturally bright intellect and hard-working spirit. He was special too, since most times he was the only black child in the Great Barrington grammar and high schools he attended.⁴³ Early on he learned that it was safe, even admirable, to take intellectual risks by raising questions through sponsored debates. Du Bois also reported how he often took secret pride at stumping his Sunday school teacher with embarrassing questions at the Congregational church he and his mother attended. He said of his prowess, that he knew that his disconcerting discussions caused him to be somewhat of a dreaded addition to the class. Even the record of his early correspondence demonstrates clearly that Du Bois felt quite comfortable challenging others in a polemical tone, irrespective of their race or age.⁴⁴

As to inspirational leadership, Du Bois had no dearth of influences on that score. Later on in his life he knew how to inspire others with the same methods his elders had used to arouse his motivational pride during his own childhood. He would recount to his black followers their glorious African past, their monumental achievements since Emancipation.⁴⁵ While still a youngster, Du Bois too was offered a somewhat grandiose account of his genealogy. Many times in his writings he recounted the tale about the generations of free black Burghardts on his mother's side who had descended from Tom, a mighty West African, who had been brought to this country as a slave back in the 1740s.⁴⁶

The oral history of his father's family, Davis has theorized, was provided in part to help cushion the shame Du Bois felt over his father's conspicuous absence. Albert Du Bois was a mulatto who truly had descended from French Huguenots. Du Bois's over-protective mother unwittingly abetted her son in believing his defensive lifelong fantasy about Albert; that he was a not so irresponsible as much as he was just a debonair and romantic drifter. Nevertheless these inspirational tales, neurotic fantasies or not, had the positive affect of helping Du Bois view himself as a descendent of honorable stock whose dignity he needed to

uphold.⁴⁷

Du Bois got an early glimpse of and appreciation for shared leadership while attending the town hall meetings in Great Barrington during his early teen years. In his autobiography, he recalled how much he had been impressed by the sense of democracy exhibited by his community toward the town recluse whenever he came out from hiding once a year, only to voice his discontent at the meetings. Though his presence seemed to be a nuisance, the citizens listened respectfully to what he had to say. During these occasions, Du Bois recalled, he learned to appreciate fair play and the progress which could be made when every individual had an opportunity to share in governing their communities.⁴⁸ Later on, when he studied the black neighborhoods of Philadelphia, he further developed his theme about the need for businessmen and professionals of the higher classes to work together as leaders in order to help lift up every citizen within the black community.⁴⁹

Clearly then, the development of Du Bois into a transformational leader was rooted in a series of significant experiences throughout his childhood and youth. Key individuals and circumstances often came together, sometimes in seemingly miraculous ways, helping W. E. B.

Du Bois develop into one of " ...the two greatest Negro leaders of the twentieth century..."⁵⁰

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CHAPTER 3

A CO-WORKER IN THE KINGDOM OF CULTURE: CREATIVE AND POLEMICAL WRITINGS

I am the smoke king,
I am black.
I am darkening with song.
I am hearkening to wrong.
I will be black as blackness can,
The blacker the mantle, the mightier the man.

Du Bois, The Song of the Smoke

Apart from his earlier scientific writings, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, The Philadelphia Negro, and his series of studies at Atlanta University from 1896 through 1914, Du Bois usually employed his pen for propagandistic purposes. He often skillfully combined exact science with polemical prose or poetry in order to make a deeper point about the race issue in America.¹ In 1926 he openly admitted that the purpose of his writing had always been to help offset the negative portrayal of blacks in America. These portrayals often increased the pain of black's struggle by encouraging society's negative treatment of them.

Politically speaking, the decades 1900 through 1930 were among the lowest periods for the four plus million African Americans. The steady decline in the social, political status of blacks had begun shortly after the end of Radical Reconstruction in the South. After 1877, Northern philanthropy pulled out of the South and returned the reins of power to the Southern planter class who had lost control during the Civil War.²

In the latter part of the nineteenth, and through the first decades of the twentieth century, crimes against blacks escalated. Between 1900 and 1915, over eleven hundred African Americans were burned, lynched, hung or shot while the perpetrators went unpunished. Between 1890 and 1900, over fifty strikes occurred in the country, headed by white workers who demanded the end of the hiring of blacks. By 1904 blacks were disenfranchised in nearly every southern state; the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution summarily ignored by local and state government officials.³

The scientific community, the news media, the arts, and entertainment industries also seemed to have formed a coalition to bring about wholesale slander to the citizens of African descent in America. In 1897 Thomas Nelson Page

wrote a novel entitled Red Rock, which undermined contributions made by blacks during Reconstruction. Thomas Dixon's two novels, The Leopard's Spots: A Romance of White Man's Burden, (1902), and The Clansman: A Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan, (1905), did much damage by portraying blacks as uncivilized rapists of white women who deserved nothing less than lynching.⁴

The very titles of books in the popular media at the time was often enough to suggest how people should feel about blacks. For instance, Robert W. Shufeldt publicized his views in The Negro: A Menace to American Civilization in 1907, and in 1915, when he wrote America's Greatest Problem: The Negro.⁵

Perhaps one of the most scathing "accounts" released to the cinema was D. W. Griffith's "Birth of a Nation" in 1915. So great was its potential for exacerbating the already raw tensions between blacks and whites, if not instigating riots outright, that a number of black leaders around the country made efforts to have the film banned from being shown in their communities.⁶

Such was the battle arena Du Bois stepped into in 1900. The fight was to transform the distorted image of his people into a purer more realistic form so that they could begin to

view themselves with pride, and thus behave with dignity in an undignified and unjust world. Toward this end, he so heavily armed himself for battle, that Thorpe stated that Du Bois "wrote with a sword in his hand."⁷ His artistic writing was focussed on giving expression to blacks, whose collective voice would otherwise have been drowned out by the cacophony of racist messages aimed against them. In a speech delivered before the Chicago Conference of the NAACP, he made his purposes clear:

Thus all art is propaganda and ever must be, despite the wailing of the purists. I stand in utter shamelessness and say that whatever art I have for writing has been used always for propaganda for gaining the right of black folk to love and enjoy. I do not care a damn for any art that is not used for propaganda. But I do care when propaganda is confined to one side while the other side is stripped and silent.⁸

A study of the history of Du Bois's contributions to letters leaves little doubt that he was successful in his efforts to ensure that his own people's side of the story no longer lay "stripped and silent." He wrote a total of twenty books and contributed chapters in more than forty others. His newspaper editorials, columns, and articles must be numbered in the hundreds. His work on The Crisis journal, which spanned nearly two and a half decades, provided a large, welcoming platform for other voices besides his own.⁹

Du Bois's leadership as a writer was transformational because of his great capacity to envision a brighter future for African Americans, filled with culture, dignity and self-fulfillment. He was able to transfer his vision to others through the inspirational images he offered in his writings. His fiery pen awakened the sluggish intellect of readers, deadened by many years of revoked opportunities, to actively participate in what he termed, "the kingdom of culture." He transformed his devoted followers into moral agents by empowering them to become leaders with him in developing that cultural kingdom through the written, and otherwise artistic, word.

Visionary Leadership

Back in 1897, Du Bois held an unusual world view, which he made public in a paper entitled, The Conservation of the Races. In it he expressed his belief that all races in fact were not created equal. All were equally men, in the colloquial sense of the term, and human. All had the same potential to develop and make a contribution to the human family. But they differed in the type of contribution each race could make. He was of the firm opinion that, while other races had been free to offer their unique gifts to the

world family, fate and negative forces of history had stifled the input of blacks. "Some of the great races of today," he wrote, "have not as yet given to civilization the full spiritual message which they are capable of giving."¹⁰

Stuckey pointed out in 1965, that what Du Bois envisioned was the power and beauty that the world could reap once it recognized the potential unity in diversity of the individual races. Blacks would discover freedom in diversity with the realization that they need not strive to behave exactly like whites. For in doing so, they might miss their opportunity to offer their own unique gifts of genius to the world.¹¹

As if to demonstrate to the world that African Americans indeed had genius inside themselves which ought to be tapped, in 1903 Du Bois published his most masterful and enduring literary work, The Souls of Black Folk. The book's very title and arrival on the scene was during a period in history when most people preferred to believe that black people had no souls.¹²

But souls, they had indeed. One of the more brilliant aspects of the book was its ability to captivate the inner striving of an oppressed people in such a way that it touched the deepest levels of emotional pain in all people.

Du Bois so sensitively unveiled to the world the fears of blacks; fears at one time or another felt by all, that after reading the little book of essays, it was nigh impossible to ever again doubt the full humanity of blacks:

Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house? The shades of the prison-house closed round about us all: walls straight and stubborn to the whitest, but relentlessly narrow, tall and unscalable to the sons of night who must plod darkly on in resignation, or beat unavailing palms against the stone, or steadily, half hopelessly, watch the streak of blue above.

After the Egyptian and the Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and the Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of Seventh Son, born with a veil, and gifted with second sight in this American world, - a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world.¹³

Like a carefully orchestrated drum roll, Du Bois first laid bare the agony of a soul in doubt of its right to even dream of participating in the human enterprise beyond the veil. And then, with a clap of his verbal symbols, he awakened his readers to his vision for the longing soul, which in its desire to alleviate the unendurable pain, willingly embraced it as its own: "This then, is the end of his striving: to be a co-worker in the kingdom of culture, to escape both death and isolation, to husband and use his best powers and his latent genius."¹⁴

Du Bois was a man with a vision, and his vision encompassed his view that the black race, though presently oppressed and downcast, was nevertheless destined to become the very people upon whom the world would depend for its moral salvation. Harding showed in his article, "W. E. B. Du Bois and the Black Messianic Vision," that throughout his life, Du Bois was faithful to his vision of the black race as being critical transformers and redeemers of the destiny of the world.¹⁵ Toward this end, he made his voice prevalent for almost a half century. His vision was so powerful, Harding felt, that one had to first study Du Bois in order to know the context for the proper understanding of Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and Martin Luther King Jr. in the age of Blackness that followed during the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁶

Du Bois also knew, however, that after having suffered generations of slavery and societal degradation, the pretext for fulfilling the messianic mission was for African Americans to first embrace a new perception of themselves. They needed first to see that, not only were they worthy of taking on the mantle of his vision, but that they had an obligation to the world to commit themselves to its fulfillment. For this, he believed his people needed a

primary vision of themselves as a powerful, and secure community in all respects; economic, political, social and cultural.¹⁷

Like Bismarck's efforts to shape his bickering mass of people into a cohesive nation, Du Bois's mission as a writer was to help his people embrace a new vision of themselves as the nation he felt they were always destined to be. One of the methods Du Bois employed for the larger part of his writing career was to hold a mirror of black pride before his readers, in order that they might begin to embrace the vision of themselves as part of a great people. For this, he utilized The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races, which he personally edited from 1910 through 1934.¹⁸

But even during the years prior to his work with The Crisis, Du Bois had envisioned what could be accomplished through the written word. He first tried his hand at editing a weekly newspaper called The Moon in 1905, the first black weekly of its kind in America.¹⁹ It folded within a year due to lack of funding, and was shortly followed by his monthly, The Horizon. Later The Horizon was taken over by the more financially secure NAACP, and became The Crisis.²⁰ Both of these publications, The Moon Illustrated Weekly and The Horizon, in mission and in presentation, were precursors

to The Crisis. This final publication had a circulation of over 100,000 subscribers by 1919. This fulfilled Du Bois's vision of a unified black people, brought together in part through the written word.²¹

Du Bois saw the written word as a force which had the potential to bring a scattered people back to the great collective mind. As his captive audience, he then worked his magic on them, motivating them to embrace the glorious vision he offered. Like musical therapy upon a depressed mind, month by month his publication was used as a healing balm to help his people see themselves in new ways. His editorials went forth as if to send the more direct message that, 'Indeed we are a people with a messianic calling who will one day emancipate the world. So don't believe the publicized hype that we are less than men, and thus prematurely cast away your dreams.'

Over time, others began to embrace visions which were similar in scope to Du Bois's. As they perceived new possibilities, they also began to work on behalf of black people in order to help sustain them in their efforts.²² Some liberal whites, angered over society's ill treatment of blacks, lobbied for their empowerment. This was so clearly demonstrated in the nearly all white executive committee who

founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1910.²³

In addition to his messianic vision, Du Bois foresaw a time when African Americans would also display their creative genius before the world in a cultural renaissance of drama, art and literature. Shipley has argued that, in response to society's oppression of blacks, in 1915, Du Bois called for a cultural black renaissance years before it made its official debut during the so called Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s.²⁴ In a Crisis article by Du Bois entitled, "Immediate Program of the American Negro," he called for a plan to "resurrect forgotten Negro art and history." He felt that it was time to "set the black man before the world as both a creative artist and a strong subject for artistic treatment."²⁵ Yet, even earlier than this, as researchers have verified, Du Bois made a prophetic announcement about how blacks would one day utilize the rich mass of literary and artistic material to showcase their genius to the world. He wrote in 1913 prophetically:

"...never in the world has a richer mass of material been accumulated by a people than that which the Negroes possess today and are becoming conscious of. Slowly but surely they are developing artists of technique who will be able to use

this material."²⁶ Not long thereafter, Du Bois witnessed the fulfillment of his prophetic insight through the national renaissance of black culture in America which lasted for nearly a decade.

Reflecting upon Du Bois's transformational role from the standpoint of visionary leadership, it can be concluded that he was effective in utilizing his writing skills as a means of imparting vision to others. Often his visions were enlarged and explored further by those who embraced them as their own. This occurred in the case of the writers of the Harlem Renaissance, and the activists of the 1950s, and 1960s Black Power movement. Yet, if a clear mark of transformational leadership is the leader's ability to transform followers into leaders, Du Bois accomplished this feat commendably. For there were numerous individuals who borrowed a flame from his visionary torch, and perhaps without knowing its origins, ran with it and ran well.

Intellectual Leadership

W. E. B. Du Bois was a man who, for most of his life, had a number of burning visions which he felt a compunction to openly share. For him, to take the necessary intellectual risks in order to impart his ideas to others seemed an easy

thing indeed, and the courage he continually exhibited in his writings stand as a testament to his leadership.

The authors of The Transformational Leader, Tichy and Devanna, once posed a rhetorical question in their book: "Why do transformational leaders, like the Biblical prophets of old, often find themselves crying in the wilderness, trying to get people to change their ways before it is too late?." ²⁷ Transformational leaders, in their quest to change outmoded ideas, to introduce new ones into the society, are very much like the ancient prophets of the Bible. More often than not, theirs is the lone voice crying to a society that is either purposefully deaf to their messages, or as in the case of oppressed groups, whose ears have grown protective callouses from years of abusive messages. Du Bois, it seems, intentionally designed his creative writings to break through all of the deafness by helping to foster major paradigm shifts in the thinking of his readers.

His work, The Souls of Black Folk, appears to have had this effect. It provoked a type of spiritual stress which awakened white readers, not only to the potential beauty and genius of blacks, but it also made them aware of the tragedy of the black person's position in America. A classic

response from a white reader was expressed in this letter to Du Bois from a Latin professor at the University of Georgia in 1909.

Dear Sir:-

I have just read the tragedy which you call "The Souls of Black Folk," and I cannot refrain from writing to tell you how profoundly it has affected me. It is faint praise- but even the pure English was very refreshing in this day of slovenliness.

The pathetic part of the whole thing is what you stress repeatedly- that the control of the South is not in the hands of its best people... I have long grieved over your own position, and wished there could be some alleviation, and known that there could be none. I have, however, wanted you to know that my skirts are at least clean. I have never wittingly wronged your race in any way...I have been careful to train my children to respect their feelings in every way and have punished them for offenses in this respect which I should else have passed over... Of course I voted against disenfranchisement.²⁸

Not long afterward, Oswald Griswald Villard, a mutual friend of Du Bois and the author of the above letter, wrote to Du Bois, informing him of the book's continued effect upon his friend.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I return with thanks the letter from Professor Hooper and your reply. It is one of the most encouraging things I have ever seen. If you could know what a revolution has taken place in him you would be prouder than ever to be the author of your great book.²⁹

For black readers, the book acted like a mirror in which they saw images of themselves that they never knew existed. It gave them mental word pictures; images of proud freedmen virtually rebuilding the South after emancipation, educating themselves, and almost singlehandedly formulating viable self-sustaining communities. Claude McKay, black novelist of the Harlem Renaissance period, said of his first interaction with the work, "The book shook me like an earthquake."³⁰

It is a laudable goal to want to awaken a sleeping society from peaceful repose. Some researchers have argued, however, that such efforts can have dangerous consequences for the would-be prophet/ transformational leader as well as for the intended audiences.³¹ The proclaimed message often precipitates fears of the unknown among those in power about the possible diminishment of their power should the oppressed groups hear and respond to the word. The oppressed on the other hand, because they have usually grown accustomed to the state of their oppression, respond with fear to the very words designed to bring about their psychological emancipation.³²

Du Bois must have sensed the dangers of his role as an intellectual risk-taker when he included an essay in the

book entitled, "The Coming of John." There he relayed a story about the tragic outcome of two young men named John, one white, the other black, former childhood friends from a rural farming community in the south. Both men ventured north to school to obtain a higher education. While the communities of both "white" and "black" John saw hopeful futures for their respective native sons, the white community kept warning the black community that an education would "ruin" the happy-go-lucky black John, whom they once had previously known and loved. In the end it did ruin him. For no longer were the white or black communities able to understand and accept this educated, new John, full of ideas about civil rights and knowledge of race pride. And John, transformed by his broadened view of the world, answered affirmatively to his sister's question, "Does it make every one unhappy when they study and learn lots of things?" Significantly, she responded that she also wished to become unhappy as he.³³

As can be expected, not all who read Du Bois's transformational message in The Souls of Black Folk were delighted to learn that black people had potential for genius of thought. The Nashville Banner made their position clear at the time: "This book, Souls, is dangerous for the

Negro to read, for it will only excite discontent and fill his imagination with things that do not exist, or things that should not bear upon his mind."³⁴ It was reported also that Georgia's Atlantic Constitution ran a three-column review specifically warning readers about the book.³⁵

In the years that followed, Du Bois no doubt grew accustomed to disrupting the status quo, to receiving both praise and reproof from those who read his copy. By the time he left Atlanta University in 1910 to become a full-time protagonist writer for NAACP's Crisis monthly magazine, he was recognized as the premier black intellectual leader in America.³⁶

His twenty-year venture into propagandist writing through The Crisis helped to endow blacks with a firm, clear cultural identity. For the first time ever in literature and against generally accepted notions about blacks, the pages of The Crisis defied racist propaganda by displaying photographs of prosperous, well dressed African American men and women.³⁷ Not only did it regularly portray American blacks as beautiful; but, as Du Bois commented reflectively, it caused some anxiety in a race that was just a little afraid of seeing itself in plain ink.³⁸ It also did what no other news publication had done before: it portrayed

Africans from the mother continent as beautiful, intelligent people, instead of wild monkey-like savages swinging from trees.³⁹ The Crisis also took up where his forbearers in militant journalism left off. He was fueled in part by the former writing traditions of Frederick Douglas's newspaper, the North Star, of William Lloyd Garrison's Liberator, Samuel Eli Cornish and John Russwurm's Freedom's Journal, and especially his personal involvement in the 1880s with T. Thomas Fortune's fiery Globe. He carried on their efforts by investigating and reporting real news items about the social struggle of blacks in their ongoing battle for civil rights.⁴⁰ However, his journal, for the first time, brought together news items which both dignified the black race and fostered indignation over society's ill treatment of them. Regarding the magazine's general effect upon society, noted journalist, George Schuyler, in its 40th anniversary issue, offered this insightful commentary:

Then came The Crisis, like a clear, strong breeze cutting through the miasma of Negrophobism. Here for the first time with brilliance, militancy, facts, photographs and persuasiveness, a well-edited magazine challenged the whole concept of white supremacy then nationally accepted...It is no exaggeration to say that the early Crisis created an intellectual revolution in the most out of the way places...It became the bible of the militant Negro of the day and a "must" reading for the growing numbers of his white champions.⁴¹

The Crisis not only touched off an intellectual revolution among those of the educated classes, but it also held mass appeal for the average citizen at the grass roots level. Roy Wilkins, who later edited the magazine, also observed that Du Bois's editorials effectively put a public voice to common African American concerns.

The Crisis was that phenomenon among magazines of its type. Two factors accounted for this: One was the brilliant, bitter poetic writing of Du Bois. The other was the news carried by the magazine. At the time of The Crisis heyday, Du Bois was a gladiator doing battle against the entrenched thinking of the time. He was the champion of the Negro Americans. Joe and Mary Doaks, colored, knew how they felt and knew that the whites were wrong and unjust, but they could not find the right words to express themselves. Du Bois had the right words. Moreover, Du Bois had the answers to any and all white folk and their arguments. And Du Bois could give answers superbly and completely in speech or in writing. So they bought The Crisis to see what Du Bois had to say. Even though few of them ever got close to him, either physically or mentally, he was their knight, and his pen was their lance in the desperate battle with the dragon of prejudice and proscription.⁴²

By 1919 The Crisis had reached a record-breaking circulation of 100,000 subscribers.⁴³ Du Bois had become an intellectual leader whose ideas other leaders needed to reckon with.

As with the public response to The Souls of Black Folk, and other of his writings within this time, Du Bois's polemical role was not always welcomed. The Crisis, in

particular, antagonized many powerful white interests. Congress denounced it. The state of Mississippi passed laws against it. And some blacks were afraid to be seen reading it.⁴⁴ Mary White Ovington was one of the white founding members of the NAACP, and Du Bois's colleague during his tenure there. She witnessed first-hand the internal upheaval Du Bois's writings often provoked in others.

Among distinguished Negroes in America, none is hated by the whites as Burghardt Du Bois. And for excellent reasons. He insists upon making them either angry or miserable. So great, moreover, is his genius, that it is impossible to read him and not be moved. Anger or misery, according to the disposition of the reader, comes from his merciless portrayal of the white man's injustice to the black. No man in this century has done more to secure the white man's reluctant gesture of respect for the Negro's attainments than Burghardt Du Bois.⁴⁵

As an intellectual leader, Du Bois was not fearful of innovation and venturing into uncharted territories, for many times, earlier in his life, he had been the first to blaze trails where no others had gone before him. He applied the same courageous pioneer spirit to his all of his writing endeavors, whether he wrote poetry, prose, or fiction. Rampersad has studied Du Bois in depth, and is an unchallenged authority on his creative and literary works. He found that, although Du Bois never attained the status of a great novelist or poet; nevertheless, his propensity to

experiment with the written word caused him to break new ground in so many literary areas, "Wherever the Afro-American subsequently went as a writer, Du Bois had been there before them, anticipating both the most vital ideas of later currency and the very tropes of their expression."⁴⁶ Reflecting on his innovation and subsequent intellectual influence on the writers of the Harlem Renaissance, Rampersad was able to number no less than eleven literary "firsts" introduced by Du Bois. These include:

[A]. Du Bois's protest poem, "The Litany of Atlanta," hastily written on a train in response to the Atlanta riot of 1906, set the style for the Harlem Renaissance pattern. Du Bois was the first poet to break with rhyme and verse. "Litany of Atlanta" paved the way for secularism, skepticism and cultural authenticity.⁴⁷

[B]. The theme of Africa as a proper and necessary object of black celebration was introduced into black verse in his "Day in Africa." Also, he was the first poet to celebrate the beauty of human blackness in his "Song of Smoke."⁴⁸

[C]. "The Burden of Black Women" was the first published poem to dwell on hatred as the consequence of the white destruction of crucial institutions, especially

marriage, and motherhood in black culture.⁴⁹

[D]. Du Bois was the first black poet to resist the concept of poetry as escape from social and political reality.⁵⁰

[E]. If Native Son dramatized the black capacity for violent protest, and in doing so, as Irving Howe claimed, changed American culture "forever," Du Bois's John Jones of his essay, "The Coming of John" in The Souls of Black Folk in 1903, and Matthew Towns in his 1928 novel, Dark Princess, had struck earlier blows against white Americans long before Bigger rebelled.⁵¹

[F]. Arthur P. Davis has noted that, in The Quest of the Silver Fleece, Du Bois ended the poisonous reign of near-white heroines in black fiction with his characterization of Zora.⁵²

Addison Gayle also pointed out that the novel was the first bildungsroman in African-American fiction, and the first black novel to present and analyze economics as a significant factor in American culture in the manner of Cable, Dreiser, and Dos Passos.⁵³

In this novel's portrait of the manipulative Caroline Wynn, which Du Bois published in 1911, is found the first truly psychological study of a character in black fiction-

not as Robert Bone argues, the hero of Johnson's 1912 The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man.⁵⁴

[G]. Du Bois's novel, Dark Princess, which he penned in 1928, was the first work of art to identify and promulgate the doctrine of the third world.⁵⁵

[H]. When Du Bois wrote in the Atlantic Monthly in 1897 of "The Striving of the Negro People," and declared the irrevocable two-ness of the black American, he laid the foundation of all future literary renditions of the subject.⁵⁶

Thus, Du Bois was an intellectual leader through the major innovations he introduced into the written word as well as through his continual challenge of society's racist perceptions. Well before 1930, both blacks and whites began to look to Du Bois for intellectual leadership in defining African American culture. The August 1934 issue of The Crisis best summed up Du Bois's achievements as a writer when it stated:

The ideas which he propounded in (The Crisis) and in his books and essays transformed the Negro world as well as a large portion of the liberal white world, so that the whole problem of the relation of black and white races has ever since had a completely new orientation. He created, what never existed before, a Negro intelligentsia, and many who have never read a word of his writings are his spiritual disciples and descendants.⁵⁷

Inspirational Leadership

In physical appearance and social presentation, it has been duly noted that Du Bois was, in no way, a charismatic individual. He was said to have been somewhat shy and aloof.⁵⁸ In fact, there are numerous accounts of people who were rather disappointed by their initial encounter with this man of burning letters. Saunders Redding as a child had memorized Du Bois's impassioned "Litany of Atlanta," which he recited so often in church that it "kept substituting for the General Supplication."⁵⁹ Years later when Redding first heard Du Bois speak in person, he was surprised to see "the delicately structured man with the clear, clipped voice," for he remembered that his father had read to him from The Crisis in Du Bois's polemical tone "as an apostolic storm of wrath."⁶⁰

Du Bois, however, could have taken courage in the fact that he was not the only leader known to be small in stature but mighty in word. The famous leader, Apostle Paul of the early Christian church, suffered a similar gap between his powerful messages and his personal magnetism. In response to his critics, he chastised them, using their own words: "For some say 'His letters are weighty and forceful, but in

person he is unimpressive and his speaking amounts to nothing.' Such people should realize that what we are in our letters when we are absent, we will be in our actions when we are present."⁶¹

Fortunately for Du Bois as well as for Apostle Paul, charisma, while a helpful attribute, is not an essential characteristic of transformational leadership. Current researchers of leadership behavior have shown that some of the world's great leaders and diplomats, George Washington for example, sometimes had limited amounts of personal charisma. They were successful as transformational leaders however because they were able to substitute for charisma intellectual prowess, inspirational appeal, or other creative means.⁶²

Du Bois fit the profile of a great leader with low personal charisma. What he did have at his disposal, which enabled him to successfully impart his vision to others, was intellectual leadership ability, and an understanding of how to inspire followers through the use of powerful language symbols. More than his determination and life-long precociousness, Du Bois's mastery of metaphor, of rhetorical prose helped him to become a gifted inspirational leader through his writing.

