

VAN YÜZÜNCÜ YIL UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF AFRO-AMERICAN SOCIETY

M.A. THESIS


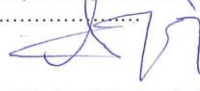
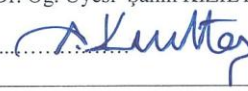

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VAN, 2019

Kabul ve Onay

Mehmet BİLEM tarafından hazırlanan “ THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF AFRO-AMERICAN SOCIETY ” adlı tez çalışması aşağıdaki jüri tarafından OY BİRLİĞİ / OY ÇOKLUĞU ile Van Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalında YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ olarak kabul edilmiştir.	
Danışman: Unvanı Adı SOYADI Anabilim Dalı, Üniversite Adı Bu tezin, kapsam ve kalite olarak Doktora Tezi olduğunu onaylıyorum/onaylamıyorum	Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Zeki EDİS 
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Tez Savunma Tarihi:	09./07/2019
Jüri tarafından kabul edilen bu tezin Yüksek Lisans Tezi olması için gerekli şartları yerine getirdiğini onaylıyorum.  Doç. Dr. Bekir KOÇLAR Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Müdürü	

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Index of Symbols and Abbreviations

The abbreviations used in this research have been given with their definitions below.

Abbreviations	Definitions
IPUMS:	Integrated Public Use Microdata Series
NAACP:	National Association American Colored People



Acknowledgment

First, I express my sincere gratitude to my teacher and supervisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Zeki EDİS, for his supervision, and his patience, without whom I was not able to excel at doing this thesis. I would also like to direct my thankfulness to my beloved wife, Makbule BİLEM for her kind support and patience in the process. Finally, I also express my special thanks to all my teachers in English Language and Literature department in Van-Turkey and all my friends.



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TEMMUZ, 2019

AFRİKAN-AMERİKAN TOPLUMUN AYDINLANMASI

Özet

Bugünkü Afrika kökenli Amerikan toplumunun doğru değerlendirilmesi Afrika kökenli bu toplumun tarihi arka planının incelenmesine bağlıdır. Tarih, günümüz sanat ve edebiyatının gerçek anlayışında kritik bir rol oynadığından, tarihsel ve sanatsal bir arka plan çalışması, sanatsal hareketlerin ve eserlerin anlaşılması için kritik öneme sahiptir. Bu tez, Afrika kökenli Amerikan toplumunun tarihini ve sanatını onların kölelik geçmişi çerçevesinde kronolojik olarak incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Tezde benimsenen yöntem, olayların ve akımların anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunması umulan kronolojik bir sıralamaya dayanmaktadır. Bu çalışmada; köle gemisinin beyazların toprağına ilk temasından ‘Vatandaşlık Hakları Hareketi’ne kadar, olayların ve figürlerin sonuçlar üzerindeki etkileri, olaylar ve önemli figürler ile beraber çalışılarak, objektif bir şekilde ortaya konulmak suretiyle analiz edilmiştir. Bu tezde, tarihi olayların, öne çıkan kişilerin, liderlerin ve zamanın aklının tarihsel arka planını ortaya koyduktan sonra, bunların Afrikalı Amerikan toplumuna özgürlük yolundaki katkılarını araştırmayı sorgulamayı amaçladım. Siyah ırkın kültürel, sanatsal ve bir dereceye kadar politik uyanışı olan Harlem Rönesans’ına tezde geniş bir yer ayrılmıştır. Harlem’in devlerinin önemi vurgulanmış, onların Rönesans’a olan katkıları ve gelecek nesillere açtıkları yol ortaya konmuştur. Tezde uygulanan yöntem bilimin bir ilkesi olarak, Rönesans’ın faydaları ve zararları incelenmiştir. Hareketin entelektüellerinin, Afrika kökenli Amerikan toplumunun orijinal bir ürünü olan Caz Müziğine gereken önemi görmezden gelmeleri sorgulanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afrikan Amerikan Tarihi, Kölelik, Amerikan İç Savaşı, Vatandaşlık Hakları Hareketi, Harlem Rönesansı, Harlem.

