

**Du Bois, The Philadelphia Negro, University of Pennsylvania Press; Reprint edition, 1995 [1899], ISBN-10: 0812215737, ISBN-13: 978-0812215731. Chs. XII-XVI, pp.197-367.**

Elijah Anderson Intro.

xviii. Notes that DB follows Booth (London) & Addams' (Chicago) city studies, in the context of the Settlement Movement.

xix. Notes how capitalists set Blacks & white immigrants in competition with each other.

xxii. DB was disillusioned that elites did not emerge as benevolent.

xxvi ff. Describes Philadelphia today: gentrification and problems due to the crack epidemic.

## XII. THE ORGANIZED LIFE OF NEGROES

### 31. History of the Negro Church in Philadelphia

197. Black Church is what is left of African tribal life.

### 32. The Function of the Negro Church

201. NB the Mother AME Church.

### 33. The Present Condition of the Churches

207. Church is the center for all efforts at social betterment, incl mutual aid societies, secret societies, charitable activities.

### 34. Secret and Beneficial Societies, and Co-operative Business

221. Art of organization hard to learn, & Blacks show their deficiencies here.

222. Mutual aid societies go back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century & are the most important form of organization in the Black community today.

224. Secret societies furnish a pastime from monotony. They hold parades, organize insurance. Some insurance schemes are swindles.

### 35. Institutions

### 36. The Experiment of Organization

233-4. These organizations represent the best hope for the advancement of Blacks. However, they are not well organized. Too much intrigue & extravagance, dishonesty & inefficiency. The Black community needs more education & civic education.

## XIII. THE NEGRO CRIMINAL

### 37. History of Negro Crime in the City

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

235. Immigration causes a lack of harmony with the environment, & hence, crime.

### 38. Negro Crime Since the War

#### 39. A Special Study in Crime

252. Most criminals are young single men under 30.

#### 40. Some Cases of Crime

## XIV. PAUPERISM AND ALCOHOLISM

### 41. Pauperism

#### 42. The Drink Habit

#### 43. The Causes of Crime and Poverty

282. Causes of crime are the same for whites & blacks & covary. But they are higher for blacks because there is more poverty among blacks.

283f. Particular causes of crime among Blacks. 1. Slavery & emancipation. 2. Immigration from the South to Philadelphia. 3. Color prejudice.

## XV. THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE NEGRO

### 44. Houses and Rent

295f. Blacks pay much higher rents. This is due to: 1. Segregation & shortage of housing in the Black neighborhoods; 2. Need to live near work & bad transportation [spatial mismatch]; 3. Prejudice. This also leads to great crowding & bad housing conditions.

### 45. Sections and Wards

### 46. Social Classes and Amusements

310ff. The four social classes. I. Higher class of educated white-collar workers & professionals w wives at home & kids in school & stable homes. II. Respectable working class. III. The honest poor. IV. The "submerged tenth" of criminals, prostitutes & indigent. [longer descriptions of each]

316f. Upper classes. Duty of the upper class is to serve & lead the lower classes. Mostly born in Phil & descendants of house servants & often of mixed race.

## XVI. THE CONTACT OF THE RACES

### 47. Color Prejudice

322ff. One of the chief causes of problems of Blacks. Enumerates different spheres where it causes problems: Work, expenditures, children, social intercourse.

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

351. Partial cause of crime.

48. Benevolence

49. The Inter-marriage of the Races

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**Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, Dover, 2016 [1903], ISBN-10: 9780486280417, ISBN-13: 978-0486280417. Chs. I, II, IV, VII, IX, XIII.**

### I. Of Our Spiritual Strivings

1. "How does it feel to be a problem?"
2. Veil. Second sight. Double consciousness.

### II. Of the Dawn of Freedom

9. "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line."
10. History of the Freedmen's Bureau, 1861-72.
22. Accomplishments: established the beginnings of peasant proprietorship, recognition of Blacks before courts, founded free public schools. Failed to improve race relations, discouraged self-reliance, failed to provide land.
24. Present situation of the Negro: not free, can't leave plantation of birth, economic slavery, unequal before courts, segregation, penitentiary, crime. These are all shortcomings of what the Freedmen's Bureau failed to fix.

### IV. Of the Meaning of Progress

Describes the summer teaching he did as a student at Fisk in the countryside of Tennessee, and the aftermath when he re-visited people some years later.

### VII. Of the Black Belt

Describes a trip to the Black Belt of southern Georgia, cotton land. Note the many negative comments about Jews as exploiters, who own plantations now. He's generally speaking of Northern capitalists, but again & again of Jews, often Russian Jews.