Gilman believes that Du Bois often utilized a pedagogical device called aphorisms in his writing, similar to that employed by Biblical authors.⁶³ Aphorisms are short, sometimes witty statements of wisdom or opinion.⁶⁴ Historically, the major purpose of using aphoristic sentences was to make certain statements more easy to remember, especially for a people who had strong oral traditions but perhaps limited access to education or written literature.⁶⁵

Du Bois employed aphoristic phrases for instance in his Souls of Black Folk. When expressing the latent fear in the black psyche regarding its right to demand freedom, he kept repeating a single phrase until it became familiar: "To be sure, behind the thought lurks the afterthought, - suppose after all, the World is right and we are less than men? Suppose this mad impulse within is all wrong, some mock mirage from the untrue?"⁶⁶ All members of the human family have, at one time or another, experienced this unsettling phenomena of thought versus afterthought. So, by openly sharing this particular fear of the black race, Du Bois was able to inspire others. His illustration so sensitively demonstrated to his readers that, irrespective of their race, class, or social circumstance, they too had the

necessary power within themselves to overcome their own latent fears, to triumph in the face of difficulty.

Brodwin found that the real task of The Souls of Black Folk was to render the black consciousness palpable; to invoke it so powerfully in fact that it would have inspirational effect on black and white alike.⁶⁷ Du Bois's purpose for writing the book was in part to help motivate readers to embrace the new visions of blackness he offered. Nesbitt testified, "I never forgot my introduction to his Souls of Black Folk, that there I found my black self and afterwards was never again to doubt the goodness-in-blackness."⁶⁸

As to Du Bois's inspirational leadership through the Crisis literature, Horace Mann Bond was only six years old in 1910 when his family began receiving the first issues of the magazine. He recalled being similarly inspired by seeing the "pleasant faces of brown and black children...Decently garbed men and women of color never seen elsewhere."⁶⁹ In addition, Du Bois's vivid descriptions of Lynch Laws simultaneously enlightened and horrified; while his revelations of Africans as intelligent human beings, acted as antidotes against negative portrayals of them in the popular media. Through the pages of The Crisis, Bond first

discovered the dignity and beauty of blackness. "I have long counted it as one of my great blessings," he said, "that I read Du Bois on Africa when I was very young." ⁷⁰

Ruby Dee was inspired by Du Bois's personal "Credo," which he wrote in 1904.⁷¹ She explained that she was so moved by "Credo" that she would often open her stage acts with it. For her, the little covenant in prose became, "a poem, a longing for humanity to fulfill its promise of greatness".⁷²

Perhaps the true measure of Du Bois's capability as an inspirational leader was the potency of his written words, which literally crossed decades of time and touched subsequent generations. Even today, Souls of Black Folk is a great international best seller. For some readers, the writings of Du Bois from The Crisis, and from other sources, were imbedded in their first life memories. Langston Hughes testified that, "So many thousands of my generation were uplifted by the written and spoken words of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, that for me to say I was so inspired would hardly be unusual. My earliest memories of written words are those of Du Bois and the Bible...Years later, my earliest poems were accepted for publication by The Crisis under the editorship of Dr. Du Bois, achieved through his art form

and style."⁷³

Brawley critiqued Du Bois's written work up through the 1930s in his book, The Negro Genius: a New Appraisal of Achievement of the American in Literature and the Arts, (1937). Brawley stated in his appraisal that, although he found Souls to be the most enduring of Du Bois's work, all of his writing up to that point had effectively served black people by trying to interpret their desires and aspirations. He believed that Du Bois "gave them a new sense of literary values and scholarly achievement, and so doing, he became an inspiration to many younger men."⁷⁴

Du Bois was an effective inspirational leader from 1900 through 1930. Through his written messages, he assisted his own and subsequent generations to embrace his messianic vision of African American greatness, of the beauty and dignity of blackness, of the collective genius inherent in the longing black soul.

Shared Leadership

Du Bois knew that the successful fulfillment of most of his visions depended upon his developing other men and women into leaders who would carry them forward. As a writer, he had the common sense to know that he could no more

singlehandedly harvest his vision of a black cultural renaissance of arts in America, than could a germ retained in isolation create an epidemic. He needed to trust others to take up his visions, and then to run with them wherever they could.

Toward this purpose, he opened up the pages of The Crisis as a means of empowering young black writers and artists, whom he viewed as the 'Talented Tenth' of the future.⁷⁵ Throughout Du Bois's tenure as editor-and-chief, he used the well circulated magazine as a magnet to draw and showcase the talent of African American writers, poets, studio artists and photographers. He annually offered the Krigwa prize as a way of encouraging promising young artists. He also dedicated portions of his copy to advertise the black theater in order to provide an additional boost to the black community's patronage of the stage.⁷⁶

Paul G. Partington, another avid student of Du Bois's written works, expressed surprise that, apart from Du Bois's fiery editorials each month, he actually set aside his normally self-centered ego in order to make room for the young black writers of the Harlem Renaissance.⁷⁷ The fact was, that the literary debut for most of Du Bois's own artistic endeavors and poems occurred back in the day when

he had published The Horizon. Otherwise, he usually reserved a display of his own creative writing talents for journal articles in magazines edited by others, or else he tucked them subtly between pages of his published books, as in the case of his "Credo," first published in the October issue of The Independent, 1904 and later included in his book, Darkwater: Voices From Within the Veil in 1920.

It was to Du Bois's advantage to share his leadership as a writer with other talented blacks, for only by empowering those who had chosen him as their literary leader, was he able to witness the fruition of his own dreams through their strengthened hands.

One of the hazards of sharing one's leadership however, is the distinct likelihood that, when others take hold of the vision the leader has projected, they will interpret and implement it in ways unintended by its original author. Such was the case with Du Bois's early vision of a black cultural renaissance. As Du Bois empowered many new young artists by publishing their work, thus giving them their initial career starts, their productions began to divert into artistic forms that were not always pleasing to Du Bois. The problem was, that during much of the ten-year renaissance period, Du Bois became a type of self-proclaimed art critic. Many

times in this role, he found himself at odds with the newer generation's interpretation of the black cultural aesthetic. His personal philosophy continued to be that all art was propaganda for the purpose of building up racial dignity, and as such, should continually focus upon the beautiful and the true. While it was fine to share the deeper pains of the race in one's art, he felt that it was unacceptable to do so in any way which marred it's beauty before the world.⁷⁸

But during the renaissance period, growing numbers of people, black and white, began to patronize black artistic expressions, especially that which focussed upon such themes as rampant degradation in black urban ghettos.⁷⁹ New literary and studio artists began to prosper financially as they continued to popularize the then, novel concept of the exotic African American living on the frayed edges of social and moral decay. Du Bois was fairly critical of writers and artists who overplayed these themes.⁸⁰ Du Bois could be gentle and kindly with those whom he felt attempted to fit into his profile of acceptable art, but when he was aesthetically rubbed the wrong way, he could be an unrelenting adversary.

White novelist, Carl Van Vechten wrote Nigger Heaven in 1926, and black author, Claude McKay wrote Home to Harlem in

1928. These two books were, in Du Bois's mind, novels which typecast Harlem Renaissance art, by focussing upon the more unsavory elements in the black community. For such novels, Du Bois served up his severest criticism. Arna Bontemps suffered Du Boisian reproach for his book, God Sends Sunday upon its publication in 1931:

Arna Bontemps' first venture in fiction is to me a profound disappointment. It is of the school of Nigger Heaven and Home to Harlem. There is a certain pathetic touch to the painting of his poor little jockey hero, but nearly all else is sordid crime, drinking gambling, whoremongering, and murder. There is not a decent intelligent woman; not a single man with the slightest ambition or real education, scarcely more than one human child in the whole book. Even the horses are drab. In the "Blues" alone Bontemps sees beauty. But in brown skins, frizzled hair and full contoured faces there are to him nothing but ugly, tawdry, hateful things, which he describes with evident caricature.⁸¹

Du Bois may have been correct or not in his criticism of Bontemps and others, nevertheless he admitted later on in this particular review that he was clouded by his own prejudiced views on what attained to high art. Turner has also suggested that Du Bois overplayed his assumption that his black aesthetic of Beauty and Truth was the aesthetic most blacks aspired to at the time, though he wanted to lead them from self-respect to pride and achievement.⁸²

A staunch critic at times, Du Bois nevertheless utilized his profile as a national leader to the black community in order to empower the creative Talented Tenth with the ability to carry his visions forth. His acceptance of their work into issues of The Crisis acted as 'stamps of approval' on the efforts of these new, upcoming writers and artists. Even if these young aspiring artists received poor reviews at the hands of the ever discriminating Du Bois, his willingness to share his literary space with them inevitably helped them along in their careers, as their names were introduced to the national public. Many of the early renaissance writers who went on to become highly recognized in their chosen fields, got their initial starts through the pages of Du Bois's Crisis magazine.⁸³

Du Bois's concept of shared leadership seemed also to have caught on with other black journals which were established after the advent of The Crisis. The Messenger, first published by A. Philip Randolph and Charles Owen in 1917, and the Urban League's Opportunity, A Journal of Negro Life in 1923, also showcased black artistic expression on a regular basis.⁸⁴ Not only were these journals instrumental in assisting the cultural revolution Du Bois envisioned, their monthly new items and reports concerning issues

affecting African Americans everywhere, helped to bring about a sense of nationhood to a race engaged in a common struggle.

Du Bois therefore was successful with shared leadership during his tenure as a polemical writer. At times he was overly critical of those who attempted to expand his vision in innovative ways. But, like a father who reluctantly allows his children the necessary room to grow, Du Bois slowly accepted the fact that subsequent generations needed the freedom to initiate their own visions. The roots of their efforts would ever be his, but the seeds and the offspring must become uniquely their own.

Conclusion

From 1900 through 1930, Du Bois exercised true transformational leadership in his efforts at polemical and creative writing. His intellectual and inspirational guidance, along with his willingness to share his leadership with others, remained consistent with his vision for the development of a strong black nation. His leadership as a writer had lasting effect in helping to transform the society of his day.

Du Bois however sometimes lamented the fact that the cultural renaissance he had originally envisioned did not expand beyond ten years:

Why was it that the Renaissance of literature which began among Negroes ten years ago has never taken real and lasting root? It was because it was a transplanted and exotic thing. It was a literature written for the benefit of white people and at the the behest of white readers, and starting out privately from the white point of view. It never had a real Negro constituency and it did not grow out of the inmost heart and frank experience of Negroes; on such an artificial basis no real literature can grow.⁸⁵

Nevertheless, Du Bois could have been strengthened with the knowledge that, although the Harlem Renaissance movement ended by the early 1930s, blacks in America by that time had achieved a type of "awareness" in black art that they had never known before.⁸⁶ The intellectual leadership Du Bois provided, infused the African American community with innovative ideas, which subsequently inspired the younger writers of the Renaissance period.

As a literary warrior doing battle against the racist thinking of the day, Du Bois consistently demonstrated moral courage in his fiery editorials, which society seemed to reluctantly respond to after a time. R. Bone, a staunch critic of Du Bois's writings, nevertheless made a fair assessment of the role of black leaders in the early

twentieth century. He pointed out that what made Du Bois's leadership as a writer extraordinary, was the fact that, in the early decades of the twentieth century, it was required that intellectual black leaders of national stature do double duty as political leaders as well as novelists.⁸⁷ For this reason, Bone surmised, it was not possible for a leader with such a high public profile and demanding work schedule as Du Bois's to devote the necessary energy into fine-tuning his own writing skill as a poet and novelist to the level of mastery it truly deserved.⁸⁸

Du Bois's two novels, The Quest of the Silver Fleece, 1911, and Dark Princess, 1928, which he wrote during the renaissance period, were not of the highest quality expected in the literary world. They suffered more perhaps from Du Bois's overworked lifestyle than from an inherent lack of ability on his part. If nothing else, Du Bois's Souls of Black Folk alone testified to his potential genius as a writer had he been able to devote his energy to it on a full time basis.

One other reason why Du Bois's novels, in particular did not attain to the level of high art, was that his purpose for writing fiction was less for general entertainment than for propagandistic purposes.⁸⁹ In this,

Du Bois was a successful transformational leader. He waged a battle against the ideology that blacks had little to offer the world in the way of culture. He continually exposed the root of this erroneous thinking through a number of literary vehicles: poetry, editorials, essays, and novels. As a point in fact, Du Bois made his views duly clear through the works of one of his youthful characters, Matthew Towns of his Dark Princess novel: "America is teaching the world one thing of real value, and that is, that the ability and capacity for culture is not the hereditary monopoly of a few, but the widespread possibility for the majority of mankind if only they have a descent chance at life".⁹⁰

Regardless of whether or not the cultural renaissance ultimately manifested itself as Du Bois originally intended or whether the black community eventually fulfilled his messianic mission of global emancipation, Du Bois was successful in helping to establish the kingdom of culture he had so clearly envisioned at the beginning of the century, for he facilitated and shaped the black man's actual participation in it. In the final analysis, it appears that Du Bois not only helped others to become co-workers in his proposed 'kingdom of culture,' but that through his effective transformational leadership, he helped foster the

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CHAPTER 4

TO MAKE A NAME IN SCIENCE: SCHOLARLY RESEARCH 1900 - 1930

I believe in the Training of Children,
black even as white, the leading out of
little souls into the green pastures and
beside the still waters, not for self
nor for peace, but for some large vision
of beauty and goodness and truth; lest
we forget and the sons of the fathers,
like Esau, for mere meat barter their
birthright in a mighty nation.

Du Bois, Credo

For the greater part of his life, W. E. B. Du Bois was a scholar who believed that scientific and historical truth had the capacity to transform society and, ultimately the world. In 1893, Du Bois wrote in his journal his plan to make a name for himself in science.¹ For him, however, science was not an undertaking in which the main objective was the mere unveiling of facts. He foresaw that science could be utilized as one of the major tools in his ongoing battle against the racist thinking of his day.²

In conjunction with negative images about blacks which stemmed from the popular media from the late 1800s through the early 1900s, African Americans suffered constant humiliation through smear campaigns which arose out of the

scientific communities. Beginning as early as the seventeenth century, studies of so-called scientific value began emerging which "confirmed" the inherent inferiority of the black race as compared to the white.³ It was a trend in the thinking of the era, that beyond the influence of the surface environment, humans as a species differed among themselves in distinct ways genetically.⁴ Du Bois was also a product of his time, and he agreed with the idea that the races varied. This was demonstrated in an essay he wrote and presented in 1897 entitled The Conservation of the Races. Du Bois's own philosophy departed from the standard, however, for he undertook all his research efforts in order to 'prove' to white society that blacks were not the inferior beings they had been described. His research style set out to show that African Americans were, in fact, gifted people with latent genius to offer the world. They were not the lower order of humans on Darwin's theoretical ladder they had been made out to be.⁵ The researchers in Du Bois's day, however, seemed bent upon communicating their opinion to the world that blacks indeed had differences which placed them in a lower hierarchical order in the human family.

In 1910, Odum published Social and Mental Traits of the Negro, which set out to prove that blacks were inferior

genetically.⁶ There were other genetic studies around that time which examined physical, as well as mental differences among the races.⁷ Regarding intelligence, after the close of World War I, the newly developing psychological community began its vast project of conducting intelligence quotient, tests (IQ tests) on black and white school children, even as it had done with military recruits earlier. These test results caused severe damage to blacks in America when the broadly published findings "confirmed" the mental inferiority of blacks as compared to whites. Because these tests were sincerely viewed as viable measures of mental capability, the cultural consequences to black children was a lowering of their overall self-esteem.⁸ Few other social devices, Jim Crow laws, political disenfranchisement among them, wielded more emotional harm to the African American community than did the published psychological profiles of IQ tests of the early nineteenth century. Such was the scientific battleground Du Bois stepped onto in the late 1800s when he embarked upon his quest 'to make a name in science, and thus to elevate his race.' of lasting value just as Henderson has shown that, as a social science doctoral researcher and historian, Du Bois's leadership involvement, may be roughly divided into three major time periods:

(1) Intellectual research period from 1881-1905; (2) Activist polemical period, 1905-1935; (3) Internationalist peace period, 1935-1963.⁹ This investigation into the transformational leadership activities of Du Bois will focus on the second period of his scholastic endeavors from 1905-1935 roughly. As can be seen by Henderson's outline, Du Bois remained a staunch scholar throughout his entire life, although his purpose behind conducting scientific and historical research became altered as his philosophy about the race problem in America changed over the years. Du Bois's interest in historical and scientific research can be traced back to the time he took Harvard Professor, Albert Bushnell Hart's social science class, Constitutional and Political History of the United States. It was about that time that Du Bois discovered the specific methodology he wanted to employ in his plan to reverse the downward trend in the image of his race before the world.¹⁰ With all the fierce energy of the transformational leader with a mission, Du Bois set out to prove that he, a black man, could produce scientific research of lasting value just as any reputedly outstanding white man. Indeed, his doctoral dissertation, the Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, received encouraging

commentary. Loggins observed that "The historical method employed is that of the strictest scholarship...while the style is that of the scholar who is seeking the effect of the accuracy of truth."¹¹ At the time of its initial publication, The Nation predicted that the work would "long remain the authoritative work on the subject."¹² Du Bois enjoyed similar praise for his later work on The Philadelphia Negro. He had successfully employed his German professor's Schmoller and Wagner's methodologies in the course of that and later studies in such a way that he could be proud of his achievements irrespective of his color. For few other historians in his day, be they black or white, had been privileged, as he, to have been nurtured under the new theories arising out of the prestigious universities of Harvard and Berlin. Still, Du Bois was a pioneer in social science and history, because he applied the new investigative techniques to researching questions about the heretofore unexplored black community. In this, he was a trailblazer.¹³

Du Bois's early vision for black enfranchisement and self-fulfillment occurred in the periods between 1881 - 1905, roughly covering his college training and the first half of his tenure as a professor of social sciences at

Atlanta University. Specifically, his vision incorporated the idea that the scientific method would reveal the true, respectable nature of black people, dispelling prejudice, and thus transforming the way whites viewed blacks. He theorized that such education would subsequently improve society's treatment of his people. His vision was that whites would begin to work for the greater social emancipation of blacks, even perhaps empowering them once it was realized how society suffered from the lack of black participation in world processes.¹⁴ Du Bois commented about his earlier thinking in his second autobiography, Dusk of Dawn. He wrote:

At the beginning of my teaching career, I was going to study the facts, and all the facts concerning the American Negro and his plight, and by the measurement and comparison, and research, work up to any valid generalization which I could. I enlarged this primarily with the utilitarian object of reform and uplift; but nevertheless, I wanted to do the work with scientific accuracy. Thus, in my own sociology, because of a firm belief in a changing racial group, I easily grasped the idea of a changing developing society rather than a fixed social structure.¹⁵

Du Bois began his teaching career with hopes of improving race relations through education.¹⁶ It was Du Bois's firm opinion at that time that, "the world was thinking wrong about race because it did not know. The

ultimate evil was stupidity. The cure for it was knowledge based on scientific investigation."¹⁷ For it seemed Du Bois faithfully followed through on this line of thinking in his approach to researching questions about the black community through his Atlanta University studies that between 1896 through 1906. His studies on the Negro problem consisted of yearly investigations followed by reports at conferences which dealt with such topics as health, crime, business, land ownership, education and community service organizations.¹⁸ Although throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Du Bois remained firmly committed to scholarship, and even nurtured a vision of conducting a one-hundred year long study of blacks in America, his ideas behind the purposes of scholarly research were radically altered after the Atlanta riot of 1906. The riot was precipitated by the lynching of a black man, Sam Hose. On his way to deliver an editorial to the Atlantic Constitution, Du Bois was informed that Hose's knuckles were on display in a white store window.¹⁹ At this time, and most likely, even earlier, when his ground-breaking research of black communities had been summarily snubbed by the white scientific community, Du Bois finally perceived the futility of engaging in research for

the purpose of gaining a measure of respectability for his people in the eyes of the white world.²⁰ For it seemed somewhat hopeless to him at the time, that racist whites in America would soon begin to view blacks as anything more than beasts, and rightful targets of their hatred. From that point onward then, until about 1935, Du Bois continued to write and research, but no longer for the purpose of winning accolades from the white community- as none seemed to be forthcoming. Instead, he created a philosophical marriage between his earlier vision of the messianic mission of blacks with his scholarly work. His former ventures and experience in scientific investigation in fact, rather heightened his skills as a polemical writer of the second period. He was a man who had become heavily armed, not only with a powerful command of words. In addition, he had the scientific know-how to gather the necessary facts in order to back them up. Du Bois was now a dangerous individual who, between 1900 and 1930, utilized these dual skills of scholarship and creative writing to advantage. He artfully honed his talents, and through impassioned perseverance, threatened the very lifeblood of racist thinking in America.

As a scholar, Du Bois was a transformational leader in the ways in which he directed the remainder of his years of research toward propaganda. Just as his creative and polemical writings were aimed at confronting racist slander which arose out of the artistic and literary communities of his day, Du Bois now geared his scholarly investigations at reversing damages done to blacks via the scientific community. Toward this goal, Du Bois's first book to break away from his earlier objective studies, was of course, The Souls of Black Folk. In the little book of essays, Du Bois carefully laid down a historical and sociological foundation which gave the book a stamp of credibility that added to the power and beauty of its prose. Yet, his earlier coolly objective research experiments into African American history, along with his investigations of the black neighborhoods of Philadelphia, helped him to lay the scientific groundwork in his emotional little book, which so artfully brought together facts and creative prose.²¹

Du Bois wrote other works in social science and history between 1900 and 1930 which purposed to correct and enlarge the thinking about black contributions in America and Africa. Among them were: John Brown, (1909), a biography of his life; The Negro, (1915), a study of African history in

addition to the history of blacks in America; Africa: Its Geography, People and Products, (1930). Significant works begun before 1903, but completed afterward included Black Reconstruction in America, 1860 -1880, (1935), and the introductory volume to his uncompleted project, Encyclopedia of the Negro: Preparatory Volume with Reference Lists and Reports (1945), which he had conceived of as early as 1909.²² His ongoing Atlanta studies. He presented them with

fact. In keeping with his vision of the messianic mission, after 1905, Du Bois utilized his research less to gain respectability with whites, than to help blacks recognize the fact that they were much more than what had been proclaimed of them by misinformed racists spouting information under the guise of history and social science. Du Bois's research uncovered little known facts about black achievement. His books and articles were designed to work as inoculation against the many negative images. Insofar as Du Bois was now concerned, what black people thought about themselves was most important. If by reading his scientifically researched facts, whites gained a new understanding and respect for blacks, so much the better. But he no longer felt that it was essential to go out of his way to secure their approval as he had strived to do

earlier. with him on such research projects as the Atlanta

Univ Du Bois was successful as a transformational leader. He because he utilized his scholastic skills to impart to his race new visions of themselves as broadly educated people who were knowledgeable about their own contributions and who had a great purpose in the world. He demonstrated by with intellectual leadership by stimulating their thinking lieve through his ongoing Atlanta studies. He presented them with facts about how they interacted as a community, and then challenged the intellectual elite- the 'Talented Tenth,' to work in behalf of uplift for the masses of their brethren.²³

peopl As an inspirational leader, he encouraged them to continue to strive toward the greatness they had known in prior centuries. And he unveiled to them the verifiable truths about their glorious past in Africa where their ancestors reigned as kings and queens before their reversing forbearers were subsequently kidnaped and brought to past, America.²⁴ Their contributions as a race after their later emancipation, were lifted by Du Bois from out of the people historical dung heap where racist historians had placed use them, and put on the pedestal they so rightfully deserved.

when He demonstrated concern for shared leadership by dissem consistently inviting other black scholars to work in orant

coalition with him on such research projects as the Atlanta University studies and the Encyclopedia Africana project. He let out a continual call to the race's cadre of educated elite to become the molders of his people's future.²⁵ Du Bois's effect as a transformational leader was that he was able to infuse the African American community with new purpose. His scholarship gave them the power to believe in, to share, and then to embrace the visions he proposed. All this he was able to do in the early decades of the twentieth century despite the many powerful myths about the inherent inferiority of blacks, which raged around this people like a vengeful and destructive wind.