Sayfa Sayısı : 93

Tez Danışmanı : Assist. Prof. Dr. Zeki EDİS

(M.A. THESIS)
Mehmet BİLEM
VAN YUZUNCU YIL UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JULY, 2019

THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF AFRO-AMERICAN SOCIETY

Abstract

Today's African American society's true evaluation depends on the observation of historic background of the African American society's historical background. As history plays a critical role in the true understanding of today's art and literature, a historical and artistic background study is critical for the understanding of the artistic movements and works. This thesis aims chronologically to research the history and art of the African American nation in the framework of their slavery experience. The methodology adopted in the thesis depends on a chronological order, which is expected to contribute to understanding of the events and movements. From the first contact of the slave ship with the white soil to the 'Civil Rights Movement', according to the effects of the figures and events on the consequences, the investigation has objectively presented and analyzed studying on each historical event and figure. After presenting the historical background of the events, the prominent figures, leaders, and minds of the era, I aimed to question and challenge their effects on the African American path of freedom. Majority of the apparently favoring events and figures proved to have disrupted the progress of the race's freedom. Harlem Renaissance, which is the cultural, artistic and to some extent the political revival of the black race, is, dedicated a wide coverage in the thesis. The giants of Harlem are highlighted, their contribution to the Renaissance, and the path they opened for the next generation leaders have accordingly put forth. As the principle of the methodology adopted in the thesis, the Renaissance's benefits, and harms are explored. The fact that movements' intellectuals ignored Jazz as an original product of African American race is challenged.

Keywords: African American History, Slavery, American Civil War, Civil Rights Movement, Harlem Renaissance, Harlem.

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Scientific Director: Assist Prof. Dr. Zeki EDİS

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Introduction

The road to the enlightenment of the African Americans has been neglected and left into darkness. The history of black race's struggle to obtain freedom dates back to the first ship of slaves, which headed to Europe. From the slaves' first resistance to the Civil Rights Movement, every critical era and event is planned to be explored and illuminated in the thesis. My main goal is to avoid subjective evaluation and put forth the events and their effects on the progress of the black American's, studying and presenting the contribution or interruption of any historical event and figure. While exploring the black history and its progress, I have tried to use many valuable resources such as; autobiographies, books, and criticism of the historical periods as various as possible. As I mentioned before, the historical progress of the black Americans, which is still debated, dates back from their first interaction with white men at the time of the Middle Passage. Their being transferred by force to the white soil was against their will, and from the beginning of the slave trade; there was resistance by some slaves due to inhumane conditions on board. They were chained and made to dance not to die of immobility. The inhumane treatment, unfortunately, continued until modern times. Although political and legal amendments were to be done in favor of the black race, the application of these improvements took time and the legal amendments were not fully applied by the authorities. When America reached the 20th century, the main problem of the nation was racial conflicts. The main reason for the Civil War was also abolishing slavery though there were some economic concerns as well. The most striking point surprised me that while doing the thesis is that after each amendment, or together with each seemingly positive event in the history of black men, many life-disrupting aspects were revealed and the seemingly positive amendments, unfortunately, proved to be meaningless. This reality does not stem from the white oppression only, it was actually observed with the actions of the black leaders as well. They regretted a lot of decisions and actions while they collaborated with their white counterparts. This binary and destructive opposition of the history of the black race is employed as the main technique in the thesis as well. That is to say, every period of the history is analyzed and seeming positive periods will, later on, be challenged with the undesired consequences of the era. Exploring the discriminations and unfair

treatment does not aim to locate the victim and criminals but instead, to shed light to the mostly ignored and blurred progress of the black American history. Together with their artistic and cultural heritage and their struggles to be integrated into the American dream and the possibility and laudability of the dream is to be analyzed. The history science and historiography of the black past is also to be questioned due to the unfair treatment that meets us in the end of civil war and World War I. In other words, the major historians of America, instead of preparing a basis for the integration of the black race into the society, they mostly preferred to overpass their black allies during wars. The next chapters are dedicated to the cultural and artistic revival of the New Negro Movement and the criticism over its success or failure. The acquisitions and cultural heritage revived at the time of Harlem Renaissance is explored and the positive and negative sides and its effects on both the later decades and on modern times will be explored.