78. "The Jew is the heir of the slave baron..."

### IX. Of the Sons of Master and Man

Intergroup relations between Blacks & whites in the South.

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

100f. Physical dwelling: segregation.

101f. Economic conditions: the crop lien (& share-cropping). Again, frequent mention of Jews as new exploiters.

104f. Political activity.

107f. Crime: 1. Result of Emancipation was increase in crime, 2. Police system of south was mainly to control slaves. But Blacks also have a responsibility to reduce crime among them.

111f. Social contact. Cites with approval the relations between some masters & house servants.

113. Bad conditions & prejudice feed on each other; not possible to reduce one without reducing both.

### XIII. Of the Coming of John

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#### **Du Bois, "The Negro Question in the United States," Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, 1906 [Weber's journal]**

243. Emancipation changed little for Blacks in the South. "Negroes had become an unfree caste of laborers. No law changed any of this."

245ff. The sharecropping system. Merchant was in the middle, but made the biggest profits.

248f. The four classes of Black labor. Renters, croppers, sharecropper (vast majority), tenant.

251ff. Crime & convict labor. Origins of the Southern police in the slave patrols. Blacks bound to the soil; resistance to Northern labor recruiters. Antebellum police became Ku Klux Klan. Imprisonment for vagrancy. State made great profits by renting out convicts. Blacks lost faith in the law & prisons became schools for criminals.

264f. Segregation.

267. Exploitation; mentions "clever and unscrupulous Jews."

268ff. Discussion of trade unions & Blacks' exclusion. Supported divisions in the working class.

273ff. Disenfranchisement after the Postbellum amendments.

280f. No social interaction between Blacks & whites. "Before and immediately after the war, as the best Negroes were house servants in the best white families, bonds of intimacy, of affection and sometimes of blood relations between the races existed."

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

281f. Decline of democratic ideology in the US. "The causes of this are (1) the growing inequality in the distribution of wealth, (2) the rise of imperialism and (3) the color line."

284. "The Negro question is only one indication of the increasing class and racial privileges and not, as many optimistically believe, its cause."

286. Cause of antipathy of Blacks by white workers: fear that they will lose their precarious advantage & sink lower.

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**Du Bois, Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil, 2014 [1920], Martino Fine Books, ISBN-10: 1614276889, ISBN-13: 978-1614276883. chs. 2, 4, 6, 7.**

### II. The Souls of White Folk

On colonialism, exploitation, & the World War.

20. Europe is great because of the non-European heritage on which it was built. The World War was caused by competition for colonies to exploit.

21. Exploitation is age-old, but only in the European age has it been based on race. White workers are gaining advantages, but the exploitation of dark-skinned people world-wide means that even modest-income people in the homeland can live better.

22f. Competition for colonies was the cause of the World War. Example of Germany. America lost its right to claim it stood for freedom as it joined this competition for colonies.

### III. The Hands of Ethiopia

29. "Today instead of removing laborers from Africa to distant slavery, industry built on a new slavery approaches Africa to deprive the natives of their land, to force them to toil, and to reap all the profit for the white world."

31. "If the slave cannot be taken from Africa, slavery can be taken to Africa."

34. American Blacks could provide leadership to Africans for their liberation.

### IV. Of Work and Wealth

Class struggle & race hatred in East St. Louis

41. Three groups: the Northern capitalists, the Eastern immigrant workers, and the Southern Black workers.

43. As immigration was cut off after the World War, Northern industrialists looked to Southern Blacks for labor.

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

45f. Blacks were willing to engage in solidarity with the white workers & join unions, but the whites were afraid that their control of the labor market would be threatened by the ongoing migration from the South. The result was the race riots in East St. Louis.

### VI. Of the Ruling of Men

Industrial democracy and political democracy. In the face of tyranny of the majority, calls for Proportional Representation.

66. Shortcomings of developments after the Civil War & the constitutional amendments. Capitalists of the North & South divided labor by race.

67f. Socialism or communism as an answer to industrial democracy limited by restrictions on participation by women, Blacks, & others.

73f. Problem of permanent minorities like Blacks who can never be a majority. Answer may be proportional representation & multiple parties, leading to shifting coalitions in legislation. Notes the tyranny of the many over the few. Notes that minorities do not always want to be just like the majority; they just want to be themselves.

### VII. The Damnation of Women

82. The cruelty of the white South to Black women. DB says he can even forgive slavery because it is an old world practice, but he cannot forgive the abuse & rape of Black women.