Visionary Leadership

Between 1900 and 1935, roughly, W. E. B. Du Bois directed his research and scholastic energies into reversing certain racist propaganda. He believed that, in the past, social scientists and historians, in their efforts to prove white racial superiority over blacks as well as other people of color, sometimes unconsciously masked the truth because of their own biases. Du Bois therefore envisioned a time when objective scientific study would cut through the miasma of anxiety-generated research myths, and unveil the dormant

truths about blacks in America and Africa.²⁶ Even as late as 1935, when he wrote Black Reconstruction in America, in an effort to relate the history of that period from a black perspective, he was more interested in unveiling the truth. It was not his intention to simply invent new myths about blacks and their participation in Southern Reconstruction for the purpose of undoing damage done to the race by other historians. For Du Bois envisioned a changed society, as one that would one day allow itself to be honestly scrutinized under the theoretically color-blind glare of unbiased scientific research.²⁷

Aptheker interpreted Du Bois's belief in the power of objective investigation to provide a fair hearing about black participation in civilization's development. He stated that, "Du Bois had a towering sense to the just, a basic faith in reason, and a passionate commitment toward achieving the just through reason. Indeed, all this together is what Du Bois meant by that word, which to him was most sacred: science."²⁸ In the closing pages of his Black Reconstruction, Du Bois still expressed his continued belief in the power of objective social science and historical research to guide society through its standard of truth. He wrote:

But are these reasons of courtesy and Philanthropy sufficient for denying the Truth? If history is going to be scientific, if the record of human action is going to be set down with that accuracy and faith-fullness of detail which will allow its use as a measuring rod and guidepost of the future of all nations, there must be set some standards of ethics in research and interpretation.

If, on the other hand, we are going to use history for our own pleasure and amusement, of inflating our national ego, and giving us a false but pleasurable sense of accomplishment, then we must give up the idea of history either as a science, and admit frankly that we are using a version of historic fact in order to influence and educate the new generation along the way we wish.

It is propaganda like this that has led men to insist that history is "lies agreed upon"; and to point out the danger in such misinformation. It is indeed extremely doubtful if any permanent benefit comes to the world through such action. Nations reel and stagger on their way; they make hideous mistakes; they commit frightful wrongs; they do great and beautiful things. And shall we not best guide humanity by telling the truth about all this, so far as the truth is ascertainable?"

This is not to suggest however that Du Bois approached his scholastic efforts during these years absolutely free from personal bias. Indeed, his biases were ever so apparent in his life-long focus upon the status of the black race in America and abroad, and in his concern for people of color the world over. There is no doubt about the fact that Du Bois continuously held a pro-black world view, approaching all his leadership activities from this particular perspective. He so much trusted that the true

facts of science, of history, would reveal the beauty in blackness, however, that he was not in the least intimidated by the naked objectivity of factual investigation. To him, the potential 'good, bad, and ugly' revelations about his race would still all be beautiful, because the revealed truths had power to positively affect black people's present and future situations. But if the truths remained suppressed or marred, he saw that there would be little hope for knowledge to assist in bringing about the societal transformation he envisioned.³⁰

Du Bois's philosophy of social science and history, together with his hope of a black messianic mission, fueled his visions for scholarly research regarding blacks in America and Africa. His earlier work with the Philadelphian neighborhood in Pennsylvania, and also his investigation of the black community of Farmville, Virginia in 1898, endowed him with ideas of new research possibilities. He became interested in enlarging the investigation of the African American community to incorporate a social science research project spanning over one hundred years, revisiting ten key topics areas once every decade. Further, he envisioned that the findings would make a major contribution of knowledge to the scientific community, and thus, enrich the entire human

family.³¹ His visions were so complete and crystal clear to him, that in 1899 when, for the second time, he had unfolded his vision before the esteemed body of the prestigious American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, he later expressed bitter amazement and awe over their seeming apathy concerning his scheme.³² Du Bois could not, for the life of him, understand why the white scientific communities did not capture his vision of the outstanding opportunity which lay seemingly right at their doorstep.³³ For, a comprehensive study of the black community at the national level, with the newest methodologies available had never been attempted before. That these scientists did not enthusiastically pursue Du Bois's vision of research, there is no doubt. The fact was, beyond the racist generated research myths which masqueraded as science, black people and their struggles were not generally subjects of interest for white scholars during that era.

Still, as an eager young scholar, full of ambitious expectations for utilizing the new research methods as a means of restoring positive race relations, Du Bois initially presented his case with gusto before the 42nd meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences in Philadelphia, November 1, 1897. His subject was,

"The Study of the Negro Problem." He spoke before the august body in an attempt to have them to embrace the vision he projected. He said to them:

The Phenomena of society are worth the careful and systematic study, whether or not this study may eventually lead to a systematic body of knowledge deserving the name of science, it cannot in any case fail to give the world a mass of truth worth the knowing...The American Negro deserves study for the great end of advancing the cause of science in general. No such opportunity to watch and measure the history and development of a great race of men ever presented itself to the scholars of a modern nation. If they miss this opportunity, if they do the work in a slipshod, unsystematic manner- if they dally with the truth to humor the whims of the day, they do far more than hurt the cause of scientific truth the world over, they voluntarily decrease human knowledge of a universe of which we are ignorant enough, and they degrade the high end of truth-seeking in a day when they need more to dwell upon its sanctity.³⁴

Despite his early efforts to impart his visions of an enriched world as a result of discovered truths about black Americans, the scientific community as a whole remained disinterested and unresponsive. He lamented their lack of reaction to his later proposal for the one-hundred year plan of study, even at the age of ninety-three when he wrote about it in his autobiography: "Before the American Academy, affiliated with the University (of Pennsylvania), I laid down in a public session in 1899, a broad program of scientific attack on this problem, by systematic and

continuous study; and I appealed to Harvard, Columbia, and Pennsylvania, to take up the task. Needless to say, they paid not the slightest attention to this challenge, and for 25 years thereafter not a single first-grade college in America undertook to give any considerable scientific attention to the American Negro."³⁵

Although Du Bois was not wholeheartedly supported in his visions of utilizing scholastic research to positively affect blacks in America, he was not one to easily cast aside his dreams. He did not simply succumb to failure. Rather, he tended to hold onto his visions the more vigorously the more his efforts were resisted. If anything, the rebuttals he received from the white scientific community served only to enlarge his visions in unexpected ways.

As support did not appear to be forthcoming from them, he looked more directly to blacks to become leaders with him in the challenge before them of transforming their social situation. Rudwick has found that Du Bois's work with the black Philadelphian communities helped him to refocus on the possibilities of a program of racial self-elevation under the leadership of an educated elite, which foreshadowed Du Bois's theory of a "Talented Tenth."³⁶ Later, Du Bois

expressed his vision more fully in his philosophy of education, and training of black men in his "Talented Tenth" essay, published in a book he co-authored with several other race leaders in 1903.³⁷ Also, his personal "Credo" summed up in poetic form his concern that blacks would neglect their education and intellectual development in exchange for mere economic concessions.³⁸ For Du Bois believed that a precursor to black's becoming the moral emancipators of the world, as he envisioned them, lay in the initial intellectual, cultural, and moral emancipation of themselves. He felt that all scholarly research, done honestly, had potential to assist the race in acquiring this new-found freedom. Their only requirement, he felt, was for them to devote a portion of their national citizenry, that is, a tenth, to this great work of racial uplift.³⁹ He argued that, historically, every advanced civilization and race had affected its advancement through the activities of a specialized tenth, who had been provided with opportunities for higher education and training as leaders of their people. This naturally occurred, thought Du Bois, always from the top and filtered down to the masses, who were subsequently enriched.⁴⁰

Some black leaders in the early part of the twentieth century were caught up in the wave of promises of the industrial age. In their focus on practical applications and the tangible rewards of hands-on labor, they were not as quick to embrace Du Bois's vision of improved race relations through the apparently nebulous vehicles of classical education and scholarship. They were not as apt to see the relationship of philosophical undertakings to practical advancement. Booker T. Washington, for one, was an especially staunch critic of these seemingly intellectual 'pie in the sky' ideologies. He commented in his book, My Larger Education, in 1911 that, "The intellectuals live too much in the past. They know books, but they do not know men."⁴¹ Dennis however made an astute observation about an error in Washington's thinking by showing that, in criticizing all intellectuals, Washington mistakenly overlooked the extent to which people theorized on their existence, contemplated and envisioned a world not yet experienced.⁴² For some scholars at least, visions eventually trickled down to influence notions of reality, and ideas were often the necessary harbingers of measurable change. Du Bois, in fact, was not only a leader who called for scientific undertakings, but between 1905 and 1950, he

also attempted to personally live up to the role he half of envisioned by moving to wed theory and practice through mobilizing the Talented Tenth of black intellectuals.⁴³

One of the many visions Du Bois had and subsequently attempted to fulfill, by way of scholarship, was a vast encyclopedic project, which showcased African, and black American cultural civilization in all aspects of life. Du Bois was always one to stir up visions of huge, ambitious undertakings. His dreams were often so large and all encompassing, that many individuals were required to assist him in carrying them out. The Encyclopedia of the Negro, which he proposed as early as 1909,⁴⁴ was an outgrowth of his scholarly interests in the interrelationships of black people everywhere. Du Bois began to share his visions with others about instituting the project that same year.⁴⁵ It was his idea, according to Contee, to "treat the black race in the world and those who descended from it."⁴⁶ This vision was only incompletely realized in 1945 after many decades of faulty starts and financial setbacks.⁴⁷ Du Bois's vision of the one-hundred year scientific investigations of the black community was one which was successfully shared and implemented, if only via the black intellectual community. No doubt, blacks in the early

twentieth century, (actually, throughout the greater half of the century), remained isolated in a sort of intellectual ghetto. But Du Bois, having been snubbed by the white scientific community, in his unfettered manner, shook the dust from his sensitive ego, and simply shared his vision with Atlanta University.⁴⁸ There, for the next seventeen years, from 1897 through 1914, he conducted and supervised studies on the status of blacks in America.⁴⁹

His other scholarly visions from 1900 through 1935, all undertaken with missionary zeal, had unequivocal focus: to set right that which had been marred; to enlighten the misinformed about black contributions, and to give credit to whom credit was due. Mainly, Du Bois set out to elevate the race, if only in their own eyes, that they might obtain to the station of the 'mighty nation' they had always been, but had been stripped of through years of bondage and oppression.⁵⁰

Du Bois achieved his dreams through research. He published his findings in books like The Negro, which foreshadowed the themes and conclusions of a number of African historians including Melville J. Herskovits.⁵¹ His scholarly inclusions in The Crisis about black attainment over the twenty-five year span of his tenure as an editor,

of themselves became a veritable encyclopedia of the black man in Africa, Europe, and the Americas.⁵² It has also been noted, that although Du Bois never saw the satisfactory fulfillment of his vision of his one-hundred year research project, the Black Flame trilogy novels, which he wrote toward the end of his life, acted like a substitute for this unaccomplished dream by following in fictional form, the economic and political struggle of the Mansart family from 1876 through 1958.⁵³

From 1900 through 1930, Du Bois was an effective visionary leader, particularly for the intellectual elite black community, for whom he later revised his vision. He shared his dreams and effectively implemented them as he imparted them to other black scholars. They also were able to 'catch the visions,' and do even more exploits that Du Bois in the long run.

As a prophet, carrying forth the words of truth to the world, Du Bois exposed, for the first time in many instances, little known facts about Africans and Americans of African descent. The world was not always eager to welcome his revelations, but like the ancient Hebrew prophet who said, "His word was in my heart like a fire, a fire shut up in my bones. I am weary of holding it in,"⁵⁴ Du Bois's

vision of enlightenment and a transformed society through scholarship, poured forth from him with volcanic force for over thirty years. Truman Nelson aptly described Du Bois's visionary insight in this moving tribute to his scholarship:

In the beginning the prophet sees pre-conditions, the explosive present and the transcendental future like a man sitting by the window of a darkened room, reading by strokes of lightning. A flash of insight, of foreboding, flares across his consciousness, and then he is plunged back into the confusions and doubts of the ordinary mortal, groping his way through what may always be a total darkness and incomprehension of his private world and his fate in it. In time the flashes come closer and closer until the world he is destined to illumine lights up under his hand with an incandescent glare and he is able to hold its crimes and secrets, its dungeons and its despairs, to a steady cleansing glow which crackles and consumes like a forest fire.⁵⁵

Intellectual Leadership

From the moment Du Bois accepted his appointment at Atlanta University in 1897 to supervise the sociological programs and take direction of the school's yearly conferences regarding blacks, he exercised his intellectual leadership. Atlanta, in fact, provided a perfect platform for the implementation of his visions of research, and he arrived at the institution with the concrete agenda he had previously hammered out years earlier. Immediately upon his

arrival, before the Sociological Club at Atlanta, he exposed his tendency to be an intellectual upstart by criticizing the members for not putting forth enough effort in research.⁵⁶

Du Bois perhaps was unfairly critical of the Atlanta scholars, as they had successfully launched research efforts and studies of nearby black communities years before his arrival.⁵⁷ More accurately, the reality was that few persons could match Du Bois's daunting expectations and his Herculean workload, nor would they really be able to measure up to his capacity for sheer output, as he so ably demonstrated in his single-handed achievement in Philadelphia. Nevertheless, under Du Bois's leadership, the Atlanta studies shaped up into a research enterprise of some scientific respectability. Before Du Bois came to the school, graduate students were given schedules to interview citizens of their respective communities only during the school vacation periods. Upon his arrival, the investigations were extended to cover an entire year. Their findings were then reported at the yearly conferences on the Negro sponsored by the school.⁵⁸ The studies Du Bois oversaw during his years at Atlanta, and after he left in 1910 to work with the NAACP were:

- 1896, Morality Among Negroes in Cities
- 1897, Social and Physical Condition of Negroes in Cities
- 1898, Some Efforts of Negroes for Social Betterment
- 1899, The Negro in Business
- 1900, The College-Bred Negro
- 1901, The Negro Common School
- 1902, The Artisan
- 1903, The Negro Church
- 1904, Notes on Negro Crime
- 1905, A Select Bibliography of the American Negro
- 1906, Health and Physique of the Negro American
- 1907, Economic Co-operation Among Negro Americans
- 1908, The Negro American Family
- 1909, Efforts for Social Betterment Among Negro Americans
- 1910, The College-Bred Negro
- 1911, The Common School and the Negro American
- 1912, The Negro Artisan
- 1914, Morals and Manners Among Negro Americans⁵⁹

The Atlanta studies were the continuation of Du Bois's pioneer efforts to look into the social condition of black America. Though he had despaired of attempting to receive recognition from the white scientific community for the project, from year to year he solicited the United States government for a small financial allocation of \$500.00 to help fund the studies.⁶⁰ Du Bois's achievement as a researcher with Atlanta was extraordinary, yet who can say what more would have been accomplished had the institution received proper financial backing and support from the all members of the academic community irrespective of race?⁶¹

As an intellectual pioneer, Du Bois was able to break new ground through the series of studies at Atlanta. His research into the state of black education, for instance, uncovered the fact that black children in America, were on average, receiving an inferior education as compared with white children. His study on black crime revealed that most lynching of blacks was not in response to "rape of white women," as commonly reported by officials, but lynching was most often acts of non-instigated illegal violence perpetrated by whites against blacks.

His personal research work, which he engaged in while at Atlanta, also did much to dispel the racist propaganda and stereotypes about Africans as people who had contributed nothing of cultural value to civilization.⁶²

As an intellectual leader, over time he awakened blacks and whites to new notions of African Americans. Blacks cooperated with the Atlanta study efforts by regularly responding to questionnaires and submitting written reports about their businesses industrial schools, churches, and various community service organizations.⁶³ During the yearly conferences, Du Bois continued his tradition of wedding theory with practice by serving on a resolutions committee. The resolutions proposed were designed to

transfer raw data into workable suggestions on how best to invoke measurable reforms for blacks in the communities studied.⁶⁴ By the time Du Bois left Atlanta to work full time for the NAACP in 1910, his studies with the Atlanta Conferences had produced a total of 2,172 pages on the problems facing blacks in America.⁶⁵ Under his influence as a scholar, Atlanta University was transformed from merely being a notable college for blacks in the South, to becoming recognized as the premier institution in the world for study on the question about the so-called, Negro problem. Both blacks and whites began to look first to Atlanta before undertaking their own investigations into particular aspects of black-white race relations. Any historian of race would be hard pressed to disagree with Du Bois's statement in which he reflected on the influence of the Atlanta studies upon the society of his day. He said of those years in his second autobiography: "These studies with all their imperfections were widely distributed in the libraries of the world and used by scholars. It may be said without undue boasting that, between 1896 and 1920, there was no study of the race problem in America made which did not depend in some degree upon the investigations made at Atlanta

University; often they were widely quoted and commented."⁶⁶

Du Bois's intellectual activities did not go totally ignored by white research scientists. Every so often the Atlanta conference reports were reviewed by noted journals. The School Review made a commentary of his study, "The Negro Common School." Their response was that, "The work of this conference is constructive and merits hearty support."⁶⁷ Significantly, Outlook Magazine reported on the Atlanta conferences' overall societal influence when it wrote, "No student of the race problem, no person who would either think or speak upon it intelligently, can afford to be ignorant of the facts brought out in the Atlanta series of sociological studies of the conditions and the progress of the Negro."⁶⁸ The New York Evening Post in 1905 offered this startling, exceptional recognition of the Atlanta studies' contribution's to world knowledge when it reflected, "The only scientific studies of the Negro question being made today are those carried on by Atlanta University."⁶⁹ Also, Du Bois's friend, and former Harvard professor, William James, whose pragmatic method he had employed in his investigative undertakings, praised him for his research. In a letter to Du Bois, he commented that his 1906 conference on 'The Health and Physique of the Negro

American' was "splendid scientific work."⁷⁰ During these years, Du Bois was not only a poet, a polemical and creative writer, he was at heart a pragmatic individual who believed that discovered truth had some practical value which could be employed to actually reform society. He was truly a progressive intellectual of his day with his notions about the necessary relationship between history and social science studies. For, he avidly believed that true investigative work into social questions was richest when the historical underpinnings were first adequately explored and understood.⁷¹ In his challenge to his proposed disciples of scholarship, he expressed his basic approach when he said, "Study the past if you would comprehend the present. Read history if you would know how to vote intelligently, read history if you do not know what sound money is, read history if you cannot grasp the Negro problem."⁷² In all of his social science endeavors therefore, Du Bois introduced his studies with a brief historical analysis in order to enlarge readers' understanding. It was an innovative pattern for black researchers.

Du Bois's pragmatic views committed him to the belief that scientific ideas were the most powerful forms of

action.⁷³ In 1911, after he had left Atlanta to work for the NAACP, Du Bois again put his intellectual leadership as a scholar on practical display by attending the Universal Races Congress in London, England. There, he was one of the leaders of the American delegation at the world's first international scientific conclave on race, where over fifty races were represented.⁷⁴ There at the University of London, Du Bois had the opportunity to take a hopeful glimpse at the fulfillment of his vision of global racial unity. This historic meeting, though not widely reported on, consisted of a convergence of some of the world's most famous scientists and social scientists of the day from Italy, England, the United States, and other nations. The conclave was called, for the purpose of creating racial 'goodwill.'⁷⁵ This gathering of esteemed scholars, despite the current trend worldwide for scientifically-backed racism, reportedly came to the conclusion that mankind was equal. Over the several days they convened, they agreed that, beyond obvious geographical, language and cultural differences, there was no scientific basis to support the claim that races were genetically inferior or superior to one another. They proclaimed, that in actuality, all races were equally endowed with the same genetic makeup.⁷⁶

Du Bois was especially ecstatic that his own beliefs finally had the world stamp of scientific respectability and approval. In typical Du Boisian fashion therefore, he recited before the members of the delegation at one of the opening meetings a poem he wrote, entitled, "A Hymn to the Peoples." In it, he expressed his joy at the world attempt to join hands cross-racially: "The primal meeting of the sons of man, foreshadowing the union of the world...reveal our souls in every race and hue."⁷⁷

While it was true that the meeting of this scientific body made gains toward espousing a consciousness of the essential unity of mankind, the claims it vocalized made very little or no visible impact on the societies where the respective scientists and leaders lived.⁷⁸ Although a few courageous scholars were ready to admit racial egalitarianism, the world as a whole, was not. Consequently the Races Congress received little notice or support from the world-wide press, although Du Bois himself received a bit of notoriety in America for his attendance. Even the scientists who attended the function did not focus much detail in their reports about it when they returned to their respective home countries. Du Bois, however, as a truly courageous intellectual leader; albeit, one who also had an

empirical axe to grind; was one of the few scholars who attempted to make the views of the Congress known to the general public. He reported his findings with relish in a Crisis article in September, 1911.⁷⁹ In addition to such activities as attending the Races, Congress, Du Bois was an intellectual pioneer researcher through his in depth studies on Africa. As he developed a growing world view about race, he not only concerned himself with the plight of American blacks, but with people of color the world over. He began expanding his intellectual reach to study questions which heretofore had been left unasked about Africa. Even blacks in America, perhaps due to years of abusive racial propaganda, were not so interested in the history and sociology of African blacks. In this, Du Bois was an intellectual guide, for against his own people at times, he worked hard to instill in them some interest in African concerns in a day where little existed.⁸⁰

From 1900 through well past 1940, Du Bois wrote a number of research studies on Africa and Africans. His purpose for his undertakings as always, remained focussed on his original mission of demonstrating the fact that Africa had made notable contributions to the world family. In doing so, he of course valued supportable research methods, which

he knew went a long way towards verifying his claims about Africa's former glories. About this, he proclaimed, "I shall not exaggerate this thread of African history in the world development, but I shall insist equally that it not be ignored."⁸¹ This approach mirrored his viewpoint about black artistic creative expression not remaining "silent and stripped" while other racist voices freely slandered the black community. One fact about Du Bois was certain: he remained fairly committed to the foundational thinking behind his various philosophies. The way in which he applied them to the Negro problem however broadened and changed over time. This ability of Du Bois to change and grow through his own experiences was also a clear transformational leadership characteristic: the leader's willingness to learn and make paradigm shifts in thinking as the need arises.⁸²

The books Du Bois wrote which focussed on Africa, included: The Negro in 1915, Black Folk Now and Then, 1940, The World and Africa, 1947, and Africa: An Outline of the History of the African Continent in 1959. The books after 1930 began to reflect his evolving interest and respect for communist ideologies. These ideologies set him at intellectual odds with both the black and white communities in America toward the end of his life.⁸³ His book, The

Negro however in 1915, in many ways reintroduced numerous forgotten facts about Africans which had been earlier researched by three noted European scholars, Lady Lugard, Felix Dubois, and Edward Wilmot Blyden. These three scholars in turn had based their findings on the valuable on-site investigations of Arab, Moorish, Sudanese geographers and historians of the twelfth through fourteenth centuries.⁸⁴ Du Bois's scholarship in the book provided an important service to subsequent students of African history. In uncovering the on-site investigators of an earlier era, he pointed historians to important research data which had all but been forgotten. Even in the present day, the facts Du Bois reintroduced through The Negro are currently utilized by scholars.⁸⁵

Not one to invent scientific myths in order to build up the racial ego, and unable to make a personal pilgrimage to the African continent, Du Bois dug up key primary source materials in order to support his arguments about African contributions.⁸⁶ The effect of his little book was that its authenticity offered to African Americans supportable proofs that they, indeed, had obtained the highest levels of civilization in the centuries before their race was removed from their home continent. After the book's publication,

blacks no longer needed to accept the myth, that the only cultural achievements they had made were those grafted onto them by their European captors, or that prior to their enslavement, their people were products of a vast cultural and historical wasteland. Du Bois had yet again provided African Americans with another coating to their intellectual armor in their ongoing battle against racist ideology.⁸⁷

As all art was propaganda to Du Bois, so was all of history. While he held scientific facts and unadulterated truth in the highest regard, he recognized too that history was also inherently subjective, therefore malleable to the various interpretations of individual historians. His personal choice was to utilize history to argue his own people's case from his pro-African American point of view.⁸⁸

Du Bois undertook this approach of arguing history for propagandistic purposes when he wrote, John Brown in 1909; a biography about the white abolitionist who championed the cause of black emancipation in the 1800s. Du Bois put forth a propagandistic message in the biography of this tragic elderly abolitionist by making a case against slavery.