CHAPTER I

AFRICAN-AMERICAN HISTORY

1.1. Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

“The history of African Americans is nothing less than the dramatic saga of a people attempting to remake the world”, state D. G. Kelley and Earl Lewis for a clear and short definition of the race’s history (2000: ix). African-American history is a relatively new and raw field for the men of letters as well as historians. As the race’s almost everything has been ignored and neglected, the history of the black people accordingly has been left out from the nation’s historiography as well. “The history of African Americans begins on the African continent, a huge and varied land bounded by the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. It was home to people with different languages, traditions, histories, and religions” (Robin & Lewis, 2000: ix). In this chapter, the thesis aims to uncover the periodical and chronological history of African-American history by giving accounts to the significant movements and substantial events that have given rise to memorable changes in the context of the Black World’s development. This chapter is to cover the immigration and the main reasons lying behind them, slavery and racism. The main source that has been used for the background information of the Black World is Toyin Falola and Amanda Warnock’s invaluable book; *Encyclopedia of the Middle Passage* published by Greenwood Press. A closer study of African-American history starts with poignant records of the dehumanizing slave trade, slavery, segregation and unfortunately lynching and in some cases assassinations. However, the main approach of this thesis is to be critical and objective towards any field studied and explored. This pursuit of objectivity has been maintained in the research phase of this study. The historical perspective never undertakes a role of ethical evaluation of the records of any nation, and consequently, the events that have been included, are only to objectively unfold the history of The Afro-American race, so that the readers and researchers of today’s black world could evaluate the situation better. As mentioned above the Afro-American history greets us with sorrowful and inhumane applications at the first

contact of Africans with the Europeans, though slavery had existed in their homelands yet different from the one applied in their target countries (Falola & Warnock, 2007: xv). Kelley and Lewis also put forth similar ideas about the existence of slavery in the native land of Africans while highlighting the difference to the new enslavement system they were faced in their target countries after being transferred to West;

Although forms of bondage had existed in West and Central Africa long before the trans-Atlantic slave trade, human beings were rarely the main commodity at the marketplace. Here in the modern world, the enslaved African was inspected, assessed, auctioned, bought, sold, bartered, and treated in any manner the auctioneer or owner saw fit. (2000: x)

The age of discovery is credited to be the starting point of the interracial slavery between east and west. European nations such as Spain and Portugal were the leading countries for the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Falola & Warnock, 2007: xvii). However, one immediate question emerges as to why Europeans brought slaves to their countries and why was there such a requirement? Written in the Encyclopedia of African-American history, the reason is attributed to economic urges, mainly to agricultural needs. “Because the European mainland lacked a substantial agricultural export economy, slaves in Europe worked in a variety of occupations, including fishing, public works, and agricultural cultivation for local markets, and worked as vendors and domestic servants” (Falola & Warnock, 2007: xvii).

European pioneers of the trans-Atlantic slave trade did in fact, compromise a multi-layered slave trade and colonization practices. The Spanish and Portuguese extended their imperial practices to the African continent and to especially agriculturally useful lands. Every historical event or a record has more or fewer bonds with economic concerns. This reality was the very exact case for the slave trade as well. “The trans-Atlantic slave trade grew out of the need for an inexpensive source of labor for sugar plantations”. (Falola & Warnock, 2007: xvii). To cover this need, Spain and Portugal started to colonize African productive territories. “In the mid-fifteenth century, Spain and Portugal had begun to cultivate sugar in the Canaries, Madeira, and Sao Tome and Principe” (Falola & Warnock, 2007: xvii). In the process of cultivation of sugar, The Spanish and Portuguese used the slaves they traded from the African countries. This two dimensional over exploitation provided

both the workforce and the plantation at a single stroke, and it was a very profitable way to follow, from the perspective of the conductors of slavery and colonizers.