83. Notes Black women's role in the founding & maintenance of the Black church.

84ff. Mini-biographies of several Black women, among them Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, & several others.

### VIII. The Immortal Child

Largely on the issues in raising Black children, incl when to introduce to them how to deal with race prejudice & discrimination. How to introduce dignity & self respect, integrity, citizenship.

104. "All our problems center in the child. All our hopes, our dreams are for our children. Has our own life failed? Let its lesson save the children's lives from similar failure."

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**Du Bois, Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880. Free Press, 1998 [1935]. ISBN-10: 0684856573, ISBN-13: 978-0684856575. Ch. xiv, "Counter-Revolution of Property."**

Note: Du Bois sometimes confuses things by using terms like democracy and dictatorship in idiosyncratic fashions. He sometimes uses democracy simply to mean a particular coalition of forces like the Northern carpetbaggers & Black & White workers, or sometimes to mean socialism. He often uses

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

dictatorship to refer to a dominant coalition, including the carpetbagger-worker coalition, but also Northern industrial capitalists & Southern plantation owners. His meaning must be interpreted by context in the text, but it's not always easy.

### XIV. Counter-Revolution of Property 580-635

580f. Du Bois' preferences that were not achieved. The abolitionists/carpetbaggers & B/W labor could have set up a coalition that would have led to democracy & socialism, but their leadership lacked vision (i.e. did not agree with Du Bois), and they fell short. However, the Reconstruction military occupation ended, the KKK used violence, and Northern & Southern property owners were repelled by the prospect of this democracy/socialism & formed a coalition against this movement.

581. Northern capitalists were getting unprecedented profits, based on new technologies, tariff protection from foreign competition, massive labor supplies from foreign immigration, gifts of federal access to raw materials, massive govt investment assistance in building privately owned railroads. This was accompanied by massive government corruption in the North.

583. Southern elites claimed falsely that Reconstruction failed because of the corruption of Black elected representatives, based on Black enfranchisement.

583f. The carpetbagger/labor coalition was based on small, petty-bourgeois property ownership – and Blacks aspired to land ownership. It was overcome by the emerging monopoly property ownership of large capitalists. [Thus, this was also a struggle between earlier & later versions of capitalism]

584. Monopoly capital proceeded by advocating cleaning up govt corruption (which they didn't mean), advocating for property rights to small-scale owners, making alliances with the upper working class of skilled workers, whom they paid higher wages against immigrant – and eventually Black – labor, to whom they paid starvation wages (this split the solidarity of the working classes). At first, they seemed to appeal to Black labor, but after monopoly capital caused Reconstruction to fail, they abandoned the Blacks.

585. A B/W working-class coalition could have defeated this, but the electorate was ignorant. It would have needed a (Marxist) benevolent dictatorship of the proletariat, led by enlightened leaders.

586f. Immediately after the Civil War, the Southern plantation owners were impoverished and their property ownership was being challenged. Northern capital entered the scene as carpetbaggers & made alliances with labor, esp Black, to gain control of legislatures. Blacks called for education & uplift, paid for with taxes – plus land, which would have come from expropriating the plantation owners. The carpetbaggers called for investment help for infrastructure, esp railroads. This tax burden & potential land expropriation fell on the shoulders of the Southern plantation owners, who massively resisted these developments. Also, the freed Blacks could not conceive of a form of production beyond small-farm ownership, & didn't understand the emerging big-industry model.

591. Recaps the lost opportunity for democracy (i.e. socialism) with the failure of a B/W labor coalition that would have expropriated capital. Cites Marx.