Du Bois's main thesis in the book was that "the cost of liberty is less than the cost of oppression;" that is, that in the long run, it would have been less costly to the

nation in terms of destruction of human lives and property, to have emancipated and enfranchised blacks, than to have kept them enslaved and subordinate.⁸⁹

Similarly, Du Bois argued courageously for blacks in a paper he presented before the American Historical Association in 1910, entitled "Reconstruction and Its Benefits." He presented his thesis about unacknowledged black contributions to the cause of Reconstruction, which reportedly provoked intellectual strain in Ulrich B. Phillips, a white protagonist of the slave south, who was present in the audience of historians.⁹⁰ For this type of intellectual boldness, George P. Rawick correctly credited Du Bois with being a "mighty exception among black historians because he raised new questions rather than simply responded to views of white scholars."⁹¹

Du Bois consistently demonstrated intellectual courage in his scholarly pursuits, as he not only fearlessly raised new questions, but boldly criticized white historians who made their fame and fortune through the racist historical studies they published. Ulrich B. Phillips wrote American Negro Slavery in 1918 and Life and Labor in the Old South in 1929. As these works glorified the slavery system in the south, Du Bois often made Phillips a target of his severe,

unrelenting criticism from the pages of The Crisis.⁹²

After Du Bois left Atlanta University in 1910 to work full-time as a protagonist writer for the NAACP, he continued to engage in scholarly pursuits, along with creative writing ventures. He invested his energies into developing the scholarship of the talented tenth when he launched Phylon, a journal of sociology on blacks.⁹³ He continued to write books, convene conferences, and lecture at various universities to the end of his life.⁹⁴

Above all, Du Bois's intellectual leadership was transformational because he sought to make all scholarship-sociological and historical-, active agents in the study of sociological change. Du Bois sought scholarship that would explain the processes and principles which would help produce the kind of society that would ultimately benefit all groups of people.⁹⁵

Inspirational Leadership

As a scholar, Du Bois's outreach and ability to inspire his own, and subsequent generations, was limited by the social mores of his day. His influence suffered from the intellectual ghetto where he and other black scholars were isolated. Segregation was the lifestyle for blacks, and the

period between 1896 through 1914 was, in Francis Broderick's words, "the most oppressive era in the history of black America since the Civil War."⁹⁶ Historian Rayford Logan called it the Nadir.⁹⁷ Black scholars were likewise affected by this status of maximal caste; their scholastic achievements were largely ignored.

Although a small portion of Du Bois's intellectual labors were recognized by a few important journals now and again, the greater mass of his research contributions remained submerged, with only their tips revealed above the murky depths of the imposed apartheid. In fact, by the time African American intellectuals were slowly being allowed access into the world of white scholarship around the middle of the twentieth century, Du Bois's earlier sociological studies were all but forgotten, especially as he became more highly recognized as a writer of propagandist literature for civil rights.

Research has shown that current students of sociology have in their minds only a faint or blurred image of Du Bois as an intellectual, but no image of him as a sociologist.⁹⁸ It is probable that, over many years, scholars have unknowingly been inspired by Du Bois, have even directly used ideas developed from his research, but not properly

credited him.⁹⁹

Du Bois's greatest influence as an inspirational leader by way of his scholarship, therefore seems to have been mainly confined to the African American community, and to the intellectually inclined portions of the black community at that. His social and historical studies, unlike his novels, were not written for the purpose of mass appeal. The main individuals whom Du Bois inspired the most through his research were other black scholars of his era, such as his students at Atlanta University. Du Bois's very presence instilled a sense of dignity and pride.

In 1974, Yancy conducted oral taped interviews with some of Du Bois's former students and colleagues from the time he was a professor at Atlanta University, 1897 through 1910, and from 1933 through 1944. The consensus among those Yancy interviewed, was a feeling of pride in having at Atlanta one of the few black Ph.D.s in the nation.¹⁰⁰ The fact that Du Bois held a Harvard Ph.D. had made them doubly proud.¹⁰¹ One of his former students said that Du Bois "pushed you to do your best," and that through discussions, "he inspired you to think."¹⁰² He however, was reportedly also a "hard task master."¹⁰³ As a college professor, his assignments were often lengthy but interesting.¹⁰⁴ His

colleagues remembered him as being warm and gracious toward his intimate friends, but having a general air of intellectual snobbery and aloofness in his day-to-day interactions with others. He reportedly said that he had gotten his Ph.D. in the day when Ph.D.s were Ph.D.s¹⁰⁵

Du Bois's original vision regarding his scholarly pursuits was that all society would be improved as the truthful scientific findings about Africans, American blacks, and their contributions to the world community, were interjected into the national psyche.¹⁰⁶ Du Bois's firm commitment to the objective collection of data encouraged other black scholars to conduct scientifically precise research also. In so doing, he was a successful transformational leader.

One historian who credited his own sense of inspiration to the high level of scholarship found in Du Bois's book, The Negro (1915), was William Hansberry. He believed that Du Bois played a major role in his career by inspiring him with an early understanding of African history. He wrote of those days:

Being then quite ignorant of the fact that under the combined influence of ethnocentrism and colonialism there were wide-spread tendencies in certain circles in the Western world to ignore or suppress most types of 'Africana' which presented

black peoples in a favorable light, I was tempted at the time, I confess, to wonder if it were indeed true as was then commonly believed, that Black Africa was altogether devoid of any history worthy of serious academic concern...It was Dr. Du Bois who rescued me from the horns of these academic dilemmas... I learned for the first time of the former existence of great knowledge and empires which covered the greater part of the rest of Black Africa during these periods which European historians were wont to style late antiquity, the Middle Ages and early modern times.¹⁰⁷

Even among non-scholarly people, Du Bois's influence was inspirational. C. Wesley said of his influence that, for many, he was "more than a historian; he was an advocate, a crusader, a critic, a teacher, a booster of morale, and one who continuously urged that the darker peoples in the United states need not be ashamed of being Negroes."¹⁰⁸

For the black masses, Du Bois provided a type of inspirational leadership through scholarship, especially through the pages of The Crisis, where he offered academic treatises on social and historical aspects of the Negro problem, African issues, and general topics about blacks in America.¹⁰⁹ Although many readers may not have understood all the nuances of his various scientific arguments, Du Bois's signature alone upon any expository was often enough to produce mass acceptance and approval.

Through his scholarship as a historian and sociologist, Du Bois inspired many, and his influence on society, especially among other black scholars, was transformational. Thorpe, a historian and commentator on black academic achievement, observed that: "when Dr. Du Bois appeared, he gave to his people a sense of pride. The Race had had scholars before, but not one of such distinction and influence. To younger men, accordingly, he became an inspirer and a challenge."¹¹⁰

Du Bois's inspirational leadership was somewhat muffled by the social forces of his day, but increasingly in the present era, his pioneering sociological and historical research efforts are slowly being rediscovered and lauded. Their significance to the early development of social science in America is finally being given their respectful place in the national academic community. Perhaps through his early work, Du Bois may yet inspire future generations, enriching the whole human family by his commitment to scientific truth.

Shared Leadership

Because Du Bois was a man of monumental visions, he never assumed that he could carry all of them out without a

cadre of other leaders assisting him in realizing his dreams. Du Bois viewed scholastic research of the Negro problem as a precursor to concrete action through resolutions developed to improve blacks' social conditions. He willingly shared ideas with other black leaders, sometimes to the detriment of his own personal advancement.

In response to findings from the investigations on black businesses, Du Bois suggested at the 1899 Atlanta Conference that a national Business Man's League be formed, which would be comprised of local and state branches. The following year, without ever having giving credit to Du Bois for the original idea, Booker T. Washington, who was familiar with the Conference and the accompanying resolution, formulated the "National Business League."¹¹¹

But Du Bois was a man more driven by the desire to see the fruition of his dreams than by their proper accreditation. Du Bois displayed true transformational leader spirit by his continual willingness to share his labors with other leaders so that the black community would be subsequently enriched.

Toward this goal, Du Bois seemed to consistently allow himself to be subservient to the leadership of Booker T. Washington during the height of Washington's control in the black community from 1900 through 1915. The historical

venture of writing biographies, for instance, was one in which Du Bois made way, perhaps unwittingly, for the leadership of Washington. When in 1909, Du Bois was contracted by the George Jacobs publishing company to write a biography of Frederick Douglas for their American Crisis Biography series, the invitation was later retracted when Washington informed the company that he wanted to write it instead. Du Bois then accepted another contract to write a biography on the life of John Brown, which he did in 1909.¹¹²

Du Bois was undaunted by the resistance he met in other leaders, for he had plenty of ego of his own in reserve. He therefore often undertook cooperative ventures in scholarship with other black leaders without fear of reprisals. In 1907, Du Bois co-authored a book with Booker T. Washington entitled The Negro in the South, in which both authors contributed two essays each.¹¹³ Earlier also, in 1903, Du Bois had shared his conflicting point of view on classical education for blacks with other race leaders in a book entitled, The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative Negroes of To-Day. The sociological and educational philosophies of Washington, Du Bois, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, T. Thomas Fortune, Charles W. Chesnutt, H. T. Kealing, and Wilford H. Smith were explored.¹¹⁴ These

cooperative ventures among race leaders were helpful in promoting a sense of solidarity within the black community, although there were times when ideological conflicts disrupted this harmony. Nevertheless, even occasional conflicts were conducive to supporting an atmosphere of diversity of thought and opinion. In the long run, Du Bois perceived that there were benefits to working as a team with other leaders. Indeed, it was the theoretical foundation upon which his own philosophy of the Talented Tenth rested.¹¹⁵

In his Atlanta studies, especially later when he attempted to resurrect his one-hundred year plan of study of the black community, Du Bois desired to see a more cooperative effort between various black colleges in the nation.¹¹⁶ He believed that what Atlanta University had accomplished had been laudable, but his vision incorporated something even larger. He envisioned black colleges across the land fueling studies of black communities in their respective neighborhoods. This required the consolidated effort of multiple leaders, all sharing their scholastic talents.¹¹⁷

Du Bois's vision of the Encyclopedia Africa was also undertaken as a cooperative venture. When he began to make

his dream of the project public in 1909, he launched a national and world-wide appeal for scholars to share their knowledge and to make the necessary research contributions.¹¹⁸ Toward this end, Du Bois specifically hand-picked black scholars from America, Africa, and the West Indies to serve on the editorial board so that a black perspective would remain behind the thinking of the Encyclopedia. He then chose a white Board of Advisors to help guide the overall direction of the studies of the black scholars.¹¹⁹

Du Bois practiced the transformational style of shared leadership in his work as a scholar because he was able to see the broader vision of an improved society. For Du Bois, the propagation of truth was itself enough of a driving force, so that the means by which his visions were accomplished became subservient to the ends. If their attainment could have been effectively realized by the efforts of an individual, as with his single-handed interview work in Philadelphia, he was open to that possibility, but if by a contingent of other trained leaders, so much the better. Mostly what Du Bois espoused for uplift of the black community depended upon a strong coalition of other leaders consisting of an educated cadre,

or intellectual elite.¹²⁰

Du Bois's willingness to share leadership with others, followed the precepts of transformational leadership in that he also sought to transform his followers into leaders. Du Bois's ongoing dream throughout his scholastic career, was to promote social change through a seemingly scientific approach to leadership and group guidance.¹²¹ Du Bois saw that, although the educated black elite would initially lead the black masses, it was ultimately through the black collective that the messianic mission would be imparted to the world.¹²² That messianic mission incorporated a vision of an black intellectual or scholarly renaissance as much as a black cultural renaissance. And Du Bois foresaw that blacks would not only offer their creative genius to the world, but their latent intellectual talents as well. This would then help bring about the social and moral emancipation of society, through its enrichment by the contribution of its black citizens. Du Bois therefore shared his leadership as a scholar in the way he hoped it would be modeled by black leaders of subsequent generations.

Conclusion

Du Bois's scholarly activities between 1900 and 1930 demonstrate that he utilized the transformational style of leadership in his approach to serving the black American community. He was visionary in his capacity to foresee various research settings. He was visionary in his ability to perceive the possible outcomes of applying new scientific methods to exploring questions about the Negro problem in America. Although he was "openly and belligerently pro-black in his biases",¹²³ he nevertheless retained in his research a commitment to objectivity and truth in the researching of scientific facts. Du Bois remained true to his visions and served them well to the end of his life.

Just as his vision of black creative genius provoked him to be innovative in his own creative writing style, Du Bois's vision of scientific and historical processes in the future of African Americans fueled his own capacity to undertake pioneering research. His visions empowered him to be a fearless intellectual leader. Nearly fifty years after its publication, the famous Swedish sociologist, Gunnar Myrdal concluded that Du Bois's study, The Philadelphia Negro, was still a model study of a black community.¹²⁴

Aptheker, an avid student on Du Bois, best summed up Du Bois's role as an intellectual leader of black scholarship in an article entitled, "Du Bois as Historian."

He wrote:

Even in detail it was Du Bois who pioneered the study of the slave trade, who first pointed to the significance of the black people in the abolitionist movement, who contested the stereotype of the docile and contented slave, who helped illuminate the meaning of John Brown, who transformed approaches to the Civil War and Reconstruction, who pioneered in writing the history of African peoples, whose studies of Southern agriculture and of northern cities- in particular, Philadelphia remain massive and pioneering efforts in historiography.¹²⁵

Du Bois was able to perfectly blend his leadership role with that of scholarship because he was fueled by his intense vision to rectify past wrongs via scientific study. As a transformational leader, he utilized intellectual leadership to advantage, never in a contradictory mode. But both scholarship and leadership were artfully entwined in Du Bois's sagacious hands to the best advantage of social advancement. Henderson aptly noted, "that no matter how engrossed Du Bois was in the political struggles he engaged in with whites or Negroes, he always continued his research and writing."¹²⁶ Henderson further observed that, "Du Bois the scholar, always supplied Du Bois the leader, with a

generous store of facts and analysis and Du Bois, the leader, always supplied Du Bois, the scholar, with an equally generous store of empirical and theoretical problems to work at."¹²⁷

Du Bois was inspirational in his scholarship between 1900 and 1930. Du Bois had an amazingly large storehouse of energy through which he was able to produce his visions in concrete form. He lived to see the crystallization of most of his theories into practical applications. The sheer volume of his output was inspiring to many other scholars who looked to him for leadership. The black intellectual elite, though confined to an academic ghetto, were nevertheless able to take pride in their achievements via the efforts of Du Bois. He had helped make the research work at Atlanta University famous. At one level, the work done there could be claimed by them all, for it stood as a testament of black scholarly achievement in a day when black intellectual ability was constantly being questioned by the white scientific community.¹²⁸

Even Du Bois later on in his life recognized the spiritual significance of Atlanta for blacks as a institution which inspired, and by its very presence as a center of black social science research, annulled white

notions of black inferiority or scholarly incompetence. He wrote in his second autobiography about the influence of the Atlanta studies on the society of his day: "The significance of these studies lay not so much in what they were actually able to accomplish as in the fact that at the time of their publication, Atlanta University was the only institution in the world carrying on a systematic study of the Negro and his development, and putting the results in a form available for the scholars of the world."¹²⁹ So, on one level at least, Du Bois was able to realize his dream, that the scholars of both races would be uplifted through the intellectual contributions of the black race. In a segregated sense, the Atlanta studies were a partial fulfillment of this vision.

Finally, Du Bois was able to effectively share his leadership as a scholar with other black leaders. No doubt, his prolific visions left him with few choices other than to share them in order that they might one day all be realized. 'So many dreams and so many visions,' has been the perpetual cry of historians and sociologists alike, who have lauded Du Bois's astounding achievements, but who also have lamented the fact that, as Guzman exclaimed, "he spread himself too thin for greatness as a writer of history."¹³⁰

This same concern was echoed by novelists and other creative writers regarding Du Bois's lack of focussed attention to those fields. Historian William Hansberry also sighed over losing Du Bois as a full-time African historian to the concerns of civil rights activism when he wrote:

Had William Edward Burghardt Du Bois been free, or inclined, to limit his efforts to prying out and piecing together the surviving remnants of the torn and tattered annals detailing the story of the Ageless Africa's pristine past, he might well have turned out to be an African Homer and Herodotus rolled into one; for he was by temperament and talent not only a potentially great epic poet but a pre-eminent historian as well. Du Bois elected, however, to restrict himself to no single branch of human endeavor but chose rather to work untiringly for numerous human causes which many extraordinary natural endowments enabled him to serve so well.¹³¹

Others have observed that, Du Bois, as a cross-disciplinary scholar, was one whose vision and scholarship knew no provincial limits.¹³² Perhaps his fluid ideological perspective on life was the highest form of transformational leadership. He had the ability to cross and recross acceptable disciplinary boundaries; to unearth new trails, but then leave their ultimate explorations and the subsequent discoveries within them to future pioneers.

Du Bois was a man who truly achieved greatness as a scholar in the black community. He said of himself: "My leadership was wholly in ideas. I never was, nor ever will

be personally popular...but I sought all the more to force home essential ideas."¹³³

A man of ideas, Du Bois also put his thoughts into measurable action. As a scholar, he helped transform society by alleviating negative and outmoded notions regarding the African American's contribution within that society. His work and influence testify to his powers as a transformer. The late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. paid a high tribute to Du Bois, the scholar in this fitting commentary:

History cannot ignore W. E. B. Du Bois because history has to reflect truth, and Dr. Du Bois was a tireless explorer and a gifted discoverer of social truths. His singular greatness lay in his quest for truth about his own people. There were very few scholars who concerned themselves with honest study of the black man and he sought to fill this immense void. The degree to which he succeeded discloses the great dimensions of the man.¹³⁴

Notes

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17. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, 58.

18. Thorpe, "W. E. B. Du Bois," 76.

19. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, 67-68.

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21. W. E. B. Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk. Essays and Sketches (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1903; repr. New York: Fawcett Publishers, Inc., 1961), See especially chaps. 2, 6, 7.

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23. Lewis, W. E. B. Du Bois, 218-223.

24. W. E. B. Du Bois, The Negro (New York: Henry Holt, 1915); Du Bois "The Hands of Ethiopia," in Darkwater: Voices From Within the Veil (New York: Arno Press 1920; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1969), 56-73.

25. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, 231, 322-323.; W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth," in The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative Negroes of Today, ed. Ulysses Lee (New York: James Pott and Company, 1903; repr. Arno Press, 1969), 33-75.

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CHAPTER 5

A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISM

Forgive us good Lord; we know not what to say!
Bewildered we are and passion-tossed, mad
with the madness of a mobbed and mocked and
murdered people; straining at the armposts of
Thy throne, we raise our shackled hands and charge
Thee, God, by the bones of our stolen fathers,
by the tears of our dead mothers, by the
very blood of Thy crucified Christ: What
meaneth this? Tell us the plan; give us the sign!

Du Bois, A Litany at Atlanta

In the Jim Crow car of a train on his way back to Atlanta University to check on the welfare of his wife and daughter, Du Bois hastily penned the "Litany at Atlanta." It was an anguished release of his pent up emotions over the racial rioting then occurring in that city. The rioting subsequently ended in the lynching of Sam Hose, whose knuckles were later displayed in a downtown store window.¹ There had been rioting and racial upheaval within the nation before, yet the event in Atlanta became a pivotal point for Du Bois; the point at which he completely lost faith in the ability of scholarly research to positively impact the social condition of blacks in America. He recalled his feelings about his conscious decision to take a more radical

stance in civil rights activism as a result of the riot:

"First, one could not be a calm, cool and detached scientist while Negroes were lynched, murdered and starved; and secondly, there was no such definite demand for scientific work of the sort that I was doing, as I had confidently assumed would easily be forthcoming."²

As had been shown in the previous chapter, Du Bois did continue scholarly research and writing through to the end of his life, but especially after 1906, his purposes were propagandistic. Between 1900 and 1930, Du Bois poured forth all his physical, emotional and intellectual energies with the goal of effecting positive change for his people. Indeed, the world in which he lived over that period became an increasingly cruel dwelling for all Americans of African descent.

For the early part of the century, many blacks were lynched and battered. Between 1895 through 1906, Booker T. Washington enjoyed the zenith of power in the black national community through near oppressive control of the press, and of key political appointments. By 1904, most Southern states had effectively disenfranchised their black citizenry. In 1905 Du Bois and other black radicals publicly revolted from Washington's censorship by instituting the

Niagara Movement at Fort Erie, Ontario.³

Other protest and protection groups were formed by blacks throughout the nation. In 1904, blacks in Augusta, Atlanta, Columbia, New Orleans, Mobile and Houston organized their own transportation networks in protest of the Jim Crow cars within their cities. Blacks in Austin, Nashville, and Havannah followed suit in 1906. In New York in 1905, The National League for the Protection of Colored Women was formed. And the Equal Rights Association came together in Macon Georgia in 1906 for the express purpose of publicly protesting Washington's conflicting ideology.⁴

Even with all this, race riots continued to break out and became the scourge of the nation throughout the first part of the twentieth century. A riot in 1906 erupted in Springfield, Ohio, resulting in the dishonorable discharge of three companies of black militia. Over 4,200 military personnel were called to Springfield, Illinois, in 1908 to put down a riot there. But by far, the bloodiest rioting occurred during the so-called Red Summer of 1919 when there were a reported 25 riots in the nation, the largest of which occurred in Chicago. 1919 was also the year when the Ku Klux Klan was revitalized as a white supremacist organization.⁵

Such was the setting of violence for Du Bois and other black leaders of his day. Violence was a concern shared by all, and not even prominent individuals were immune from it. In 1911, for instance, the entire black community, those who agreed with Booker T. Washington's policies, and those who were his staunch critics, nevertheless rallied their support around this important leader after he had been beaten in New York City for allegedly approaching a white woman.⁶

In response to all the disenfranchisement, the lynching, rioting, and other violence perpetrated against blacks during this time, important civil rights organizations and movements were formed. In 1911, Marcus Garvey made his appearance on the scene with his colorful Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). The organization appealed especially to the black masses whose sense of self-esteem and purpose were boosted through Garvey's parades of uniformed Black Cross Nurses and his instituting a Black Star Line Shipping company. The National Urban League was also formulated in 1911, for the purpose of supporting the black economic community. In 1910, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded mainly by white liberals, who were incensed against the nation's ill treatment of blacks.

Du Bois was one of its founding members.⁷

In the turbulent world in which he lived, Du Bois keenly began to feel the call to leave the somewhat protective academic environment at Atlanta University and give full time service to civil rights. He did this initially when he responded to Monroe Trotter's appeal to form the Niagara Movement in 1905. Later, he made a fuller commitment when he resigned from Atlanta University in 1910 in order to begin his career as a propagandist writer for the NAACP's Crisis magazine.

Throughout the first three decades of the century, Du Bois answered the call, and along with other black leaders, helped transform American society. He demonstrated transformational leadership characteristics in his ongoing quest for civil rights and civil liberties. Du Bois was a true visionary leader in this respect because, in terms of freedom, he maintained a broad focus, not restricting the concept of freedom only to the concerns of blacks in America. Aptheker noted that "Du Bois thought in the largest terms, He viewed the efforts for the liberation of the American Negro as part of the effort for the freeing of Africa, and that in turn as a part of the effort to break the shackles of colored peoples everywhere, and that in turn

as decisive in accomplishing the liberation of all mankind."⁸ In this respect, Du Bois was a unique voice even among the cadre of black leaders who shared similar concerns about the race issue during that era of violence. Marcus Garvey for instance, spouted "back to Africa" ideologies and had vision, which mainly embraced the black citizens of America and perhaps the West Indies, but certainly not people of color the world over. As American blacks were so involved with their own basic needs for safety and security, they had little time to focus on the social condition of African blacks on the far side of the globe.

Du Bois was also an intellectual leader in the cause of civil rights, for he recognized the need to extend the concept of liberty to blacks beyond the national borders. As a true transformational leader, he challenged African Americans to think deeper than their own parochial concerns. In addition, he urged them to look beyond the surface rewards of freedom such as the right to vote or to ride in integrated motor cars, to the more enduring effects of freedom such as the right to exercise their judgement and critical thinking abilities. He especially challenged the intellectual elite, his Talented Tenth, to forgo their quest for mere monetary gains in exchange for working toward the

development of a moral society.' He consistently engaged the white as well as the black community in discussions about civil rights through his monthly copy in The Crisis magazine.

Du Bois demonstrated his ability as an inspirational leader. Again, his Crisis editorials became the platform by which he inspired not only his elitist group, the Talented Tenth, but all blacks who read his copy, especially parents. He urged parents to rear the next generation of black children as little warriors in the battle for civil rights.¹⁰ Through his inclusion of a monthly article for black children entitled, "As the Crow Flies," Du Bois sought to communicate to black youth that they were beautiful like the black crow, which flew with the wings of freedom.¹¹ Du Bois's main purpose as an inspirer was that all generations of the black community, young and old, would embrace the vision he had of an emancipated people, whose liberation would subsequently emancipate the world.

Finally, Du Bois was a leader who believed in shared power. This belief in the need to join forces with other leaders for the cause of civil rights, was the very philosophy which continually brought him into ideological battles with the power-monopolizing Booker T. Washington.

Du Bois nevertheless demonstrated moral courage during the height of Washington's reign by openly challenging the dictatorial style of leadership which effectively stifled any opposing viewpoints. Du Bois, in fact, welcomed new ideas. Even the unusual approach of Marcus Garvey, Du Bois criticized, but also generously allowed room for, by way of explanation in several issues of his Crisis.¹²

The major way Du Bois demonstrated his ability with shared leadership was through his theory of the Talented Tenth of black leaders. More than others, these were the men and women he continually sought to develop between 1900 and 1930, so that through their strengthened hands, every vision of his glorious future for blacks would be realized without hindrance.