1.2. Exchanging Slaves for Commodities

However, it would be an unfair and shallow evaluation to base the slave trade mainly on the European countries' economic profits, as it is a well-known fact that there are two sides to every story. We do also encounter internal support from the African countries and their leaders either. In other words, African countries and their governments had sometimes allied with the Europeans for the slave trade. The African masters were gaining profits as well which is set forth clearly in the lines below:

Atlantic Africans imported muskets, fuzee, pistols, and rifles of various sorts, a pattern that generally became known as the "gun-slave cycle." Some sort of firearms were linked to certain African slave trade regions, which earned them such peculiar names as the "Bonny Musket" and "Angola Gun" (Falola & Warnock, 2007: 374).

The African countries as seems clear above had exchanged the slaves for commodities they needed and which they could not produce in their own lands. The firearms were not the only commodity they exchanged though. They imported beverages as well.

Early on in the slave trade, alcoholic beverages were exported in exchange for slaves and became highly consumed in Africa. Initially, wines, gin, and other European and Atlantic liquors were used to supply the slave trade. Since the mid-seventeenth century, however, the Brazilian jeribita (or distilled sugarcane brandy) rose as the main alcoholic beverage imported into Western Africa, specifically into Angola, followed by Caribbean and North America (Falola & Warnock, 2007: 374).

Apart from trading commodities to be consumed, Africans used to buy the raw material for their economic capital as well. They bought from the Europeans the raw material that they could convert to capital. In other words, they have exchanged money for slaves as explained below:

There were some sorts of trade commodities that Africans imported not only as consumer goods but also as currency. This was the case with copper and brass

bars, mainly, but iron bars were also minted or used as currency in the African economy (Falola & Warnock, 2007: 374).

Another common material given to Africans in exchange for the slaves was tobacco. There were also favorable products, which the African tribes desired more; and which founded a historical way between Africa and Brazil through the way of slave trade. The bridge that was founded via slave funding source and tobacco provider is mentioned below:

Tobacco was another popular luxury good in West Africa. Although produced by settlers in all American regions, the Brazilian variety was preferred by African consumers, mainly along the Slave Coast. This trade gave rise to a link between Northeast Brazil and that region, a trade that lasted through the extinction of the Atlantic slave trade (Falola & Warnock, 2007: 374).

1.3. The End of Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and First Resistance

The trans-Atlantic slave trade lasted until the beginning of the 19th century. According to the *Encyclopedia of African-American History*, the decline was due to several reasons of which the most influential ones were; the resistance of slaves themselves in the middle passage and other American colonies, the humanitarian resistance, and last but not least the economic decline in profit. As for the economic reason; historians have debated over whether the decline occurred due to the decrease in monetary profit or any other reason (Falola & Warnock, 2007: xx). For some, the main reason is thought to have stemmed from solely economic reasons rather than humanitarian resistance. “In 1944, Eric Williams, author of the seminal text *Capitalism and Slavery*, advanced the argument that economics rather than humanitarianism led to the abolition of the slave trade and American slavery” (Amanda Warnock and Toyin Falola xx).

As mentioned above, the trans-Atlantic slave trade decreased and in the end, banned by a law named the *Abolition Act* in the British Parliament (Falola & Warnock, 2007: xx-xxi). It is understood clearly that several reasons played a crucial role in the termination of the slave trade, yet for clear roundup, it is useful to give wide coverage to Toyin Falola and Amanda Warnock in their well-prepared *Encyclopedia of African American History* as written so:

By the 1860s, the turning tide of public opinion, combined with the increased enforcement of anti-slaving laws, led to the cessation of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Concurrent with the nineteenth century decline of the slave trade, colonial powers and American nations began the process of abolishing slavery on the continent (Falola & Warnock, 2007: xxi).

As a result of the abolition of the slave trade, the slaves were freed however it would be wrong to take it for granted as morally the best thing to have been done, for that we, later on, get to know that this was granted in exchange for the slaves to take part in the independence struggles in Latin American countries (Falola & Warnock, 2007: xxi).