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

595. Even the abolitionist-democracy movement was based on (small) property ownership, and the protest of the Southern plantation owners aroused their sympathy. The Northerners could support emancipation, but not the abolition or govt redistribution of property. The Panic of 1873 reinforced these sentiments.
- 596f. Big capital moved to split the working class into well-paid high skilled native white workers on one side, and immigrant & Black workers on the other side who were paid poverty wages.
597. "Labor war ensued in the North, and serfdom was established in the South."
598. The poverty in the South after the Civil War was extreme & engulfed both Black & White workers, as well as plantation owners.
- 599ff. The land-hunger of the Blacks and the thrift channeled into the Freedmen's Saving & Trust Company. Note 40 acres (601).
601. Against this was arrayed the determination of the plantation owners to keep Blacks landless and the sympathy of Northern capitalists against property expropriation.
602. "To have given each one of the million Negro free families a forty-acre freehold would have made a basis of real democracy in United States that might easily have transformed the modern world."
607. Three classes in the South after the Civil War: Black labor, which was mainly ignorant; impoverished plantation owners who still retained their land & their knowledge of politics; and impoverished & ignorant white workers & peasants. The carpetbaggers entered into this scene.
- 608ff. Three factors complicated any attempt at a carpetbagger + B/W labor democratic alliance: (1) the carpetbaggers proposed to ally with planters in dominating labor. (2) Planter concessions to Black met with massive resistance from poor whites & also white shopkeepers & former overseers, who wanted to join the planter class politically against Blacks. Note that Northern & Southern capitalists were split, & the latter hated the former, while the Northerners didn't understand why united property owners could not divide & dominate labor in the South as they did in the North. And (3) poor whites could not initially decide whether to ally with plantation owners, carpetbaggers, or Black workers.
611. As compared to Black demand for land: land was redistributed in European cases with the emancipation of serfs & peasants. [Unclear except in the cases of the French or Russian revolutions.]
- 612ff. Struggle for control of the state. NB issues of taxation, debt, corruption. Issues of Negro uplift & railroad subvention. Blacks and/or carpetbaggers mainly benefitted from these policies, while plantation owners mainly bore the costs.
622. "The overthrow of Reconstruction was in essence a revolution inspired by property, and not a race war." That is, racism was an outcome of the class struggle, not a cause of the failure of Reconstruction.
- 623f. Poor whites feared any alliance that left them out and created disadvantages for them, as they had been disadvantaged before Emancipation by slave labor. Therefore, they aimed at an alliance

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

with the plantation owners & created the Klan & carried out violence directed at Blacks. This white cross-class coalition began to blame Blacks for corruption & move toward disenfranchisement & eventually Jim Crow. It also allied with Northern capital at the expense of the carpetbagger-B/W labor coalition. The only thing that could have saved the latter coalition would have been the US army, but it withdrew and Reconstruction failed. Ironically, it was not Black corruption, but Black success that generated this fear, originating in poor whites.

625f. Northern capitalists also began to fear a labor coalition against them, and they also feared that this coalition would be supported with Black enfranchisement. They therefore turned to an alliance with Southern planters in a pro-capitalist, anti-labor alliance. This led to the *Bargain of 1876* to end Reconstruction.

630. "The bargain of 1876 was essentially an understanding by which the Federal Government ceased to sustain the right to vote of half of the laboring population of the South, and left capital as represented by the old planter class, the new Northern capitalist, and the capitalist that began to rise out of the poor whites, with a control of labor greater than in any modern industrial state in civilized lands. *Out of that there has arisen in the South an exploitation of labor unparalleled in modern times*, with a government in which all pretense at party alignment or regard for universal suffrage is given up. The methods of government have gone uncriticized, and elections are by secret understanding and manipulation; the dictatorship of capital in the South is complete. The military dictatorship was withdrawn, and the representatives of Northern capital gave up all efforts to lead the Negro vote. The new dictatorship became a manipulation of the white labor vote which followed the lines of similar control in the North, while it proceeded to deprive the black voter by violence and force of any vote at all. *The rivalry of these two classes of labor and their competition neutralized the labor vote in the South*. The black voter struggled and appealed, but it was in vain. And *the United States, reinforced by the increased political power of the South based on disfranchisement of black voters, took its place to reinforce the capitalistic dictatorship of the United States, which became the most powerful in the world, and which backed the new industrial imperialism and degraded colored labor the world over.*" [emphases added]

631. "*The United States was turned into a reactionary force. It became the cornerstone of that new imperialism which is subjecting the labor of yellow, brown and black peoples to the dictation of capitalism organized on a world basis; and it has not only brought nearer the revolution by which the power of capitalism is to be challenged, but also it is transforming the fight to the sinister aspect of a fight on racial lines embittered by awful memories.*" [emphases added]

631-2. The North accepted the argument that emancipation had failed because of the incompetence of Blacks. While untrue, it led to a racist social Darwinism survival of the fittest ideology, a theory which was then applied internationally.