Visionary Leadership

Ideas are powerful forces, and bubbling on the back burner of Du Bois's mind as they had been for over twenty years, his imagined concept of a cadre of trained black leaders, began to overflow in the early decades of the twentieth century. The seeds of his thinking about a Talented Tenth could be traced to his boyhood reminiscences regarding the need for the black men of his Berkshire,

Massachusetts community to take a more active role in exercising their voting privileges.¹³

Not many years later, while still in his teens at Fisk University, Du Bois envisioned a group of trained black leaders helping to emancipate the black masses. His idea was patterned after his newest historical hero, Otto von Bismarck.¹⁴ Du Bois further solidified the intellectual base for his vision of a Talented Tenth when he was introduced to the ideology of the British elitist, Thomas Carlyle, during his training at Harvard and Berlin. In Carlyle, Du Bois apparently found support for the notion that effective leaders made the greatest contribution to the service of their followers when they set aside their own aspirations for material success in favor of knowledge and social responsibility.¹⁵ This aspect of his vision, which focussed on heroic self-denial by leaders, was one which Du Bois embraced throughout his life. It was also one which eventually caused him much anguish in his later years as he witnessed more and more of the college educated, and increasingly socially emancipated black youth, discard racial uplift ideologies in exchange for attending to personal aspirations.¹⁶

Du Bois carried his mental perception of leadership throughout his tenure as a researcher in Philadelphia. In the last pages of his work, The Philadelphia Negro, he proselytized, as he had begun to do in all of his serious writing from that point onward, about the need for the more privileged members of the black society to band together in order to assist in the social, cultural, and intellectual liberation of the masses.¹⁷

By the time Du Bois fully expressed and outlined the details of his vision in his published article, "The Talented Tenth," in 1903 he had added to his ideological repertoire several examples of outstanding black leaders who had had measurable influence on African Americans in the not-so-distant past. He counted among his heroes in his article, and later in his book, The Souls of Black Folk, such individuals as Phyllis Wheatley, Paul Cuffe, Benjamin Banneker, Ira Aldridge, and David Walker.¹⁸ Even the 'unknown civil rights soldiers' were included and listed among Du Bois's hall of fame as the "faithful Cudjoe or Dinah" of slavery days.¹⁹ Du Bois's clear vision of the Talented Tenth reached backward in time in order to insist that, if the special squadron had blessed the race with their presence in latter days, they could rise once again,

making themselves present in the upcoming generations. He wrote:

Too little note has been taken of the work which the Talented Tenth among Negroes took in the Great abolition crusade. From the very day that a Philadelphia colored man became the first subscriber of Garrison's "Liberator," to the day when Negro soldiers made the Emancipation Proclamation possible, black leaders worked shoulder to shoulder with white men in a movement, the success of which would have been impossible without them. There was Purvis and Redmond, Pennington and Highland Garnett, Sojourner Truth and Alexander Crummel, and above all, Frederick Douglas -what would the abolition movement have been without them? They stood as living examples of the possibilities of the Negro race, their own hard experiences and well wrought culture said silently more than all the drawn periods of orators- they were the men who made American slavery impossible...

After Emancipation came a new group of educated and gifted leaders: Langston, Bruce and Elliot, Greener, Williams and Payne. Through political organization, historical and polemic writing and moral regeneration, these men strove to uplift their people.²⁰

Du Bois was determined that the present society in which he lived would once again embrace the vision of the cultured elite from bygone days in such a way that it would begin to reverse the violence and continued social degradation facing blacks in America. He defended his ideology about the need for a Talented Tenth. He sought to show that they were not an obsolete or unessential cadre, as they were reported to be by some leaders who espoused only agricultural or industrial education as the best method by

which to advance the race. He continued in his article about the Talented Tenth;

It is the fashion of to-day to sneer at them (the Talented Tenth of the abolition and Reconstruction periods) and say that with freedom Negro leadership should have begun at the plow and not in the Senate- a foolish and mischievous lie; two hundred and fifty years that black serf toiled at the plow and yet that toiling was in vain till the Senate passed the war amendments; and two hundred and fifty years more the half-free serf of today may toil at his plow, but unless he have political rights and righteously guarded civic status, he will still remain the poverty-stricken and ignorant plaything of rascals, that he now is. This all sane men know even if they dare not say it.²¹

Du Bois was the one individual who had the moral fortitude to dare say what had been simmering in his mind for the greater part of two decades. Visionary leaders who are transformational are not only guided by an image of new possibilities for social change, but, as has been shown, they also have an overwhelming desire to impart their vision to others so that it could be effectively realized. In this respect, Du Bois exercised visionary leadership for the development of the black community during the first decades of the 1900s. Time and time again, through his writing, public speaking engagements, and social activities, he set forth his visionary platform before the African American public, and also before anyone of the white community who

was willing to collaborate with him in assisting the vision to move forward. For he also knew that no matter how talented a tenth portion of his people were, they could not make the necessary strides, hindered as they had been by societal restrictions arising from the majority culture. Rather, he believed that their deliverance was bolstered through the assistance of their white friends in power. He, therefore, gave credit to those persons of the white race who had assisted blacks during the Reconstruction era of the South. "Out of the colleges of the North," he wrote, "came after the blood of war, Ware, Cravath, Andrews, Bumstead and Spence to build the foundations of knowledge and civilization in the black South."²² Du Bois recognized the fact that these men, along with the school teachers from New England, and other women, had been fueled by their own visions of a resurrected South, where all men, black as well as white, would one day participate equally in the American democracy. Du Bois attempted to rekindle the fires of their visionary torches because the social trends of the early 1900s threatened to extinguish their flames, and not only so, but to reverse the very gains these early pioneers of civil rights had made with great sacrifice to their own personal welfare.

Although Du Bois remained committed to his vision of the Talented Tenth for the greater part of his life, he was not nearsighted regarding the specific form or process which civil rights should take. A man with a kaleidoscope of ideas, he had the ability to view possibilities from a multitude of perspectives. This became especially evident as his philosophy about liberty began to incorporate a more global world view over the years. His broadening vision therefore allowed him at several points to consider the implications of socialism as a means of emancipation.

When the NAACP was founded, socialists were among the chief representatives of its founding members. Du Bois embraced the socialist doctrine in large measure because he perceived that, especially as the socialist revolution was then being played out in Russia, it was the best vehicle through which such enemies of his people as ignorance, illiteracy, poverty, racism, colonialism, imperialism and war could be fought.²³ Du Bois watched with interest the development of this ideology in Europe in order to see how it might translate to the concerns of blacks in America.

In 1910, he officially joined the Socialist Party, only to resign in 1912. The major problem he found with the Party was that, although Socialism was sympathetic to black

problems, he felt that the economic schemes it embraced ultimately worked to essentially erase cultural distinctions.²⁴ This notion of a homogeneous social structure ran contrary to Du Bois's belief in the importance of racial diversity. How else would blacks offer their unique gifts of culture and intellectual genius to the world unless they maintained their special ethnic identity?

Even though Du Bois perceived various problems with attempting to graft socialism onto black issues in America, he maintained a close identification with the ideals of socialism throughout his life. By World War I, Du Bois's thinking had evolved into a type of economic determinism whereby he was convinced that it was not ignorance which bred race prejudice, as he had believed in his early years as a scholar, rather it was the economic exploitation of blacks that contributed the most to the continued discrimination against them.²⁵

Du Bois's views expanded the more he traveled and understood worldwide social conditions, including white peasants throughout Europe as well as people of color in other nations. Finally, in his very late years, he fully embraced Communism, but almost as a type of protest against America's failure to deliver on its promised freedoms for

its black citizens. Gilman has argued that Du Bois always loved America because of the potential it offered to black people. Du Bois was, in fact, in love with the ideal of the "American Dream," but after a lifetime of pursuing it, he discovered that it was a dream which continually served up disappointments for black people instead of the promised realities.²⁶

Thus, as a jilted native son, at the age of ninety-three in 1961, and much to the consternation of blacks and whites alike, Du Bois renounced his American citizenship, embraced communism, packed his bags and moved to Acra, Ghana. There he died and was buried with national honors at the age of ninety-five.²⁷

Du Bois was a transformational leader who exercised vision in his leadership as a civil rights activist in the early decades of the twentieth century. With determination and forcefulness that never abated with age, Du Bois shared his vision of an improved world order which would be obtained in part through a portion of a trained black elite who moved forward, unfettered by concerns for mere material success. But Du Bois perceived a world in which all people would be equally free to make moral and social contributions to the world community.

As a visionary leader, Du Bois was successful in meeting his goal insofar as its success depended upon him. Some embraced his ideas, while others took what they believed to be the more practical route to social and racial integration; namely that of waiting patiently for society to confer upon them civil rights which it had long promised.

In the long run, history perhaps is a better judge of whether or not Du Bois's visions were eventually fulfilled. Some historians have surmised that in the short run, Booker T. Washington's scheme of social uplift, which utilized industrial education and gradualism in achieving civil rights, served blacks' immediate need for an undisturbed status quo in an already turbulent environment.²⁸ However, other researchers found that, over time, those blacks who advanced farthest toward the middle class American ideal were largely comprised of the college-educated individuals who had chosen to agitate and risk seeking their rights rather than wait for the winds of change to turn in their favor. For, as the society developed in the latter part of the century, ironically, there was an increasing demand for the skills of college-educated blacks more than for skilled black laborers. In fact, industrial trained blacks suffered more discrimination by white trade unions than did their

better educated brethren for whom the doors of opportunity began to swing open for employment in white collar jobs.²⁹

In the long run, blacks fared better under Du Bois's plan than Washington's, although neither man could have foreseen the extent to which the trade and labor unions would provide less access to aspiring blacks than would higher education. Thus, many African Americans over time were able to make inroads into acquiring a portion of the "American Dream" as their social conditions improved and they were empowered with the monetary resources to purchase better homes or relocate to better neighborhoods.

Du Bois saw the fruition of only part of his vision. In some ways it failed his greater expectations. Blacks, whether acknowledged or not, were Americans, and as products of American culture, they too began to embrace all the trappings of the capitalistic society of which they were a part. These included such notions as individualism, pride, independence, and striving for upward social mobility. They slowly began to relish their new-found access to the economic rewards of work as centuries of social constraints finally began slipping away. Many of the Talented Tenth therefore, like the Americans they were, turned aside from self-denial and from bearing the burden of attempting to

rectify all things wrong with their world. Instead, many of them began to embrace their new-found liberties. Perhaps against Du Bois's preferred choice for them, they instead basked in the afterglow of their forefather's hard fought victories and marched toward their American vision of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all."

Intellectual Leadership

Although Du Bois reflected on his leadership in the early part of the century and called it only 'one of ideas,'³⁰ Thorpe has rightly ascertained that Du Bois was a man of action as well as ideas.³¹ One look at his scheduled itinerary for any given week demonstrated his wealth of energy for traveling, lecturing, writing, holding seminars, supervising graduate students, representing the NAACP overseas, and a range of other activities. There is no doubt about the fact that Du Bois spent the greater part of the first three decades of the century engaging in activities which confronted the racist status quo in America. As an intellectual leader, he worked hard, courageously confronting, challenging and raising questions in the public mind about the place of blacks as citizens in the nation.

From all accounts, Du Bois was a fearless commentator on the racial social climate, yet his rise to true intellectual power in the struggle for civil rights, was reputedly rather more thrust upon him than one he actively sought. Beginning around 1902, Monroe Trotter, a Boston African American radical, who openly opposed Washington's oppressive hold on the black community, began to exert pressure upon Du Bois to publicly join his ranks. Du Bois was reluctant to make a break from Washington at first, most likely due to his belief in shared leadership, despite the opposing opinions of the two leaders. Nevertheless, over time, Washington's policies became too intolerable even for Du Bois, who finally made a stance by openly associating with Trotter and Trotter's Boston followers.³²

In 1905, therefore, and after much soul-searching, Du Bois broke from Washington to found a new movement which in part, had as its purpose, to rebel against Washington's accommodative stance by openly agitating for civil rights.

The Niagara Movement, as it was called, in many respects, was the tangible outgrowth of Du Bois's theory of the Talented Tenth. He made a national call for black leaders to meet in Ontario in 1905. For four consecutive years thereafter he began witnessing the fullness of his

theory in action. As a movement in motion, the Niagara cause -and the men and women who were party to it-, became living symbols of social confrontation and intellectual conflict. Rudwick has surmised that the Niagara Movement was, in fact, the first national organization which "aggressively unconditionally demanded the same civil rights for their people which other Americans enjoyed."³³

Du Bois, however was reportedly a reluctant leader at first. For although he was a champion of the causes of the masses, he was not naturally a "mass man." His somewhat shy and halting social posture hindered his desire to head up such a volatile national black organization during the reign of Booker T. Washington. Monroe Trotter, however, persisted in his quest to have Du Bois take the helm, because he recognized that, between 1903 and 1905, Du Bois become the nation's second most prominent black person. Trotter's new-fledged group of radicals had failed in their earlier effort to make their cause nationally significant. They recognized they needed an infusion of credibility that Du Bois's personality could lend to their national movement. Trotter's plan worked, and the Niagara Movement, headed up by this important African American, brought their concerns to the attention of black intellectuals across the nation.

Du Bois was elected the General Secretary, and for five years, he called national meetings of black leaders to converge in various locations in order to draw up resolutions concerning the civil rights struggle in America.³⁴

The first official meeting of the Niagara movement was held in Fort Erie, Ontario, with over 29 black leaders from across 17 states in attendance. Numerous important black newspapers such as the Washington Bee, the Chicago Conservator, and the Cleveland Gazette, and later, the movement's own journal, The Voice of the Negro, reported with interest the happenings of the conference. Du Bois helped draw up the first resolutions. These included:

1. Freedom of speech and criticism
2. An unfettered and unsubsidized press
3. The vote for African American men
4. The abolition of all color caste distinctions
5. The recognition of the principles of human
brotherhood as a practical present creed
6. The recognition of the highest and best human
training as a monopoly of no class or race
7. A belief in the dignity of labor
8. A united effort to realize these ideals under

wise and courageous leadership³⁵

Perhaps due to the age in which Du Bois and his Niagara group of Talented Tenth sought to become radical voices against racial discrimination and segregation, more than any other, the small Niagara movement faced keen opposition from Washington's followers. Washington's influence on the black press resulted in many negative reports about the movement which transpired over the five year period.

By the time the second conference convened in 1906 at Storer College in Harper's Ferry, Virginia, the anti-Niagara black leader, Kelley Miller had dubbed their "Manifesto" against racism "a wild and frantic shriek."³⁶ These resolutions and manifestos that the group drew up from year to year were fairly similar in nature to the eight original resolutions they had outlined during the first conference in 1905.

The third Niagara conference of 1907 was not invited back to Storer College because the school began to fear reprisals for hosting the group of radical social instigators. The meeting took place instead in Boston, Trotter's territory. In keeping with the trend of criticism waged against the band of social upstarts, the Indianapolis Freedman called that year's Niagara 'Address to the World,'

"a final shriek of despair."³⁷

Historian, Elliot Rudwick, criticized the Niagara men and women's efforts for 'simply meeting and passing resolutions,' without putting their ideas into specific activities. But even Rudwick admitted that the Niagara group, via their local branches in 17 states, did sponsor some test cases whereby Jim Crow laws were subsequently contested. In 1906 for instance, the group successfully appealed the case of Barbara Pope who had been fined for refusing to relocate into a Jim Crow riding car after the train she was on passed into the segregated state of Virginia.³⁸

The Niagara movement's 1907 "Address to the World" also demonstrated the group's willingness to take responsibility for black people's reactions to their urging the 500,000 free black voters in the North not to cast their vote in support of Taft, Roosevelt, or any other Republicans.³⁹ This in itself required much intellectual risk-taking and courage on their part.

When the fourth annual conference met in Oberlin, Ohio, in 1908, the growing signs of disunity and the intellectual tensions between Trotter and Du Bois were beginning to have a negative effect on the group's internal organization.

Their "Address to the Country" followed along similar lines as had all their previous resolutions. In addition, they suggested that blacks begin to purchase guns so that they might more efficiently defend themselves against the violence of white mobs.⁴⁰

The movement's final official meeting in 1909 at Sea Isle, New Jersey, found Du Bois the intellectual leader of a quickly disintegrating organization. Although Du Bois had not sought the position and was not a very good administrator in any event, still the rift between him and the more radical Trotter was the major contributing factor in the undermining of the group's goals. Du Bois therefore found himself again a lonely warrior in the fight to bring about social justice. Fifty delegates and guests were in attendance, but as another "Address to the Country" was offered, no members of the black or white press took much interest in the events and various proceedings.⁴¹

In 1910, the movement was dying. But it was revitalized at the twelfth hour by the formation of the NAACP. White liberals led by Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of the abolitionist, William Llyod Garrison, had for many years been meeting to discuss the social progress of blacks. The NAACP was formed in 1910 during a meeting in New York, with

Du Bois and others leaders in attendance. At that time many of the Niagara men and women joined the ranks of this more stable and financially secure movement.

Although the Niagara Movement was later absorbed into the NAACP, between 1905 and 1909, Du Bois demonstrated true intellectual leadership through his initial work with that civil rights organization. His particular ideology was embossed, almost as a personal signature, on all of the resolutions, manifestos and addresses the group presented. Even through the internal conflicts, Du Bois's thinking about how blacks were to secure their liberties was preeminent.

The movement's early demise can thus be blamed on several factors. More than the opposition which stemmed from the Washington-backed press and intelligentsia, the movement was consumed through the internal combustion of Trotter's extreme radical stance, Du Bois's ongoing conflict with Trotter's leadership approach, and the disunity among members which resulted from it. Another major constraint to the Niagara cause was that most blacks were, at least in their public behavior if not in their inward beliefs, ardent supporters of Washington's more passive approach to civil rights. The Niagara movement was, on the other hand, too

small a force in the larger schema of the contest for integration, and held to a stance far too radical than most people were willing to uphold during that early period.⁴²

Lastly, it has been noted that the Niagara men and women represented the black intellectual elite, and thus were psychologically too far removed from the day-to-day concerns of the masses. If Du Bois's Talented Tenth were going to be successful, they needed to translate their visions into actions more obtainable by the common working classes.⁴³ In this way, Booker T. Washington was able to more easily motivate the loyalty of black people with his practical solutions for building economic foundations based upon industrial education and an agricultural labor force. Du Bois's ongoing contention with the "captains of industry"; that is, white philanthropists, and with Booker T. Washington's so called 'Tuskegee Machine,' placed him in continual conflict with Washington and his supporters during much of the early decades of the twentieth century. Even after Niagara merged with the NAACP, and after Washington's passing in 1915, Du Bois waged some of his fiercest intellectual battles with proponents of accommodation.

Those who held to integrationist or accommodationist ideologies differed fundamentally from white supremacists or

black so-called 'Uncle Toms.' For, the latter two opposed any socio-political advances for black people whatsoever. Du Bois in fact had less debate with them since he knew that their viewpoints were alien enough from his own to be recognized as such by others. But those who spouted pro-black ideologies without demonstrating real commitment to the rights of blacks to participate fully in the American democracy, provoked Du Bois's greater sense of indignation. Accommodationists especially rubbed the integration-seeking Du Bois the wrong way philosophically due to their gradualist approach to civil rights and their willingness to allow blacks to settle for less than their full share of equality. His unwillingness to make certain concessions that would place limitations on black freedom therefore, brought him into constant intellectual battles with proponents of accommodation.

Along these lines, in a most revealing article by W. M. Tuttle Jr., entitled "W. E. B. Du Bois's Confrontation with White Liberalism During the Progressive Era," Tuttle published a copy of the transcript in which Du Bois, while residing in Atlanta, conversed with a white Episcopal clergyman from Atlanta, Cary Breckenridge Wilmer. This discussion, which took place on January 31, 1907, was the

first time either man had spoken face to face with a representative from the other race about issues of segregation. Neither man, in their subsequent lengthy careers of writing, ever made mention of the conversation.⁴⁴

The conversation between the two men demonstrated some of the thinking at the time about the issue of race in America. It was an exercise in true intellectual leadership on the part of Du Bois as he attempted to encourage a white Southerner and proponent of Washington's philosophy, to understand the concerns of African Americans living under the oppressive weight of segregation.

Blacks and whites in the South during Du Bois's day rarely had many personal social interactions with people outside their race beyond perhaps blacks working as housekeepers in white homes. The thoughts unearthed in this discussion shed light on the general philosophy of accommodationists and of "radicals," both of whom believed in social justice to some degree at least.

From Wilmer's comments throughout the conversation, it would seem that blacks were regarded by white accommodationists at the time as a weak child race. Also, this representative of white accommodation, or rather, benevolent racism, according to Tuttle's assessment,

believed that blacks should not focus their energies on disrupting the peaceful co-existence of the races, as he perceived Du Bois and his Niagara group were doing. Rather, Wilmer argued that blacks would be better off gradually obtaining the civil rights they desired by living morally and behaving like respectable citizens, abiding by all social laws humbly and without complaint. Wilmer believed that quiet, upstanding blacks might eventually shame whites into allowing them the liberties they desired when they were convinced and convicted by blacks' glowing behavior:

Wilmer: My last statement was an indictment of the educated colored man on account of the way in which he treats the occasional injustice arising from the separation in the street cars; that he puts a false emphasis upon that, and that if he would tell his own people, "don't worry about this, but see that your lives are above reproach, and so live that the white man will be ashamed to treat you with anything less than justice," he would help both races.⁴⁵

For Du Bois's part, he contended earnestly with Wilmer and pointed out the weaknesses of his various arguments. The most valuable rebuttal asserted that, although over the last decades blacks had increasingly shown that they were well mannered citizens, by working at respectable employment, maintaining descent homes and quietly rearing children, they had in fact suffered increasing levels of violence at the

hands of white mobs. It appeared to Du Bois, in fact, that the attempts of blacks to secure the civil rights due them by living upstanding lives as "good and humble" people was having the opposite effect on their welfare. The response by white people to their building "respectable" homes, schoolhouses, and churches, was an arsonist's torch and a burning cross. Du Bois observed that lynching more often was the answer a black man received whenever he questioned society's resistance to his attempts to exercise the rights he was supposedly free to enjoy:

Du Bois: There is no doubt that the the colored people of the South today are better property holders, that they are working harder, are more intelligent and that they are a more efficient group of people than they have ever been before, and on the other hand, right along with that, have come more oppressive laws, less money for their common schools, a greater tendency to mob violence, a greater tendency to inflict public humiliation on them, and a deeper determination to do everything to kill self-respect and stop the advance of this class of people.⁴⁶

Du Bois defended his stance for social integration of the races in all of his answers to Wilmer. Yet the "shocking radicalism" which Du Bois's argument represented was a request for only partial social integration, not intermarriage between men and women of the two races. The challenge which he and others in his camp made to America

was that blacks be afforded the same respect as whites, that blacks have the freedom to interact socially with whites without reprisals, that they be able to commune in integrated restaurants, schools, hospitals, public transportation systems, and places of business -even ride in integrated elevators without being physically, verbally or emotionally molested:

Du Bois: I mean to provide a larger opportunity for knowledge, sympathy and mutual understanding, and particularly a lessening of personal annoyance and insult. For instance, to come right down to specific cases: the latest and perhaps the most aggravating form of attempted separation is the separation on trains, streetcars and elevators.⁴⁷

This transcript of Du Bois's confrontation with white liberalism during the Progressive Era is an example of the way in which he exercised his skill as an intellectual leader for the cause of civil rights between 1900 and 1930. Repeatedly throughout these years, in his writings, public speeches, and in other ways, he took great risks in courageously confronting society about its attitudes and behaviors. Intellectual courage was most called for in an age when the social climate was highly fortified against the challenges of a would-be transformational warrior.

Du Bois at times throughout that period suffered numerous battle wounds due to his outspoken criticisms. One

of the most significant consequences was being forced to resign from Atlanta University in 1910. As Du Bois became more closely aligned with the radical Niagara movement, and his rift with the still popular Washington became publicly evident, the University's philanthropists, who financially endowed the school, began to pressure the institution to control Du Bois or else risk losing their funding.⁴⁸

Rather than relinquish his beliefs, in 1910 Du Bois resigned. For many years Du Bois had despised the city of Atlanta due to its racially oppressive atmosphere. He therefore welcomed the opportunity to relocate into the new offices of the NAACP in the relatively emancipated environment of New York City. For the next twenty years and more, Du Bois waged an impressive intellectual battle in the fight against segregation. Not only did he utilize his pen as a masterful propagandist weapon, but he continued to convene meetings and face his opposition as he had through the Niagara movement, and in his discussion with Cary Wilmer.

He poured his energies into the NAACP with the same fierceness of commitment he had done with all his other civil rights endeavors. His travels at home and abroad for the NAACP were undertaken for the purpose of enlightening

the public mind, both black and white, about areas where change was still needed. For example, he investigated and exposed the treatment of black troops in Europe during World War I, and looked into the events surrounding the American intervention in Haiti in 1915.⁴⁹ His revelations and commentaries about his findings were meant to provoke the black and white communities to revise their overall beliefs about race.

Especially, Du Bois continued to pour his energies into developing the promising contributions of the Talented Tenth. He lectured at their colleges, their social clubs and other places where he hoped they were developing into the thinking, speaking, acting, social combatants of the future.

Inspirational Leadership

When interviewed by researcher Dreer in 1956, Rev. George E. Stevens, pastor of a church in St. Louis, Missouri, offered this testimony about Du Bois's leadership as an inspiration to his own work of civil rights activism between 1903 and 1937. Rev. Steven's comment was: "I have been influenced most by W. E. B. Du Bois, who stressed the Negro's contending for his civil rights as expressed by our national Constitution. As God's champion of righteousness, I

must stand for right. Segregation by race was never right."⁵⁰

Du Bois confronted the social structure which supported a segregated nation during the height of Booker T. Washington's influence. Still, there was a large number of African Americans, (historians surmise possibly a "silent majority") who disagreed with Washington's stance but who felt powerless to do so openly, given the probable economic reprisals to their businesses, agencies, or personal social advancement. It was this very atmosphere of fearfulness about publicly criticizing other prominent black leaders which stirred Du Bois's contentional fires. His greatest influence, therefore, was perhaps his ability to stir in others the desire to actively lend their own voices to the cause of civil rights. His recounting about the former activities of the black Talented Tenth of the pre-abolition and Reconstruction days were his literary method of inspiring present and future generations to scale similar heights. But Du Bois was a man of action as well as of ideas. Between 1900 and 1930, he publicly engaged in certain activities which put a tangible face to his goal of a transformed society.