It is possible to evaluate the sparkles and resistance during the slave trade both inside the vessels and outside the vessels as the first steps towards emancipation, Harlem Renaissance and finally even to the 1954 civil rights acquisitions of the black nation. The slaves that were carried via the vessels were kept deprived of food and water, is only allowed to survive and fed only to stay alive till the vessels reach out to the destinations. Throughout the whole journey which could last up to 3 months, the slaves were chained and forced to dance, which later on would be known as “dancing slaves” so that they wouldn’t die of immobility. This fact was known with the revelations of a slave named Olaudah Equiano;

Olaudah Equiano’s, a former slave and influential abolitionist, publishing his personal account, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, The African, Written by Himself*, in an effort to familiarize the public with his experience of enslavement and the Middle Passage” (Falola & Warnock, 2007: xx).

1.4. The Effects of Slaves on Industrialization and Human Rights

Although we are able to define the first resistance and the sparkles of the slaves’ reactions as the first steps taken to change the fate of the race, it is hard to see it as a success. The white *civilized* oppression in any era until modern times has oppressed the riots and resistance of the black people cruelly. Robin D. G. Kelley and Earl Lewis state that though the slaves and other fighting Africans were not able to be successful, their actions, thoughts and the dreams they had, are responsible for

some of the most influential economic, political, and cultural developments for their next generations brothers (2000: ix). Related to this aspect of the changes that occurred in the world after the slave trade, Toyin Falola and Amanda Warnock also share a similar view. According to them, the slave trade has contributed to the dynamics of the British of Industrial Revolution. That is to say, they were used as the labor force for the hard work needed for the Industrial Revolution.

In recent contributions to the field of what is increasingly referred to as Atlantic history, Joseph Inikori's *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England* (2002) argues for the centrality of trade to the Industrial Revolution in England and the importance of Africans, both on the continent and in the Americas, as producers of export commodities and consumers of manufactured goods... (Falola & Warnock, 2007: xxv).

The lines above by Falola and Warnock imply that the trans-Atlantic slave trade has both funded the economic power and the workforce for the breakthroughs that Western Civilizations are boasted of having fulfilled earlier than other continents and civilizations. The main reason for the slave trade was the exploitation labor force of the black race as Kelley and Lewis explains it accordingly:

The Americas were indeed rich in natural resources, but the bounty had to be excavated, cultivated, and processed. Labor was needed. The Europeans had already begun exploiting African labor on plantations in the Mediterranean and off the coast of West Africa, so the modern world's turn to Africa as a reservoir of slaves was not surprising. (2000: x)

It is understood that after the black slaves were transferred to the Americas and European countries, they were used both in the economic growth of the continent, and the important historical accomplishments such as the industrial revolution. However, after fulfilling the Industrial Revolution, the white masters did not let the enslaved Africans turn back to their homelands. The new industrial European countries needed the black slaves for the new working body of the system they have built upon the shoulders of the oppressed slaves. Black labor also contributed to the development of capitalism as it needed the working people to rely on (Robin & Lewis, 2000: ix). What these lines mean is that in fact; bringing the black people in order to maximize the level of welfare of their own white

civilizations, the European pioneers and conductors of the slave trade have on the other hand, incorporated the black sphere of the world into the history and development of the world. They intentionally or unintentionally have integrated the African originated slaves inside the context of the European and America's history. No scholar is able to refer to American History without touching upon the history of people of African origin residing in the USA.

On the other hand, it is possible to claim that once brought and incorporated into the system of European lifestyle, whether as slaves or freed laborers, the blacks have been prominent agents in the making and renewing the world of humanity. Their victimization and enslavement under inhumane conditions raised awareness among the white inhabitants of Western countries. After they were enslaved in European countries, the blacks even by their sufferings and the inequality they were forced to face, among other people, raised awareness about the value of justice and equality in the society. In other words, the pain and miseries of the black slaves contributed to the humanitarian values reaching and remaining on the agenda of the abolitionist humanitarian groups of people in the European nations. Supporting this idea, James R. Grossman states: "In African-American history, images of victimization spring to mind as readily as notions of progress" (2000: 345). Grossman's notions of progress imply the culmination of modern values for a better life inside the United States for all colors and races. However, in order for the invaluable public opinion and humanitarian awareness to be raised, the pains and ordeals of the blacks needed to be revealed and exposed to the consciousness of the society. Thus thought and acted the 20th century African Americans leader W. E. B. Du Bois as well. W.E.B. Du Bois (William Edward Burghardt Du Bois) is definitely one of the first and most influential names and figures to be encountered while studying African-American History. W.E.B. Du Bois and his contributions will be embraced in details in the succeeding parts of the Harlem Renaissance Chapter. The road to the enlightenment and freedom for the Afro-American has been a difficult path to walk through. If conceded as a success, their centuries-long struggles need to be well explored and studied which is one of the aims of the thesis.