632. "Americans saw throughout the world the shadow of the coming change of the philanthropic attitude which had dominated the early nineteenth century, with regard to the backward races. International and commercial imperialism began to get a vision. *Within the very echo of that philanthropy which had abolished the slave trade, was beginning a new industrial slavery of black and brown and yellow workers in Africa and Asia*. Arising from this, as a result of this economic foundation, came the change in the attitude toward these darker people. They were no longer "Brothers in Black"; they were inferiors. *These inferiors were to be governed for their*

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

*own good. They were to be raised out of sloth and laziness by being compelled to work. The whole attitude of Europe was reflected in America and it found in America support for its own attitude. [emphases added]*

634-5. "The immense profit from this new exploitation and world-wide commerce enabled a guild of millionaires to engage the greatest engineers, the wisest men of science, as well as pay high wage to the more intelligent labor and at the same time to have left enough surplus to *make more thorough the dictatorship of capital over the state and over the popular vote, not only in Europe and America but in Asia and Africa.* The world wept because within the exploiting group of New World masters, greed and jealousy became so fierce that they fought for trade and markets and materials and slaves all over the world until at last in 1914 the world flamed in war. The fantastic structure fell, leaving grotesque Profits and Poverty, Plenty and Starvation, Empire and Democracy, staring at each other across World Depression. And the rebuilding, whether it comes now or a century later, *will and must go back to the basic principles of Reconstruction in the United States during 1867-1876 – Land, Light and Leading for slaves black, brown, yellow and white, under a dictatorship of the proletariat.*" [emphases added]

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**Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn (The Oxford W. E. B. Du Bois), Oxford University Press; 1st edition, 2014 [1940], ISBN-10: 0199386714, ISBN-13: 978-0199386710. Chs. VI-VII, pp. 68-110.**

### VI. The White World 68

82. Table of the characteristic traits of: Christian, Gentleman, American, White Man. The traits of the first three are mostly positive; those of the last are violent.

85-7. Democracy cannot exist without reduction of class differences & without ending the exploitation of Black, brown, & yellow people at home & around the world.

### VII. The Colored World Within 88

Strategies for the advancement of Blacks.

95f. Role & dilemma of the talented tenth: assimilation to whites or betterment of poorer Blacks.

97. Blacks cannot duplicate the class structure of whites because they do not have the political power or wealth to get capital & command a labor force.

97ff. Three strategies: Protest, but this depends on the response of whites; emigration, which has failed, but which may one day be viable; self-segregation, which he will describe below.

103ff. Four Black responses to the Depression: Communism; joining labor unions; joining labor unions & also seeking to become capitalists; his proposal: consumer cooperatives.

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

105-110. Description of consumer cooperatives. It's a form of self segregation. It builds on the consumer power of the large Black population, & aims to direct their consumption to Black businesses.

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### Du Bois, "My Evolving Program for Negro Freedom," 1944.

57. His summary:

"To achieve this freedom, I have essayed these main paths:

#### 1. 1885-1910

"The Truth shall make ye free." This plan was directed toward the majority of white Americans, and rested on the assumption that once they realized the scientifically attested truth concerning Negroes and race relations, they would take action to correct all wrong.

#### 2. 1900–1930

United action on the part of thinking Americans, white and black, to force the truth concerning Negroes to the attention of the nation. This plan assumed that the majority of Americans would rush to the defense of democracy, if they realized how race prejudice was threatening it, not only for Negroes but for whites; not only in America but in the world.

#### 3. 1928-to the present

Scientific investigation and organized action among Negroes, in close cooperation, to secure the survival of the Negro race, until the cultural development of America and the world is willing to recognize Negro freedom. This plan realizes that the majority of men do not usually act in accord with reason, but follow social pressures, inherited customs and long-established, often sub-conscious, patterns of action. Consequently, race prejudice in America will linger long and may even increase. It is the duty of the black race to maintain its cultural advance, not for itself alone, but for the emancipation of mankind, the realization of democracy and the progress of civilization."

41. First plan was naïve. "I was not at the time sufficiently Freudian to understand how little human action is based on reason; nor did I know Karl Marx well enough to appreciate the economic foundations of human history."

42f. 1890-1910 very consequential for Blacks. Consolidation of big capital & great efficiency of agricultural production in the South, with capital keeping Black & white workers at odds. Fraudulent government & Jim Crow. Thus, he left Atlanta U & went to the NAACP.

49. Pan African Congresses of 1919, 1921 and 1923. After Russian revolution, began to read Marx.

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

50. Visited Russia in 1928. "Russia was and still is to my mind, the most hopeful land in the modern world." Became more oriented to economics & developed a plan for consumer cooperatives.
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**Du Bois, The World and Africa and Color and Democracy (The Oxford W. E. B. Du Bois), Oxford University Press; 1st edition, 2014 [1945, 1947], ISBN-10: 0199386749, ISBN-13 : 978-0199386741. Chs II-III, pp. 11-51.**

II. The White Masters of the World 11

III. The Rape of Africa 28

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**Du Bois, "Socialism and the American Negro," 1960.**

Full advocacy for socialism.

3. He felt that his advocacy of consumer cooperatives failed because it really needed government support, which it did not have.