In 1917, for example, Du Bois led what was known as "The Silent Protest Parade." For years in The Crisis, Du Bois had exhorted black parents to train their children to become the next generation of soldiers in the battle for freedom. Through his "As the Crow Flies" article series, and earlier, through his two-year long monthly journal for black children, entitled The Brownies Book, he worked hard to instill a sense of self-worth into little black minds. In the Protest Parade against rioting and lynching in 1917, Du Bois became a living inspiration to parents and children. A now famous photograph of the event shows "Du Bois himself, attired in spats, sporting a beard and brandishing a cane, marching down Fifth Avenue in New York with scores of little children- many in the pre-school category following him with hands linked together."⁵¹ Du Bois was transformational in his leadership in the way he employed decisive actions as a means of inspiring others.

Henry Arthur Callis, who helped institute the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, recalled that as a young black man growing up in New England, Du Bois inspired him and his college friends. He attributed the fraternity's founding in part to the inspiration he and his fellows received from Du Bois:

I was enheartened by the Niagara Conference called in 1905 by Dr. Du Bois and held in July in a hotel on the Canadian side of the Niagara River. No American hotel would receive the twenty-nine men from fourteen states who met together and formulated the Niagara Manifesto- the first demand for full manhood rights of the American Negro after Reconstruction.

In September 1905, I was one of a half dozen of our young men entering Cornell University. We were serious. Dr. Du Bois had inspired us. In 1906 we formed a study group. We were convinced that leadership in the struggle to overcome race prejudice in America depended upon college trained young people. "the Talented Tenth," Dr. Du Bois had heralded as the hope of the Negro American rather than the humble servitor prescribed by Booker T. Washington's program. In a nation at the crest of uncurbed industrialization, the Washington philosophy had already been outmoded. In December 1906, the study club evolved into a fraternity and was incorporated under New York State laws for the purpose of stimulating education and developing leadership among Negroes in America.

During the spring of 1909, I traveled to the University of Michigan to establish our fifth chapter. A few weeks later Dr. Du Bois was speaking there. He learned of our movement and its purpose. He approved our young organization and gave Alpha Phi Alpha his blessing. He became our first honorary member...From the time of the Niagara Manifesto, William E. B. Du Bois has remained for me a beacon light of freedom in America.⁵²

Du Bois inspired many young people who comprised his Talented Tenth between 1900 and 1930. Despite the risk required to take a stance against "outmoded philosophies," there were numerous young men and women to whom Du Bois was a prominent inspirational leader in the battle for civil rights. The great black song stylist and actor, Paul

Robeson recalled Du Bois's influence in his own life. In the early twentieth century, Robeson was considered one of the up and coming Talented Tenth. He declared:

We Negro students joined the NAACP which Dr. Du Bois helped to organize and build; we read religiously The Crisis, of which he was the editor for so many years, and in which he wrote clearly, constructively and militantly on the complex problems of the American scene, on the Negro question, on Africa and on world affairs. He called upon the American people, and particularly upon the whole labor movement, to understand the need for unity in the struggle of the working masses, including the Negro for a decent standard of living.

We spoke of Dr. Du Bois as Our Professor, The Doctor, The Dean, with great respect, paid close attention to his pronouncements, and many of us followed him proudly marching down New York's Fifth Avenue in a protest parade led by the NAACP for civil rights.

Dr. Du Bois talked and wrote and marched for civil rights. He insisted upon first-class citizenship for all Americans, upon full equality of opportunity, dignity, legal rights for us all. And he directed universal interest and attention to our Negro history and our rich African ancestry, to give us a solid background for our struggle.

All this was way back many, many years ago, long before I graduated from college in 1919. Our good doctor, this great man, understood our situation and our world, and was often the lone but clarion voice pointing out the urgent need for change.⁵³

Thus, through writing, lecturing, and determined action Du Bois was a leader who inspired others to greater action. These leaders in turn went on to transform their world, even as their own thinking had initially been transformed by the witness of Du Bois.

Shared Leadership

In nearly every generation it seems, African Americans have looked upon perhaps one or two outstanding black leaders as their premier chieftains in the cause of civil rights for that specific era. Oftentimes in the history of the struggle, two major leaders working toward similar goals have nevertheless run into conflict over their varying approaches to addressing the issues of race in America. Richard Allen and Paul Cuffe, for example, were unsettled about plans to colonize blacks to Africa in 1814. Frederick Douglass and Charles Lenox Redmond in the mid nineteenth century sometimes found themselves at ideological odds.⁵⁴ Du Bois and Booker T. Washington had their struggles in the early part of the twentieth century, and after Washington's death, Du Bois bumped ideological heads for a brief period with the ostentatious and popular Marcus Garvey. Du Bois, however, believed in the power of shared leadership.

Even though Du Bois firmly believed in the shared leadership of the Talented Tenth he recognized the fact that these trained individuals still needed to be coached in their role. He perceived that they needed a set of guiding principles advocated by key leaders who would help direct

the movement. Du Bois also believed that it was important for those in key positions of power to maintain close touch with the thinking of their followers. He felt that leaders must be willing to be open to the diversity of opinions, viewpoints, even criticisms their followers offered. This philosophy about the need for a symbiotic relationship between leaders and followers, clearly designated Du Bois as transformational in his approach to developing the gifts of the Talented Tenth. Du Bois's major rift with Washington therefore was not so much that the Tuskegee Principal approached the issue of civil rights from the perspective of accommodation. In fact, Du Bois and Washington were not so opposed to each other's ideas as perhaps has been suggested. Reflecting years later on his relationship with Washington, Du Bois himself analyzed the two perspectives when he wrote: "I believed in the higher education of a Talented Tenth who through their knowledge of modern culture could guide the American Negro into higher civilization...Mr. Washington and others on the other hand believed that the Negro as an efficient worker, could gain wealth and that eventually through his ownership of capital, he would be able to achieve a recognized place in American culture and then could educate his children as he might wish and develop

their possibilities...These two theories of Negro progress were not absolutely contradictory."⁵⁵ Neither of these two leaders were entirely opposed to the ideas of the other's, for even Washington sent his own children to college, and Du Bois did recognize the need for industrial training as a the only viable alternative for some people.⁵⁶

What then was the pivotal source of conflict for Du Bois regarding Washington's policies, especially as Du Bois believed in the shared leadership of the Talented Tenth? It was this very point at which Du Bois made an ideological departure from Washington's camp. Du Bois's main argument with Washington was the fact that Washington disallowed any open disagreement with his own viewpoints. Those who dared to present a critique of Washington's decisions were effectively silenced in the black press or prevented from career advancements. Washington's opinions often swayed much the black press. And certain whites who controlled jobs open to the black community often consulted him before appointing blacks to key positions. Du Bois himself felt the power of Washington's displeasure when, after having publicly aired his differences with him through his many barbed writings, Du Bois was repelled when he attempted to apply for the position of an Assistant

Superintendent of Washington D. C.'s black public schools in 1907. Du Bois felt fairly certain that Mr. Washington, who had the ear of powerful white leaders nationally, offered negative recommendations about him, and thus effectively blocked his appointment to the position. He made mention of it in his last Autobiography: "I was not called upon to decide, for forces started moving in Washington. The Tuskegee Machine backed by white capital was definitely against me and they involved the local interests of the Negro group. A prominent colored member of the school Board took the matter straight to President Theodore Roosevelt and emphasized the 'danger' of my appointment."⁵⁷

Du Bois's chapter, "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," in his Souls of Black Folk, clearly outlined his major disagreements with the Tuskegee principal's tendency to terrorize opposing voices into silence:

Among his own people, however, Mr. Washington has encountered the strongest and most lasting opposition, amounting at times to bitterness, even today continuing strong and insistent even though largely silenced in outward expression by the public opinion of the nation. Some of this opposition is, of course, mere envy; the disappointment of displaced demagogues and the spite of narrow minds...But the hushing of the criticism of honest opponents is a dangerous thing. It leads some of the best of the critics to unfortunate silence and paralysis of effort, and others to burst into speech so passionately and intemperately as to lose listeners.

Honest and earnest criticism of writers by readers, of government by those governed, of leaders by those led,- this is the soul of democracy and the safeguard of modern society.⁵⁸

Du Bois believed that in an honest democracy, there was room for a multitude of opinions. Earlier, before Du Bois published The Souls of Black Folk, and the rift between him and Washington became nearly irreparable, Du Bois's belief in shared leadership caused him to despair over their increasing conflict. Du Bois at first spent much time considering possible ways to repair the breach. He did this in 1902 by inviting Washington to address the Atlanta University Conference on the Black Artisan. Washington, however, reportedly behaved very badly at the occasion. He offended his hosts in his speech by criticizing liberal arts college education for blacks. Even so, Du Bois despaired of breaking away from Washington, for he still held some admiration for him as a symbol of achievement on behalf of the black national community⁵⁹

Du Bois even considered a scheme of shared labor between Atlanta University and Hampton Institute, Washington's alma mater, whereby Atlanta would work on what it did best; that is, empirical research. In turn, Hampton would offer its best gifts to the effort of social uplift by

translating Atlanta's theoretical findings into practical applications. These ideas were abandoned however once Du Bois's Souls went to press with its scathing analysis of Washington.⁶⁰

After he published his confrontational book and subsequent articles, attempts were still made by others to bring the thoughts of the two leaders into better conjunction lest the bitterness of their argument cause irrevocable damage to the entire black community. With this aim in mind, a group of powerful white philanthropists, including Andrew Carnegie, Lyman Abbot and others, convened a meeting in New York in 1904 in which Du Bois and Washington were invited along with fifty other national leaders. At the conference Du Bois and Washington were appointed together to head up a "Committee of Twelve" comprised of black leaders from across the nation whose aim was to work together in unison for civil rights. Du Bois suspected that the philanthropists' true mission for calling the conference was to neutralize his critical voice by winning him over to Washington's camp, thus dissolving his influence over other black leaders who also took issue with Washington. Consequently, Du Bois resigned his position with the Committee that same year.⁶¹

So, for much of the years 1900 - 1915, Du Bois's venture into shared leadership meant that he had to oppose Washington and his policies in order that all perspectives might be heard. He utilized the pages of The Crisis as a sounding board, not only for his own editorials, but he also gave other leaders the opportunity to present their viewpoints, even if it was against his own leadership. Du Bois had a sensitive ego, but he had little choice other than to live out the precept of shared leadership with others. This in itself was a brave stance and a trademark of transformational leadership: the willingness to give audience to all perspectives, even those which conflict with one's own.⁶²

After the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915, Du Bois ran into opposition with another leader, the Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey. True to his policy of seeking interaction with other leaders, Du Bois attempted to develop a communication link between Garvey's organization and the NAACP in 1919 . But Garvey was suspicious of the mostly white supporters and white Board of Directors in what was touted as a black organization. Garvey never did make friendly connections with Du Bois; rather, he soundly criticized Du Bois in his organization's journal, Negro

World, accusing Du Bois of being ashamed of his race, of reveling in the French blood that supposedly flowed through his veins. In another occasion, Garvey openly accused Du Bois in a speech presented before the 1920 Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) convention. He proclaimed:

Where did he [Du Bois] get this aristocracy from? He just got it into his head that he should be an aristocrat and ever since that time has been keeping his very beard as an aristocrat; he has been trying to be everything else but a Negro. Sometimes we hear he is a Frenchman and another time he is Dutch and when it is convenient he is a Negro (Derisive cheers and laughter). Now I have no Dutch, I have no French, I have no Anglo-Saxon to imitate; I have but the ancient glories of Ethiopia to imitate. (Great applause). The men who built the Pyramids looked like me, and I think the best thing I can do is to keep looking like them. Anyone you hear always talking about the kind of blood he has in him other than the blood you can see, he is dissatisfied with something, and I feel sure that many of the Negroes of the United States of America know that if there is a man who is most dissatisfied with himself, it is Dr. Du Bois.⁶³

Garvey, a stocky, dark-skinned man, believed that he was a "purer" black person who identified with the African Diaspora more than some others because his own facial features, along with those of most of his followers, were characteristic of people from the original African homeland. He accused Du Bois's Talented Tenth, on the other hand, of catering mainly to the concerns of light-skinned blacks, who

felt themselves to be above the darker complexioned masses.⁶⁴ This accusation was weak because there were many dark-skinned black leaders who closely followed Du Bois's Talented Tenth ideology.

Garvey's criticisms nevertheless presented a unique and difficult challenge for Du Bois because the Jamaican leader did attract a huge following of working class blacks into his camp and had tremendous emotional appeal. Garvey was a charismatic individual who flaunted America's racism back in the nation's face by telling his followers that their black skins were most beautiful, and that their race was a royal stock among the races in the earth. Especially, Garvey bolstered his leadership in the black community by comparing it with Du Bois's, calling Du Bois in The Negro World, "A fallen old warrior whose race contributions were at an end."⁶⁵

In 1922, Garvey was indicted, convicted, and jailed for mail fraud via his bankrupt Black Star Line shipping company. Shortly thereafter he was expelled from the U. S. and returned to Jamaica as an undesirable alien. Du Bois graciously attempted to explain to the public Garvey's thinking so that people might better understand his difficulties as a black man living in a segregated world.⁶⁶

Between 1919 and 1922, Du Bois offered controlled and fair criticism of Garvey's various economic schemes, but did not appear to resent him as a possible usurper of his influence in the black community as had Washington of his political opponents only a few years earlier.

More than wanting to waste valuable energy contending with various other leaders in the black community, Du Bois was interested in networking with them in a cooperative venture toward procuring civil rights. He demonstrated this when he attempted to make connections with Garvey for a mutual meetings of the minds. Whereas Washington might have desired to see Garvey silenced as a contender for control of the black community, Du Bois would have willingly shared the reins of leadership had Garvey been above board with the masses of his followers. For, Du Bois did recognize, at least at first, Garvey's great contribution to the masses of blacks in which he successfully instilled in them a sense of racial pride. Later on he determined that Garvey was "a demagogue" who had a streak of genius, but who was also wild, unruly, and autocratic in his approach to leadership.⁶⁷

Du Bois's brief interaction with Garvey was not the only occasion where he demonstrated his belief in shared

leadership. In a study about the little known Amenia Conferences, which were held August 24 through the 26, 1916 and seventeen years later on, August 18-21, 1933, Du Bois played a major role in both of these conferences which were aimed at developing an alliance among leaders working for civil rights.

Apparently, Joel Spingarn, President of the NAACP, and Du Bois, who planned the first meeting, saw the need for the various divergent leadership factions of the civil rights movement to gather, share their various points of view, and 'agree to disagree' while making room for one another's unique contributions to the cause. Diggs noted that this power convergence of leaders was not possible before the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915.⁶⁸

The conference of 1916 had in attendance many divergent ideologies represented in the persons of the relatively mild Emmet J. Scott, to the fiery radicalism of Monroe Trotter. Even Taft, Roosevelt, and Wilson had been sent invitations, and though they had declined for various reasons, there were over fifty black and white leaders in attendance. Not much was directly accomplished by the assemblage of leaders by way of issuing resolutions or manifestos, but they did agree that their common goal was the acquisition of civil rights,

with various processes utilized to obtain them.⁶⁹

Du Bois participated in the second conference years later, mainly as a symbolic figurehead to the mostly young gathering of leaders in their 30s and early 40s. For them, the 65 year old Du Bois, was a living legacy who represented what could be accomplished by a people when they pooled their various human resources and set their faces toward the common goal.⁷⁰

Conclusion

Du Bois's leadership during the early years of the struggle for civil rights in the twentieth century was one that was transformational in scope. By 1905, when he came into his ascendancy as a leader of national stature in the black community, he already had within him a powerful vision of the future; one which he had begun to forge in the early days of his youth. Du Bois's vision of an equitable future for blacks, guided by a vanguard of talented leaders, was one which he infused into all facets of his outreach to the black community through his writing, speaking engagements, and his activities in civil rights demonstrations. Du Bois never wavered from his vision in the face of opposition he incurred from other leaders. Rather, he sought to include

their diversified participation as one of the main components of his vision.

Du Bois demonstrated bravery and, as an intellectual leader, he contended with the forces of legalized segregation by calling them to question, down to the very foundation of their arguments. In speeches, and in The Crisis, he sought to make the forces of proscription and oppression uncomfortable with their racist ideologies by presenting in merciless detail the barbarism inflicted upon lynch victims. His followers in the Niagara Movement, and later in the NAACP, sought to upset the thinking of a society that had grown comfortably familiar with the imposed stress of its darker citizens. Their activities also sought to provoke the silent, fearful, or possibly apathetic black people to become full participants with them in the struggle. He continually challenged the next generation of Talented Tenth to arise and prepare for victory as much as for political warfare.

Du Bois inspired others through demonstration of leadership in the midst of opposition. His willingness to offer criticism of Washington during a time when it was nearly unthinkable to break the code of imposed silence, infused other leaders with the courage to voice their own

viewpoints. Evidence of this is clear with the convergence of the band of black leaders through the Niagara Movement. During this time Du Bois successfully spurred his followers on to decisive action even though their public alignment with his cause might have jeopardized their careers via the influence of the powerful "Tuskegee Machine." The younger generation of college-age Talented Tenth however had much less to lose in their open identification with Du Bois than did the more seasoned black leaders. His leadership especially inspired them, for they saw him as a progressive black man, who not only offered modern solutions to their many current social problems, he was also a highly educated, knowledgeable individual whom they proudly esteemed.

Du Bois wholeheartedly believed in shared leadership with regard to civil rights. This was especially true, because, as he viewed it, racism and segregation were not the problems of a sole man or woman. Rather, he saw that only through leaders working in concert, in every hamlet, in every township, in every city across the nation, could centuries of racism be utterly destroyed. Du Bois's theory of the Talented Tenth rested on his belief in shared leadership.

Through his example as a visionary, a challenger, inspirer, and encourager of all participants for the cause, Du Bois's leadership was instrumental in transforming individual lives, if not the attitudes of entire generations. Roy Wilkins expressed these views best when He said of Du Bois:

To the Negroes of my generation, Dr. Du Bois was, in our youth, a great shining light inspiring us to high endeavors, challenging us to prepare for leadership roles, demanding of us integrity, scholarship and dedication...To the youth of this generation it may appear that the Negro revolt was spawned in the nineteen-sixties. It was not. Its architect and organizer was W. E. B. Du Bois, who at the dawn of the century prophetically warned: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line."⁷¹

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CHAPTER 6

A WIDENED WORLD PAN AFRICANISM

O Truce of God!
And primal meeting of the Sons of Man
Foreshadowing the union of the World!
From all the ends of the earth we come!
Old Night, the elder sister of the Day
Mother of Dawn in the golden East,
Meets in the misty twilight with her brood,
Pale and black, tawny, red and brown,
The mighty human rainbow of the world,
Spanning its wilderness of storm.

Du Bois, A Hymn to the Peoples

The idea of Pan Africanism, defined by Contee as, "the effort to bring together leaders of various African and American blacks for consolidation and planning in the future", did not originate with Du Bois.¹ The movement toward an international network of black leaders for the purpose of strengthening bonds of mutual support, was one which was born of years of fiery tribulation. The era of the 1890s were difficult ones for black people in nearly every corner of the globe. Blacks in America had lost their right to actively participate in the American system of democracy. They faced increasing levels of violence via lynching, riots and vandalism of their property. In Africa,

blacks suffered under the oppression of European expansion and near take-over of their lands. Through colonization, Europeans controlled not only Africa's rich natural resources such as diamond, ivory, gold, rubber, cocoa, they often treated the indigenous population as slaves, paid them a pittance, and dealt with them miserably.²

It was this increasing sense of worldwide oppression and exploitation of black people which inspired a young Trinidadian lawyer, Henry Sylvester Williams, to call for an international gathering of black leaders to discuss the plight of their people in the world community. W. E. B. Du Bois was one of the thirty-three delegates from around the world who attended the meeting held in London, Westminster Hall in 1900.³ Du Bois was appointed the Conference Secretary and Chairman of the Resolutions Committee. It was during this historic occasion that Du Bois also formulated his ideological statement about the color line.⁴

Du Bois's leadership through his activities with Pan Africanism: the Conference of 1900, and the five subsequent Pan African Congresses which were convened between 1919 and 1945, was transformational in scope. Although he did not directly develop the concept of Pan Africanism, the initial

meeting of 1900 germinated his thinking and broadened his vision of what Pan Africanism should mean to the world community.

As a visionary leader, he had already carried an underdeveloped concept of Pan Africanism with him from his previous years' experience traveling around Europe during his academic career, yet his early involvement was limited to a more scholastic perspective, as an interested student of world affairs.⁵ Particularly, Du Bois's Harvard professor, William James helped him to expand his world view in the late 1880s. James spoke out often against colonialism and the world-wide expansion of European powers into Asia and Africa. James was a member of the newly formed Anti-Imperialist League, which Du Bois also joined.⁶

With the formation of Pan Africanism as a movement in 1900, the discussions and resolutions gave voice to Du Bois's growing visions along with an opportunity for him to act upon them. As the years advanced and Du Bois oversaw the subsequent Congresses of 1919, 1921, 1923, 1927, the aborted 1929 Congress, and was a symbolic figurehead for the Congress of 1945, his vision enlarged and began to embrace, not only the cultural, social emancipation of black people, but of all people of color in the world. In his estimation,

this emancipation would then result in liberality extended to the entire human family.

After the initial conference meeting in 1900, the Pan African movement went into hibernation for a period of nineteen years. During this time, blacks in America struggled with their own serious social concerns while the nations of the world suffered upheaval until World War I broke out in 1914.⁷ The movement was revived in 1919 by Du Bois and thereafter dubbed Pan African 'Congresses' in order to distinguish them from the first 'Conference' meeting held in 1900.

Du Bois's leadership in all of the Congresses from 1919 onward was transformational. His vision, philosophy and thinking became indelibly embossed with the very definition of Pan Africanism. Du Bois enlarged the original meaning of Pan Africanism, and defined it as "Intellectual understanding and cooperation among all groups of Negro descent in order to bring about at the earliest possible time the industrial and spiritual emancipation of Negro peoples."⁸ Later, after 1945, when Pan Africanism's headquarters were finally transplanted to African soil as had been originally envisioned, Du Bois's ideological influence was still preeminent. For this reason, George

Padmore dubbed Du Bois "the Father of organized Pan Africanism."⁹

Du Bois championed the cause of civil rights for all oppressed people in the world, and so was a source of inspiration for many people. His work in the movement enlarged the vision of others and spurred them on to make viable contributions in their own home countries toward helping develop and instituting much needed civil rights policies. Du Bois also shared his vision of Pan Africanism by following the pattern laid down in the first Conference of calling for black leaders to come forward and pool their intellectual resources toward improving the condition of black people in the world.

In many ways, the Pan African meetings were similar to a type of 'League of Nations' for oppressed people of color. Pan Africanism then was another of Du Bois's monumental dreams to which he gave birth at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and then carefully nurtured into a viable and concrete movement of international scope in his ongoing quest for social change.

Visionary Leadership

It was providence perhaps that moved Du Bois to play a central role in the first official meeting of the Pan African Movement in 1900. His work as the Chairman of the Conference's committee on the address, "To the Nations of the World," enabled him to further enlarge Sylvester Williams's original concept of Pan Africanism so that it would embrace a deeper, more enduring ideal. Whereas Williams viewed Pan Africanism merely as of means to bringing people of African descent throughout the world into closer contact, and of establishing more friendly relations between Caucasian and African races, Du Bois's larger ideal was more militant. It incorporated the need for self-government or independence for black people in the nations of Africa.¹⁰ His vision, communicated through his address "To the Nations of the World," was called a "bombastic but prophetic vision".¹¹ In Du Bois's address, he proclaimed:

In the metropolis of the modern world, in this closing year of the nineteenth century, there has been assembled a congress of men and women of African blood, to deliberate solemnly upon the present situation and outlook of the darker races of mankind. The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line, the question as to how far differences of race, which show themselves chiefly in the color of skin and the texture of the hair, are going to be made, hereafter, the basis of

denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization.¹²

Then he waxed prophetic when he declared:

...The modern world must needs remember that in this age, when the ends of the world are being brought so near together, the millions of black men in Africa, America, and the Islands of the Sea, not to speak of the brown and yellow myriads elsewhere, are bound to have a great influence upon the world in the future, by reason of sheer numbers and physical contact.¹³

Chiefly, the eight resolutions which followed this introductory portion of his brief speech called for the end of racial discrimination and exploitation of black people in the world.

Du Bois's early vision, and the meeting of the first Conference, gave the world the official utterance of Pan Africanism. But there is no doubt that very few people in the world initially took much note of this auspicious event. Truly, Pan Africanism's infancy underwent a period of stunted growth as the various visionaries returned to their home countries and concentrated on their own local problems.

In the pre-war era of 1900, even the forward-looking resolutions the committee members proposed, were muted somewhat in their tone by the reality of the seemingly

invincible monarchy and iron clad empire of Queen Victoria.¹⁴ For a generation thereafter then, the movement seemed to disappear from the scene.

But visions, like weeds, do not die out so easily. Over the ensuing nineteen years, even as Du Bois made war with racial discrimination in the U. S., attempted to transform Atlanta University into a premier center for study on the Negro Problem, engaged in verbal battles with Booker T. Washington, struggled through the birth and demise of the Niagara Movement, and then with the new life of the NAACP, his ideas concerning Pan Africanism remained deeply rooted in his mind. In fact, when Du Bois finally resurrected the idea of convening regular Pan African Congresses beginning in 1919, in Paris, he did not see the movement as being isolated from his ongoing battle for social justice at home in the U. S..¹⁵ For he had long challenged his people in America to view their own concerns as part of the larger struggle for social justice regarding their brethren of African descent the world over. He did this by instilling in them via his writings, his published books, and his investigative research, an interest in African peoples and their problems.

Much of what he wrote about and researched, in fact, centered on the notion that blacks in other lands as well as in America were called to reform the world through their own struggles for freedom. Du Bois's involvement with Pan Africanism was therefore simply an outgrowth of many of these ideas -a tangible means of achieving the world-encompassing dream he envisioned. It is no surprise that Du Bois's vision of emancipation was worldwide in scope, for he had been exercising the envisioning process since childhood. And oftentimes those visions were monumental indeed.

The major challenge for Du Bois after the nineteen year hiatus from Pan Africanism, was to help other blacks take a renewed interest in his vision when local concerns vied for their attentions and imposed a myopic lens upon their world view.

One of the main events which helped black leaders around the world to refocus their local civil rights energies to explore a more international perspective, was the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Du Bois, a constant observer of world events, also seemed to experience a reawakening of his vision for Pan Africanism at that time.¹⁶ In May, 1915, he wrote an article for the Atlantic Monthly

entitled "The African Roots of War." In this widely read and highly influential piece, Du Bois first introduced to the American public the overall concept of Pan Africanism. He expressed his views about the economic aspects of imperialistic expansion as it impacted the war and what must be done in the future to alleviate the face of war as it had developed on the world scene. He wrote emphatically:

The present world war, then is the result of jealousies engendered by the recent rise of armed national associations of labor and capital whose aim is the exploitation of the wealth of the world mainly outside the European circle of nations. These associations, grown jealousies, and suspicions at the division of the spoils of trade-empire, are fighting to enlarge their respective shares; they look for expansion, not in Europe but in Asia, and particularly in Africa.¹⁷

His proposed solution to this world-wide problem was to say that, "if we want real peace and lasting culture...we must extend the democratic ideal to the yellow, brown and black peoples."¹⁸ Du Bois's vision had begun to experience a revitalization, and as a true transformational leader, he desired others to embrace his vision with similar force of insight and commitment.

On November, 1918, therefore, Du Bois went before the Board of the NAACP to suggest that a new Pan African Conference be held. He laid out his plans. His goals for

going to France, and convening a conference there were three-fold. First of all, the World Peace Conference was scheduled to be held in Paris early in 1919; and the NAACP did desire Du Bois to go there as a special news correspondent for The Crisis. Secondly, his mission at the Peace Conference, where all of the key nations of the world were scheduled to meet in order to negotiate issues concerning the War, made holding of a Pan African Congress at the same time an attractive prospect. While he was there, the NAACP saw that Du Bois could be helpful as a representative of the civil rights organization.¹⁹ The proposed Pan African Congress could then easily support their organizational aims by bringing "to bear all the pressure possible on the delegates of the Peace table in the interest of the colonial peoples of the U. S. and the world."²⁰ Their Pan African Congress would also question the internalization of the former German colonies. Thirdly, Du Bois intended to go to France in order to collect first-hand empirical data regarding the history and treatment of black soldiers in Europe during the war.

After some hasty initial planning, Du Bois sailed to France on December 1, 1918. His unlikely companion on board the ship was Dr. Robert Moton, Booker T. Washington's

successor. Moton was being sent by President Wilson to encourage black troops in their military service to America, and also to possibly act as a consultant and spokesman for blacks at the Peace Conference there.²¹

Du Bois, who had become quite efficient in calling conferences through his five-year stint with the Niagara Movement and involvement in many other national organizations over the years, arrived in Paris and began immediately to draw up a list of tasks which needed to be attended to for the forthcoming Congress. The first Pan African Congress was scheduled then to be held in February with Du Bois presiding. His developing plans were sent back to the States as articles which were published in The Crisis and other journals.

One article entitled, "The Future of Africa," was published in an organ of the American Peace Society, The Advocate of Peace. There, in typical Du Bosian fashion, he not only outlined his plans for the upcoming Congress, but also revealed his vision for all of Africa regarding what the Peace Conference should do to emancipate and develop the continent, which was struggling at that time under the bonds of European imperialism.

As has been shown many times previously, Du Bois tended to dream big, but then, also being a pragmatic individual at heart, he eventually attempted to galvanize his glorious visions into some form of concrete plans of actions, also usually monumental. Such was the case with his 'African vision.' In "The Future of Africa", he proposed an internationalized Africa comprised of former German colonies with one million square miles and over twelve and a half million people. He outlined plans for the Portuguese sections of African, the Congo, along with ideas about who would govern these regions, guide them, represent them, and insure the education their people. Du Bois envisioned an Africa ultimately governed and controlled by Africans themselves as the only proper state of affairs. "This Africa (for the Africans)," he wrote, "would be under the guidance of organized civilization... We can, if we will inaugurate on the Dark Continent a last great crusade for humanity. With Africa redeemed, Asia would be safe and Europe indeed triumphant."²²

Du Bois tried to relay to all of his readers, black and white, his vision of a world in which true peace would ultimately reign. But peace for the world, he felt, hinged on the peace of Africa, and on how the imperial powers

treated her. He desired that they would begin to comprehend, as he so clearly comprehended, that the root cause of the current World War was Africa, -its masses of people, its human resources, and its material wealth. He tried to help people see that in helping Africa, they were ultimately helping themselves. He proposed his ideas as a win-win solution for all.

This first official Congress therefore opened under the visionary leadership of Du Bois. A total of fifty-seven delegates from fifteen nations attended. Twelve of the delegates represented nine African nations. Six of the sixteen black leaders who arrived from the U. S. were members of the NAACP, including John Hope and Joel Spingarn. Also in attendance were Rayford Logan and the famous, then elderly ex-slave who had escaped to freedom by having himself shipped North in a shipping crate, Henry "Box" Brown.²³ That these leaders all met, brought another of Du Bois's dreams into tangible fruition.

According to Logan, one of the delegates, among the more important functions of the first Congress was the creation of one of its adopted resolutions, which stated,

The nations of Africa must have the right to participate in the government as fast as their development permits in conformity with

the principle that the government exists for the nations and not the nations for the government. They shall at once be allowed to participate in local and tribal government, according to ancient usage, and this participation shall gradually extend, as education and experience proceed, to the higher offices of the state; to the end that, in time, Africa shall be ruled by the consent of Africans.²⁴

The key words of the resolution, were "in time." For as Logan himself declared, the conference delegates' goals for Pan African unity, at that time, was mostly only a visionary ideal. The delegates knew that "self-government and independence would have to precede any conception of a United States of Africa or anything of that sort."²⁵ Nevertheless, in many ways the Congress of 1919 was an influential one insofar as it successfully attracted the attention of the world press, it was financially supported by the NAACP, and especially because its publicized success catapulted Du Bois into the international arena as the recognized authoritative voice on issues regarding the Negro Problem. It was the height of his public career.

After the success of the first Congress, the others which followed every two years thereafter, were successful but they suffered from lessening publicity as interest in social justice turned from international concerns to local ones. Even after the second Congress in 1921, Du Bois was

hard pressed to receive any funding at all from the NAACP in order to continue holding meetings. General interest in the movement by blacks in America took a considerable nose-dive after 1921. Yet Du Bois's ability to continue to "see" beyond local circumstance demonstrated the strength of his vision as a transformational leader. For, he perceived that these successful gathering of leaders was only the beginning of the realization of his dream. His desire was ultimately to have the Congresses take root on African soil itself, headed mainly by Africans, not by American and European Blacks as they had been previously.

Even as the worldwide press took less interest in the Congresses over the next twenty five years, there was an increasing level of participation among leaders of African nations at the gatherings, which were held in Europe and the U. S. The second Pan African Congress was held in three European capitals which were symbolic of Imperialism: London, Brussels, and Paris, in August through September 1921. A total of 110 delegates attended and one thousand persons in all were at the various meetings.²⁶

The third Pan African Congress was held in London and Lisbon in November and December, 1923. Although it was smaller than the second, proportionality more Africans

participated in that event.²⁷

The fourth Congress, held in New York City in 1927, was headed by 208 official delegates with 5,000 people in attendance. Two forward looking women, Mrs. Addie W. Hunton, and Mrs. Addie Dickerson were responsible, in a large measure, for encouraging interest in holding that particular Congress. By this time, Du Bois was overtaken with the concerns of his position as the preeminent black leader for the national black community, and was not able to give the necessary attention to the various administrative tasks required in convening it.²⁸ Also, although popular interest in Pan Africanism had abated somewhat over the years, Du Bois's vision had sparked interest in the movement from several outstanding leaders in the black community. In addition, besides Du Bois, there had always been a remnant of individuals who had held a world-view of social justice in their minds. Madame C. J. Walker formed the International League of Darker Peoples in 1919, and Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Sr. established the Hamatic League. Therefore, the New York Congress had the solid support of a few other smaller organizations whose interests remained broader than mere local concerns.²⁹

Another Congress was scheduled to be held in Tunisia in 1929, but was canceled mainly as a result of the stock market crash, and also, the French government of that nation was opposed to it being held there.³⁰ There were no official Congresses held for sixteen years thereafter, although the spirit of the movement lived on in Du Bois.

Finally, the fifth Pan African Congress was held in Manchester, England, on October 1945. Du Bois attended and was named Honorary Chairman. At the age of seventy-seven, he was mostly a symbol of the movement, yet he was honored to be alive to witness the next generation of black leaders take up his original vision and move it forward. Especially fulfilling to him was the fact that the meeting was mostly directed and controlled by African leaders instead of European and American blacks. Present at the Congress were Kwame Nkrumah, who later became President of independent Ghana, and Jomo Kenyatta, the future first president of Kenya.³¹

Finally, in 1958, the Pan African meetings were held on African soil. Du Bois lived to witness an even greater fruition of his vision of the Pan African cause, for after that time, black leaders of African nations began to win their rights to independent self-government-, rights first

envisioned at the start of the century, and finally realized in the post World War II era of promise.

Intellectual Leadership

Scholars Walden and Wylie have called Du Bois "Pan Africanism's Intellectual Father." They have further observed that, "Pan Africanism had its roots in America. Dr. Du Bois was an early guiding spirit...[and] made it intellectually and morally popular among the handful of men who led the struggle for African independence in its present stage."³² Truly, Pan Africanism for the first half of the twentieth century at least, was stamped with Du Bois's intellectual signature. Even the first Conference called by Sylvester Williams became overshadowed with the thinking of Du Bois through the resolutions which were conceived in part by him, then adopted by the leaders of the movement as their doctrines of choice.

But as historians have pointed out, it was with the first Pan African Congress in 1919 that Du Bois truly demonstrated his skills as an intellectual leader. It was he who had taken the initiative to resurrect the movement after its nineteen years in hibernation. In many respects, though, there was little or no choice other than that

Du Bois take the initiative to revive the Congresses. Since the first Conference of 1900, a number of the leaders and key facilitators had died, including Henry Sylvester Williams, tragically at a premature age.³³ Thus, Du Bois had to begin alone, yet his experience in the ensuing years as a civil rights activist and convener of conferences, empowered him with the necessary administrative skills to be able to quickly arrange for the successful gathering of 1919. Du Bois's activity with the Congress helped to plant Pan Africanism as a clear concept in the minds of blacks and whites in America for the very first time. The publicity the Congress received through the press, and also through Du Bois's preview and follow-up articles about the movement, helped the nation to gain a broader understanding of the place of Africa in world events, particularly with regard to the ongoing World War.

The New York Evening Globe on February 22, 1919, described the Congress as the first assembly of its kind in history. It communicated to readers that the major objective of the Congress was the drafting of an appeal to present to the Peace Conference requesting that, as the world went about dividing its monopoly of power, Africans be given the opportunity to develop unhindered by other nations.³⁴

For Du Bois's part, his specific goals for the Congress also included the encouragement of black art and literature, and the desire to make the Pan African Congress into a permanent organization that would be convened on a regular basis without interruption.³⁵ Given the limited time to undertake the massive project of the 1919 Congress, it was a monumental achievement for Du Bois to even have successfully held the event. For the black masses back home in the United states, who were unaware of all the nuances involved in resurrecting the movement, it nevertheless symbolized in their minds a united internationally led "watchdog" effort for the interests of black people everywhere.³⁶

The three major themes generated by Du Bois through the 1919 Congress, and thereafter repeated in his writings: novels, essays, scholarly research were: 1. the theme of racial solidarity, 2. the concept of economic independence, and, 3. the belief in the need for political self-determination. These three ideas came to dominate the Pan African movement over the next three decades and eventually, with variations, continued as the ideological basis for the post-World War II movement of 1945 and beyond.³⁷

During Du Bois's efforts to resurrect and rekindle interest in the international movement, he exercised courage

by taking intellectual risks. Du Bois was aware, for instance, that while he was in Paris, detectives and American Secret Service Agents followed him around, as evidenced by a "top secret" government letter which subsequently fell into his possession. Dr. Robert Moton, as Booker T. Washington's trusted associate, experienced no such shadowing of his movements while he traveled between U. S. military bases in Paris in order to interview black troops there. Du Bois's response was to bravely move ahead with his plans, undaunted by any efforts to intimidate him.³⁸

So, at the end of the successful and well publicized 1919 Congress, (which Moton did not attend), Du Bois returned to the United States as an intellectual hero for blacks, and he was later awarded the prestigious Spingarn medal, given by the NAACP to blacks for achievement in service to the black community. Du Bois was at the pinnacle of his public career.³⁹ Even so, continued deterioration of the social climate in America for blacks left little time for him to bask in the afterglow of his visions, which had been transformed into realities. The twenty-five racial riots and the seventy-five lynchings which occurred that same heated summer of 1919 across the nation were dreadful

reminders that the worst elements of society had not yet incorporated equality. In addition, Du Bois was disheartened by his increasing verbal battles with Marcus Garvey and other leaders.⁴⁰

As the winds of change blew with negative force, the second Congress of 1921, which was headquartered in the three capitals of London, Brussels, and Paris, was not as effective in gaining coverage with the press as the first Congress. Nevertheless, at the end of those sessions Du Bois and a committee of delegates went to Geneva in order to present a petition to the League of Nations. The theme of the Congress and of the petition remained consistent in requesting increased recognition of the rights of black people the world over.⁴¹

Afterward, Du Bois seemed to reflect on the ideological goals of the two Congresses convened thus far with regard to their influence upon world thought. His self-evaluation was somewhat critical, but it offered insight into the fact that he was a realist as well as a visionary concerning the limitations of the movement. He wrote in the New Republic in 1921:

Europe asked: what do these hundred, more or less, persons of near and far Negroid ancestry really represent? Is this a real Pan Negro movement

or the work of individuals or of small groups enthusiastic with an idea but representing little?... We are undoubtedly an intelligentsia -a small group of intellectuals interpreting to some extent but more certainly seeking to guide public opinion of our own group. Was our interpretation honest and clear, and would our guidance be followed? Who shall say until Time itself tells?⁴²

F. Broderick in his critical assessment of the Congresses, offered a scathingly critical response to Du Bois's rhetorical question. Broderick believed:

The Pan-African movement that emerged in Paris was a curious international revival of the Niagara Movement: a handful of self-appointed spokesmen challenged a staggering problem by passing resolutions. Even the principal techniques were similar: the periodic conferences to recodify the platform, refresh personal contacts and exchange enthusiasm and information, and the manifestos designed to rally colored support and to convert white opinion. In the end the Congresses accomplished if anything, less than Niagara.⁴³

Yet, twenty-five years after his involvement with the Congresses, Du Bois wrote a fitting rebuttal to all critics through his honest self-assessment when he said, "We were of course, but weak and ineffective and ineffectual amateurs chipping at a hard conglomeration of problems about to explode in chaos. At least we were groping for light."⁴⁴

To proclaim that he and his colleagues were at least "groping for light," was stating a lot under the circumstances, especially as their meager attempts had

seldom been encouraged by others joining their insights with them. Yet Du Bois behaved as a true pioneer. He forged ahead in uncharted territories where few others dared to venture. He often proceeded under the wake of heavy criticism. Du Bois's pioneering spirit in the midst of intense hurdles at times, was evidence of intellectual leadership that was transformational. Perhaps his former practice of taking an experimental approach to research, writing, and civil rights causes, also inspired his work with Pan Africanism, especially as he recalled the times when his various explorations had yielded positive results.

Du Bois, as an expert at convening congresses and conferences, some of which he admitted were ineffectual, believed sincerely that such meetings were devices for applying political and racial pressures on the powers that be.⁴⁵ Du Bois had discovered the clear benefits of taking intellectual risks.

The Congress of 1923, held in London and Lisbon, especially highlighted Du Bois's ability to forge ahead in the face of opposition. By this, the third Congress, the NAACP had withdrawn its financial support due to decreased interest in the cause by blacks in America. He held the Congress nevertheless. It was fortunate that he continued,

for at the gathering, more Africans began to fill up the membership roster than had in previous meetings. The resolutions passed were similar to ones passed in prior congresses. These included: 1) the right to be able to have a voice in government, 2) the right to a trial by jury, 3) abolition of the slave trade worldwide, and, 4) world disarmament.⁴⁶

Before returning home to the States after the close of the third Congress, Du Bois had an opportunity to set foot on African soil for the very first time in his life. He received the invitation to attend Liberia's new President, Charles Dunbar Burgess King's inauguration. In addition, without Du Bois's foreknowledge, a black Boston attorney named William Henry Lewis, had advised President Calvin Coolidge to appoint Du Bois as a U. S. representative to the Liberia inauguration. This, reasoned Lewis to Coolidge, was a positive way to help build the black vote for the forthcoming presidential election of 1924.⁴⁷

The fact that Du Bois was chosen as the best leader to boost morale in the black community through his publicized temporary ambassadorship, suggests strongly that he held wide influence as an intellectual leader in the national black community at that time. Even his travels were

considered newsworthy enough to be considered useful for political gain.

Du Bois was sent to Liberia with the somewhat theatrical appointment title of "Special Representative, With the Rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary." No salary was attached to the title and assignment.⁴⁸

Du Bois's trip to Liberia turned out to be quite a positive experience for him. In fact, some researchers have felt that he was overly-enthralled. In any event, he "fell head over heels in love with Africa."⁴⁹ Upon his return to the U. S., readers who had followed Du Bois's thoughts on Africa for decades, waited eagerly for his reflections about his actual experiences there. They did not wait long. In a 1924 Crisis article, Du Bois penned an extremely sentimental reflection piece about Africa:

The spell of Africa is upon me. The ancient witchery of her medicine is burning my drowsy, dreamy blood. This is not a country, it is a world-wide universe of itself and for itself, a thing Different, Immense, Menacing, Alluring. It is the great black bosom where the Spirit longs to to die...Then comes the calm. The dreamless beat of the midday stillness at dusk, at dawn, at noon, always. Things move- black shiny bodies, perfect bodies, bodies of sleek unearthly poise and beauty...Africa is the Spiritual Frontier of human kind- oh the world and beautiful adventures of its taming!⁵⁰

In some portions of his articles on Africa, he actually left off his florid poetical analogies and described in more serious detail his day-to-day experiences while there. Many of these also presented a somewhat rosy image of Africa to his readers however.

True to his psychological design, Du Bois's easy excitability over possible projects arising from his personal experiences, led him, upon his return home, to immediately encourage America to make a commitment of investing capital into Liberia. He exercised his skill as an intellectual leader by speaking out for the needs of Africans. He did this in part by warning Harvey Firestone, the Akron rubber tycoon, not to exploit those from whom he drew his wealth, but rather to hire and financially assist native Africans as well as American blacks in order that they might also be enriched.⁵¹ And so Du Bois's influence extended beyond the borders of Pan Africanism into the "nuts and bolts" activities of international economics and politics - at least as a social commentator on such events.

The fourth Pan African Congress, which took place in New York City in 1927, was undertaken as a concerted effort of several world-focussed African American organizations. Du Bois served as the General Chairman of the event, but its

major administration was actually headed by two women: Mrs. Addie W. Hunton and Mrs. Addie Dickerson.⁵²

After the fourth Congress, Du Bois did not head up another gathering of the movement for many years. The historical foundation he had laid and his spirit within it breathed new life into the fifth Pan African Congress which met in Manchester, England, in October, 1945. The second revival of the movement, as with the first Congress in 1919, was precipitated by a world war. The outbreak of the 1935-1936 Italo-Abyssinian War and the subsequent conquest of Ethiopia especially, provoked blacks worldwide to rally behind the cause of that nation's exiled leader, Emperor Haile Selassie. Selassie's exile to London became a symbol of European conquest, of Europe's continued tendency to bully other nations of color. Ethiopia became the rallying cry by which black nations called forth their support for one another. Jomo Kenyatta, a Pan Africanist, and others continued to meet in London from 1936 until the time of the official Congress in 1945. Du Bois was invited to preside as an honorary chairman.⁵³

It seems likely that the two world wars had more to do with the revival of the Pan African Congresses of 1919 and 1945 than the generated energies of any groups or

individuals. Yet, the intellectual foundations were undoubtedly laid by Du Bois, who according to George Padmore, "was not the first Negro intellectual to have a vision of a Pan African movement [yet], the credit must go to him for giving reality to a dream and conserving its ideals until such time as it found acceptance as the basic ideology of emergent African nationalism."⁵⁴ Truly, Du Bois's leadership helped carve out the ideological pathways of all Pan Africanists who came thereafter, in Africa as well as in the U. S. Walden and Wylie underscored Du Bois's contribution clearly:

W. E. B. Du Bois played a vital and decisive role in the early days of Pan Africanism. He was the man who chiefly provided the intellectual justification for the Pan African program as it later developed. He was the spirit behind the First Pan African Conference in 1919. He greatly influenced the course of the 1921 Conference, and laid much of the ground-work for the ideas and the ideological foundations which dominated Pan Africanism when it revived as a successful movement after World War II. He was indeed Pan Africa's intellectual "father," and can be placed, without a doubt among those who made it a major force in the twentieth century.⁵⁵

Inspirational Leadership

Du Bois exercised his ability as an inspirational leader within the Pan African movement even as he had done

in other activities he engaged in. It was, in fact, second nature for Du Bois to combine his various skills as a writer and scholar in order to inspire the masses of his followers regarding Pan Africanism. One way Du Bois did this was through the release of his book, The Negro, in 1915. His scholarly research on the African culture south of the Sahara Desert helped popularize the sub-continent and its contributions to civilization. Black scholars in the U.S. were inspired by the book's findings concerning a present and former civilization worthy of rescue through the vehicle of Pan Africanism.⁵⁶

The publication of The Negro, along with Du Bois's various Crisis articles, on the heels of World War I, spurred the movement forward. He even utilized the trauma of the World War as a means of mustering support to the cause of human rights worldwide. His strategy of holding the movement's official Congress in France during the Peace Conference, was aimed at helping the Congress members remain committed to the project. The key location kept their faces turned toward the events occurring at the League of Nations where the powerful nations were vying for control over Africa and Asia. He wanted to inspire his followers with the sense that their immediate presence near the peace table

could indeed make a difference in the on-going negotiations.

Transformational leaders, in their roles as inspirers, assist followers to embrace a vision and then spur them on in their efforts to translate the vision into concrete reality. Du Bois inspired his followers. Through his positive reputation as a scholar and a leader in the United States, he made his ideas popular for future action.⁵⁷ In one sense, then, Du Bois achieved a type of charismatic appeal after 1920 when he was awarded the coveted Spingarn medal, in part for his success with the Pan African Congress of 1919. At that time, Du Bois's reputation in the black national community had reached its zenith. It no longer mattered then that his reserve and shyness with others at times hindered him. The fame he had accumulated by this time through his brilliant writings, speeches and activities bestowed upon him such charismatic appeal that his many committed followers were inspired to follow his precepts regarding his Pan African cause.

Among those most inspired by Du Bois, either through Pan Africanism, or simply through his commitment to human rights, were those who had worked closely with him during the movement's heyday when he headed up the various Congresses. Rayford Logan followed Du Bois's activities for

years. He was a firm disciple of Du Bois with regard to the movement, and he recalled how he was inspired by Du Bois's leadership:

My own long involvement with Pan Africanism began in the early 1920s partly as a result of disillusionment I had experienced as a member of the Armed forces during World War I and my admiration of W. E. B. Du Bois. In those days, Du Bois was for me, as for so many other young Negro Americans of my own and subsequent generations, an intellectual idol.⁵⁸

It was Logan who met Du Bois at the train station in Paris in 1921 for that year's Congress. Logan remained actively involved with Pan Africanism for many years, working at Du Bois's side. He had been appointed by Du Bois at the close of the 1921 Congress to take responsibility for ensuring the administrative success of the third Congress which was held in London and Lisbon in December, 1923.⁵⁹ Through Du Bois, Logan was inspired and transfigured into a Pan African leader, prepared to battle the ideological roots of imperialism, exploitation and war.

As to his ability to inspire Africans themselves, for whom the movement was dedicated, two African leaders of major import confessed their indebtedness to Du Bois's inspirational leadership in the advancement of their own political careers. Nnamdi Azikwe, former President of

Nigeria wrote:

Dr. Du Bois was a pioneer reformer who dreamt dreams of a free Africa. His efforts from the beginning of this century until his death in 1963 have distinguished him as a hero and a prophet of his age.

It was this great leader who predicted that the "Problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line." It is significant that this thinker was able to implement his ideas during his lifetime. For example, his founding of the Pan African Congress in 1919, Paris was a signal for the historic struggle by African nationalists which led ultimately to the political emancipation of this continent.⁶⁰

Significantly, Kwame Nkrumah, former President of Ghana, was a great friend of Du Bois's. Du Bois later sojourned to Ghana in order to spend his final days. Nkrumah believed that Du Bois was a great source of inspiration to him in his climb to national leadership. He wrote of Du Bois: "He was not only a champion of the oppressed, but also a source of inspiration in our struggle for freedom and the right of the African to govern himself."⁶¹

Du Bois made his mark on the future of Africa through his ability to inspire their various leaders to embrace a vision of life endowed with self-government, freedom, and national dignity.

Shared Leadership

Of course the entire concept of Pan Africanism as Du Bois perceived it, was hinged on the desire to see black leaders of African descent ideologically linked through an international network of cooperation. The very word, 'Pan' meant 'to form a whole.' The movement as it was defined, could therefore only be realized through the shared interaction of other leaders. But what seemed obvious to Du Bois did not necessarily appear as the clearly desired goal in the eyes of other leaders who had also set their sights toward Africa in the early half of the twentieth century.

One of the major hindrances Du Bois faced in his desire to resurrect the Pan African Movement from 1919 onward, was the emergence of Marcus Garvey as a political force in the national black community. Garvey's ideologies particularly held sway with the masses of the black working class in large black urban areas like New York City's Harlem.

Du Bois was always willing to share his leadership with other blacks, especially as long as their purposes were not totally incongruent with his own. To him, method and process mattered little if he and other leaders were

basically heading toward similar goals. In the early days of the 1920s, however, Du Bois increasingly found himself in a mental contest with Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement. It was a movement with purposes diametrically opposite to that of Pan Africanism, but which unfortunately became increasingly perceived in the public mind as being one and the same.⁶²

The primary focus of Pan Africanism was the emancipation of African peoples so that they could ultimately gain control and direction over their own governments. Garvey had his eye on Africa, particularly on Liberia, for another purpose. He sought a future colonized settlement for American and West Indian blacks under his personal leadership and control.⁶³ From Pan African's inception, Du Bois and others had attempted to create a platform for Africans upon which their own voices of leadership could gain a hearing before the world.⁶⁴ In addition, he had never attempted to monopolize control over the organization as had Garvey with his U.N.I.A. (Universal Negro Improvement Association). Rather, Du Bois, as Chair, delegated responsibility to others until such time that Africans themselves would begin to steer the direction of the organization. His style of shared leadership thus

provided an example for all future aspiring leaders of the movement to follow.

One of his goals for the 1919 Congress was to establish the movement as a permanent organization headquartered in Paris. For this, he appointed others to take over the helm. Blaise Diagne of Senegal was named President of the Executive Committee, while Du Bois, Mrs. Ida G. Hunt, and E. F. Fredericks shared the role of General Secretary. Rayford Logan was given the task of preparing for and publicizing the forthcoming 1923 Congress.⁶⁵

Other black leaders in the U.S. followed the historical example provided by Du Bois and the Pan Africanists before him. Madame C. J. Walker, the first black female millionairess, who became rich with her invention of hair straightening products, formed the International League of Darker Peoples in January 1919. Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Sr. created the Hamatic League. Groups such as these at times worked with the Pan African movement, and they participated in the fourth Congress in New York City in 1927.⁶⁶ Du Bois welcomed the concept of shared leadership, and he often pooled his various financial and human resources with others in order to reach a common goal.

Marcus Garvey, however, saw no need to work toward any such convergence of power with Du Bois. In fact, at times he went to great lengths to snub Du Bois's frequent gestures of goodwill. Du Bois's initial attempts to befriend the demagogic leader by positively highlighting Garvey's movement in several Crisis articles was met with resistance, even hostility in Garvey's own writings in his newspaper, Negro World.⁶⁷

Perhaps Garvey did not feel a need to share with anyone. During the highlight of his public notoriety between 1920 and 1925, his meetings were known to attract audiences of 25,000 people, either at Madison Square Garden or at his headquarters in Harlem's Liberty Hall.⁶⁸

While the motivating force behind the Pan African movement was the power of Du Bois's vision and his willingness to empower others, the motivating factor behind the U.N.I.A. was the power of Garvey's personality and the belief of his followers' in his capacity to lead them to the African 'promised land.' Garvey's intentions in Liberia was not the empowerment of the indigenous people there. Rather, his goal was to overpower the African elite who ran the country at that time, to wrest control of the political system from them, and then to give that nation to Western

blacks as a colonized haven away from white control. Thus Garvey ultimately sought to usurp the African form of despotism and replace it with another, his own.

Some astute individuals around that time, began to take issue with Du Bois's seemingly overly-tolerant stance towards Garvey's political chicanery. Du Bois's tendency towards desiring shared leadership initially caused him to gloss over Garvey's leadership faults somewhat and to highlight mainly his strengths. In two Crisis articles about him, in what turned out to be a failed attempt to "place Garvey on the road to responsible leadership," Du Bois appraised Garvey by highlighting his contributions to the black community and constructively criticizing his weaknesses. But Chalk also showed that Du Bois might not have been quite as street smart as Garvey. Garvey perceived Liberia's weaknesses, and determined how he might best usurp the nation's oppressive black elite and substitute it with his own.⁶⁹

George Schuyler, one of the journalists and social analysts of the day, wrote a letter to Du Bois and reprimanded him for his inability to see that even black men might exploit other black men in a supposedly emancipated Africa. He wrote critically about Du Bois's tolerance of

Garvey and Garvey's questionable business practices with Liberia:

Right is right and wrong is wrong. Regardless of the color of the individuals or groups involved, and admiring you immensely as I do for your courage and tenacity persistently championing the cause of colored peoples, I am sorry that you have permitted your belligerent and commendable Negrophillism to warp your vision in the case of the Liberian Racketeers.⁷⁰

Not long after receiving feedback from others, Du Bois began an investigation into Garvey's various activities. He then reported his findings in Crisis articles, still with the hope of possibly reforming Garvey through publicized chastisement. Finally, just before Garvey was indicted for mail fraud regarding the mishandling of his Black Star Shipping Line company, Du Bois lost all patience with him, and declared emphatically in a 1924 Crisis editorial that:

The American Negroes have endured this wretch all too long with fine restraint and every effort at cooperation and understanding. But the end has come. Every man who apologizes for and defends Marcus Garvey from this day forth writes himself down as unworthy of the countenance of a decent American. As for Garvey himself, this open ally of the Ku Klux Klan should be locked up or sent home.⁷¹

Almost immediately following Du Bois's outcry, prophetically, Garvey was deported to Jamaica after a brief stint in jail. From that point onward, his U.N.I.A.

movement suffered a marked decline in popularity.

Unfortunately also, Du Bois's Pan African movement was weakened by his association with Garvey. For most blacks, even those who had followed Garvey's colorful personality, had begun to develop disdain toward the idea of "going back to Africa" to live. Many people did not understand the fundamental differences in the philosophies of Garvey and Du Bois. They only perceived that both of these men somehow wanted to "go back to Africa," to an unfamiliar land with people of questionable culture. Many blacks in America actually had no desire to embrace an uncertain future in Africa when they perceived that things were bad enough for them at home.⁷² So, in the final analysis, both the U.N.I.A. movement as well as the Pan African movement suffered their decline more as a result of decreased interest from American blacks than from any public disagreements between the leaders of the two organizations.

Neither of these movements died out completely. In fact, they enjoy some level of activity even in the present day. In the early decades of the century though, the U.N.I.A. went into serious decline with the public humiliation of its leader, Marcus Garvey.

One reason perhaps that Pan Africanism didn't suffer the initial defeat that the U.N.I.A. movement did, was that its vision was not so much housed in the charisma of a single individual as much as in an ideal which could be perpetuated, though it might lie dormant from time to time. This perhaps was the root of genius in Du Bois's style of shared leadership and in his work as a Pan Africanist. His ability to reproduce his vision in the heart of other leaders was in a way, a reproduction of himself. Through this approach the goal of Africa as a self-governing body would not die out with the death of the original dreamer. This is the power of all transformational leaders -their ability to mass-produce themselves through sharing their power with others willing to carry the vision forward. As a result, when the group of African leaders again resurrected the movement in Manchester, England in 1945, they were glad to credit their own achievements to the original bearer of the vision, their hero, W. E. B. Du Bois.

Conclusion

Du Bois exercised his skills as a transformational leader through his lifetime involvement with Pan Africanism. Beginning in 1900 when he attended the first Conference

headed by Henry Sylvester Williams, Du Bois demonstrated his gift at perception when he enlarged William's vision to incorporate the ideal of self-rule for all African nations, free from imperialistic control. Du Bois perhaps had a higher order of perception which enabled him to foresee, not only the eventual emancipation of Africa, but imperialism's gradual demise, which resulted in the massive independence movements by colonized nations toward the second half of the twentieth century.

His visionary leadership regarding this issue of world-wide liberation was also the subject of research and of novels he wrote between 1900 and 1930. His novel, Dark Princess, was the vehicle through which he foretold the subsequent emancipation of the world's colored races. Harold Isaacs, a literary critic of Du Bois' found that, although Dark Princess, written in 1920, was a poor novel artistically, the author's accurate prophecy that "the dark world would go free by 1952," demonstrated Du Bois's mastery of long-ranged perception. Forty years later after the book was published, Isaacs commented in 1960 on Du Bois's apparent gift, that he had "better vision, one must add than a great many people had (or still have!) now that we have gone through so much that Du Bois here, 40 years ago,

so clearly foresaw.⁷³

Indeed, many of his prophetic insights came to pass around the 1950s. For example, 1947 saw the independence of India from British control. In 1952, the Egyptian Revolution began. In 1955, Afro-Asian leaders convened the Bandung, Indonesia Conference for the express purpose of consolidating their efforts in the fight against colonialism.⁷⁴ There were other national revolutions which took place over the following decades on the world scene like a dominoes effect. Du Bois's visionary leadership of course was not directly responsible for the new-found freedom many countries experienced throughout the second half of the twentieth century, but his ability to envision a better future for the world's poor and struggling nations, provided him with a clear and enduring vision of Pan Africa's place in the future of world events.

As an intellectual leader, Du Bois kept the movement's aims in the forefront of the public mind. He worked tirelessly to engraft the movement onto the African continent, where he felt it ultimately belonged and thus should be headquartered. His role as General Secretary of the Congresses was to guide the ideological roots of the movement through its various developmental stages until it

reached maturity. With his final goal in mind, he remained undaunted as he nurtured the movement through the period when it suffered in response to the lagging interest of others. He courageously spoke out for the movement during a time when many, even the NAACP, turned a deaf ear to his overtures to focus on international concerns. His intellectual battles with Marcus Garvey demonstrated his willingness to take risks in the face of keen opposition.

In addition to visionary and intellectual leadership, Du Bois inspired his followers to believe in Pan Africa's dream until it was finally realized in 1958 when the Congresses began to meet for the first time on African soil, headed by black African leaders themselves. Rayford Logan followed the movement's progress and was inspired by Du Bois's commitment to African empowerment. Du Bois was instrumental in helping many blacks to understand and believe that Africa's survival as a continent was inexorably linked with their own well-being in America.

Du Bois demonstrated his commitment to shared leadership. When he revived the movement in 1919, he followed the precepts laid out in the first Pan African Conference of 1900 where black leaders from numerous nations were called to gather and assist one another in the

international cause of civil rights. It was understood from Pan Africa's inception that the emphasis of the movement was mutual cooperation among intellectual equals, and not empowerment of an individual demagogue who would lead the group in a path of his or her own choosing. Rather, Du Bois as part of the main leadership of the movement, approached group processes as a facilitator of discussions, debate, drawing up resolutions, and general networking.

Du Bois played out his role commendably. He shared the work load in a democratic fashion, and also tirelessly chaired the various Congresses, ensuring that their basic administrative functions ran smoothly. Yet Du Bois was not a micro-manager. He simply unearthed the various talents each leader brought to the group and delegated the responsibility back to them. What Du Bois brought to the group was his energy, interests, and involvements.⁷⁵

Du Bois's direction in shared leadership was ultimately transformational in the sense that the original vision was imparted to every leader whereby they would be able to carry out the goals of Pan Africanism on their own if ever necessary. In other words, Du Bois shared his leadership in such a way that Pan Africanism would not inevitably die upon the death of the original vision-bearer, because it was

housed in the resiliency of an ideal and not in the transience of a personality. In this way, future generations as well as his own, could revisit, re-embrace, even re-interpret the vision as needed for the times in which they lived.

Walden and Wiley succinctly summarized Du Bois's leadership in the Pan African movement:

As a self-appointed spokesman for the ten million American Negroes, he was prepared to speak also for all the Africans in colonial bondage, and though he was always a dreamer, W. E. B. Du Bois was also a realist. He knew that any movement must have its vanguard, and was ready to prove it.⁷⁶

In the same article, they continued with a rebuttal to Broderick, who had earlier criticized Du Bois's efforts with Pan Africanism:

Indeed, the Pan African Conference in Paris was "a curious revival of the Niagara Movement; a handful of self-appointed spokesmen challenged a staggering problem by passing resolutions," But it was more; it was a forum in which his ideas were given an international hearing and beginning in a movement which was eventually successful in the hands of younger men. It is simply untrue as Broderick says in his excellent biography, that after this beginning, Du Bois had "no more success" with Pan Africanism.⁷⁷

"Success" in terms of transformational leadership cannot always be measured in terms of immediately observable outcomes. As transformation deals with change-, change in

political processes, change in people's cognition, values, goals, commitments-, more often than not, it is a painfully slow process. Du Bois seemed to understand this dynamic, and so remained patiently committed to his goals over the duration of his lifetime. In 1900 he bore up under Pan Africa's unsteady and uncertain beginnings. Years later, he triumphantly nurtured it through its 1919 heyday and its decline during the Depression era. He rejoiced that he lived to witness its second revival during the second half of the century; his vision finally fulfilled.

Rayford Logan, who observed the entire growth and development of the Pan African movement under the leadership of Du Bois, offered his own conclusions about the movement's influence upon the liberation of the developing nations. "But when all is said and done," he surmised in 1965, "the almost unbelievable rapidity with which African nations have become independent in recent years would have scarcely been possible without the long, slow maturation of Pan Africanism since 1900."⁷⁸

Truly, Du Bois was a leader for his times. His contributions to Pan Africanism continue to thrive in the numerous lives he influenced, not only in America, but in Africa and in the Island Nations of the sea.

Notes

1. Clarence G. Contee, "Du Bois, the NAACP and the Pan-African Congress of 1919," Journal of Negro History, 57: (January 1971): 21.

2. Henry Ploski and Warren Marr II, eds. "Africa: The Emerging Nations - European Dependencies" in The Negro Almanac: A Reference Work on the Afro American (New York: The Bellwether Company, 1976), 1065-1124.

3. Contee, "Du Bois, the NAACP," 21.

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67. See for example, W. E. B. Du Bois's Crisis articles: "Marcus Garvey," 21 (December 1920): 58-60; 21 (January 1921): 112-115; Marcus Garvey's Negro World articles: May 24, 1919, March 13, April 3, June 12, 19, 1920.
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CHAPTER 7

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study has been to highlight the transformational leadership characteristics of W. E. B. Du Bois by examining four activities he engaged in between 1900 and 1930: creative writing, research, civil rights, and Pan Africanism.

Although Du Bois's life has been the subject of much research over the years, this study has been the first to identify Du Bois's leadership behaviors as transformational. This dissertation therefore has contributed to the existing body of knowledge about Du Bois through demonstrating the ways in which he modeled this style of leadership. Also, Du Bois's complex and multi-faceted personality is more easily decipherable when examined through the prism of transformational leadership theory.

Certain conclusions about the nature of transformational leadership, especially as it applies to the life of Du Bois, may be drawn from this investigation. One observation is that, of the four components of transformational leadership: visionary leadership, intellectual leadership, inspirational leadership, and

shared leadership; visionary leadership seems to be the most essential. The other three elements primarily serve as vehicles which help move the vision forward. The strength and clarity of the leaders's vision, in fact, seems directly dependent on how motivated the leader is 1.) to want to share their vision with others, 2) to generate the necessary energy to intellectually defend the vision, and 3) to inspire others to help bring about the vision's fulfillment.

In his outreach to the African American community, Du Bois was fueled by a vision that, one day, his people, along with people of color the world over, would be free to fully participate in all areas of the human enterprise, unhindered by race. His vision of global emancipation was so strong that he was compelled to share it with others.

Regarding the roots of Du Bois's ability to employ visioning as a tool for transformation, early on in his life, Du Bois made the necessary connections between the envisioning process and carrying his visions forward into reality. The reason why he was not just a dreamer, but was also a man of action, was that, while still a youth, he had discovered that the things he had dreamed about doing, he was also able to perform, as in his childhood wish to attend

Harvard for instance. Thus, Du Bois learned early to have faith in his various visions, no matter how large they loomed or how far flung into the future they seemed to be.

What many times appears to have been a supernatural gift of prophetic insight on Du Bois's part, therefore, may well have been a long-ranged vision given expression before it was destined to come to pass.

Burns has shown that intellectual leaders who are most in tune with their social environment are capable of astute insight in predicting future change. This was mostly accomplished, he found, through the leader's ability to accurately read their environment.¹

A second observation which has arisen from this study, is that, according to the strength of their visions, transformational leaders are subsequently energized by them. For instance, transformational leaders seem to be able to engage in numerous mentally strenuous activities, sometimes simultaneously. In addition, when their visions are powerful enough, they appear to be able to withstand heavy criticisms waged against them; to be able to courageously defend their belief systems; and to be willing to make personal sacrifices for the sake of their visions. Certainly Du Bois fit the profile of a man who was driven to

nearly insurmountable peaks of achievement throughout his tenure in the public sector. Du Bois was so energized by the strength of his visions for civil rights, for scholarship, for African American social and cultural advancement, that he often sacrificed essential time with his family in order to make his mark in the world.²

A third observation stemming from this study, is that leaders who are transformational may sometimes be perceived as being slightly unpredictable in their thinking. Their long-ranged perceptions push them, not only to want to change their environment, but also to grow, alter, or readjust their own cognition, beliefs and values as they receive new, updated information about their social environment. One of the distinctive earmarks of transformational leaders, according to Tichy and Devanna, is their propensity to be life-long learners. Transformational leaders are generally self-correcting, and they perceive mistakes as potential growth-producing experiences.³

In keeping with this characteristic of transformational leadership, Du Bois tended to alter his outlook and behaviors based upon new information he received about certain issues. Because he so openly revealed to the public in his Crisis writings, the various transitions in his

thinking over the years as circumstances changed in his environment, he was perceived by some scholars as being fickle in his various philosophies. An example is how some historians have faulted Du Bois for taking an accommodating view of racial issues, siding with Washington before 1900, and then after the release of his book, Souls of Black Folk, taking a radical stance against accommodation.⁴ A more careful examination of Du Bois's thinking from the standpoint of transformational leadership, however, may provide greater depth of insight into his ideological shifts from time to time. It is most probable that, before Du Bois received his many disappointing rebuttals from the white academic community, he agreed with Washington that blacks would gradually and slowly win their civil rights by proving their worthiness to the white world. Du Bois felt that by revealing to whites the true nature and genius of black people, based upon sound scientific investigation, they would see the folly of segregation by race and invite blacks to share equally in social and political processes. After 1906, when he experienced his "tragic awakening," the night Sam Hose's knuckles were displayed in an Atlanta store window, he then realized that no amount of empirical evidence would alter white opinion about African Americans.

It was after that time that he revised his ideology about accommodation and turned his research and writing toward militantly agitating for civil rights.

Du Bois underwent similar changes of heart regarding the inclusion of Socialism into his civil rights program. Also, later on in his life, he suffered much for gradually embracing the Communist ideology. Right or wrong, Du Bois was true to the developmental aspect of transformation, for he seemed to enjoy being challenged to grow and develop in his own thinking as much as when he pushed others to do so in theirs.

The propensity for individual growth and development of leaders as well as followers is one of the key functions of transformational leadership. This implies that it is possible to train others to model this style of leadership, particularly in the people-helping professions such as education.

Based upon examination of Du Bois's leadership behaviors throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century, the fourth finding of this research is that transformational leaders appear to be most welcomed in social settings or organizations where change is actively sought after. Similarly, transformational leaders are least

supported in environments where maintenance of the status quo is highly prized. This dynamic of transformational leadership was also pointed out by Tichy and Devanna in their research on the subject in 1986.⁵

In 1905, Du Bois and his radical group of Niagara men and women were viewed as unwelcome elements in the maintenance-loving society where Booker T. Washington reigned supreme. Monroe Trotter's organization on the other hand, desired Du Bois to take the helm of his flailing movement due to the fact that Du Bois was transformational in his approach. For, Trotter recognized in Du Bois a man who sought change, even if it meant creating a ripple in the placid pool of Washington's social sea. Du Bois and Washington thereafter thrashed out their differences in the sea, made turbulent by Du Bois and the other courageous members of Niagara, who followed him into the wake.

A fifth observation flowing out from the one above, is that it is possible that transformational leaders may actually need turbulent environments in order to energize their visions and galvanize them into action. They may even, consciously or subconsciously, induce social conflict where traditionally there had been none in order to create an environment where different opinions might be heard and

where change could more readily occur. A turbulent environment may provide would-be transformational leaders with the ideological challenge they need to spur them on to do battle for the fulfillment of their visions. Perhaps Du Bois's shift in thinking about civil rights after 1900, from one of accommodation to a more radical posture, helped fuel him with the energy he needed to take his fight to the public arena.

The sixth and final observation stemming from this investigation is that it appears that shared leadership, as a component of transformational leadership, provides a more powerful force for change than does leadership which is autocratic in approach. In Du Bois's life, shared leadership consisted of both a positive and negative component. On the positive side, his shared leadership meant that he was able to multiply his ideas as other leaders embraced them. In multiplying his ideas, he also multiplied himself, and every vision was more easily realized.

The major difference between an autocratic leader and one who shares leadership, is that while ideas are still shared with followers of the autocratic leader, the aim is not necessarily to transform followers into leaders who are capable of critical and independent thought as much as to

change them into followers who, with blind faith, adhere to the precepts handed down to them. Leadership which is shared, however, seeks out other independent voices that will embrace the vision offered, yet encourage the vision's steady expansion through the contribution of their unique insights.

Du Bois took numerous risks in sharing his visions equally with others, but oftentimes his visions were not fulfilled as he had originally intended they would be. The Talented Tenth of the Harlem Renaissance period, for example, disappointed him with their slumped interpretation of the black aesthetic for art and literature. The negative side of shared leadership for Du Bois then was the fact that, once he entrusted his vision to others, he had little control over the form of its final fulfillment. Nevertheless, Du Bois remained firmly committed to a posture of shared leadership. He continued to engage in cooperative ventures despite the consequences to himself or to his dreams. As a positive consequence, he was able to enjoy witnessing the fulfillment of many of his visions within his own lifetime. Although he was not always given credit for all the transformations he certainly initiated, in society, and in the lives of individuals, W. E. B. Du Bois's

transformational leadership was a positive force for change in the early decades of the twentieth century.

In summary, this study concludes that, between 1900 and 1930, Du Bois clearly demonstrated transformational leadership characteristics in his public behaviors. He exercised visionary leadership, for he perceived a possible future where his people would one day enjoy the same benefits of freedom as all other citizens in America.

Du Bois was an intellectual risk-taker. Circumspect in the social environment, he was courageous in his determination to raise the necessary questions which would induce conflict, and thereby awaken society to its larger social responsibility.

As an inspirational leader, Du Bois had some measure of charismatic appeal which allowed him to move his followers either towards decisive action or else toward the reevaluation of their attitudes. Through the creative use of language symbols, and other resources, he implanted forceful images in the minds of his followers and successfully compelled them to embrace the visions of change he proposed.

Finally, Du Bois adhered to the concept of shared leadership in his commitment to empower others. His

ultimate purpose was to transform his followers into leaders capable of critical and independent thought. He accomplished this in part by helping followers reach beyond their low level concerns for safety and security, and awakened them to higher levels of thought, focussing on self-realization, outreach and social responsibility.

Although Du Bois was a model of the transformational style of leadership, his complex nature does not perfectly match this theory as put forward by Burns in his work, Leadership. For, Du Bois, a renaissance man, was a study in paradox. When he revealed his various visions in writing to his reading public for instance, he often displayed his passionate and sensitive nature, yet those who interacted with him on a daily basis, thought of him as cold and aloof. Similarly, he strove to build connections with other leaders in the national and world communities, yet his volatile personality had burned bridges to understanding between his associates in the offices of the NAACP where he worked.

It seems likely that Du Bois was able to exercise transformational leadership characteristics more perfectly in his role as a public servant to the masses than as an colleague of those with whom he worked daily. Perhaps the reason he was an effective transformational leader despite

inconsistencies in his character, was because people were able to sort his more enduring ideas from his fluctuating personality.

That Du Bois's ideas have endured over time, there is no doubt. Many of his thoughts, which are housed in his collected writings, continue to challenge, to inspire, and to be catalysts for change.

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3. Noel M. Tichy and Mary Anne Devanna, The Transformational Leader (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1986), 276-279.

4. August Meier, "From 'Conservative' to 'Radical:' the Ideological Development of W. E. B. Du Bois, 1885-1905," The Crisis, 66 (November, 1959): 527-536.

5. Tichy and Devanna, The Transformational Leader, 27-28, 72-84.

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