African American history, due to having being controlled and written under the white hegemony, has misdirected the scholars most of the times. A civilization

that has played the leading role in the enslavement of another group of humanity has accordingly shaped the historiography of the black race according to their best interest as well. The history of Africans that were recorded by the white pens had reflected the inhumane and unfair treatment of the black race as a natural and required phenomenon. “African American history, like all history, remains as much a matter of argument as a matter of record” indicates John Ernest (2004: 1). Ernest implies that the history written about the African-American people was no more than any other reflection of the black race’s production, which was wrong. He goes as:

Even when they tried to claim the putatively transcultural or “objective” authority of historical writing, early African American writers understood that conceptions of historical scholarship and methodology were deeply implicated in the system of white supremacy that defined every other aspect of American life. (2004: 3)

The philosophy or image that gains ground in the mental paradigm of the society, if wrong and misleading, is to perform the same flaws while reflecting the black race’s past as well. As today’s media is not unquestionable, the history, which is the refined recordings of the past media, is to be questioned and altered if needed. What gave rise to the fully emancipated civilized black race in America is actually; the awareness reached by obtaining control on their own media and historiography which peaked in the Harlem Renaissance decades. The flaws and missing parts inside the context, which Ernest names as ‘ignorance’ is not coincidental or due to lack of knowledge as he states: “And this ignorance is not simply an effect of incomplete knowledge or of other gaps in the archive; it is, in fact, the purpose of a historical understanding shaped by and devoted to white supremacist ideology” (Liberation Historiography: African American Writers and the Challenge of History, 1794-1861, 2004, p. 4). Ernest points out that the African people were forced to accept the history shaped by the dominant ideology of white supremacy as states;

In all forms and forums of historical writing, African Americans necessarily had to contend with and against the developing tradition of white American historical thought as well as the pointed erasure of Africa as a site of history in Enlightenment thought.. (2004: 5)

From the perspective of the white sphere the image of history is the very opposite for Ernest;

Included in this struggle was the developing false consciousness fundamental to white American historical thought that made it possible to celebrate liberty

in a nation in which slavery influenced every aspect of social life—economic, political, legal, and religious. (2004: 5)

The African American history under the white supremacy has been neglected as stated above and consequently, any research on the field would face the researchers with the concrete fact that the majority of resources are prejudiced and in some extreme cases, it would not be a surprise to encounter exclusions of historical recordings of the black race. Related to this aspect of the history written by white American hegemony, Ernest comments;

As anyone who has tried to do even the most basic research in African American history and culture of this time will know, the most readily available documents and sources of historical information either omit African Americans or present African American experience under the slanted white light of the dominant culture. (2004: 5)

Ernest goes ahead to exemplify his allegation by telling a story of an African American couple;

At the end of Octavia Butler's *Kindred*, a 1970s Californian interracial couple is transported to the pre-Civil War South, and when they are finally returned to the twentieth century, they travel to Maryland to gather evidence of their strange journey over space and time. They visit the Maryland Historical Society, “itself a converted early mansion,” but they find that many of those whom they knew in the past are excluded from the records and that the nineteenth-century newspapers offer partial and slanted accounts. (2004: 5)

African American history, though lacking deep inspection throughout their struggles towards emancipation, has been their most inspiring fact that led them from slavery to freedom. As history aims to avoid recurrent mistakes of mankind, theirs has been confined to their own experiences which found no reflection in the national agenda when they first came in contact with the white Americans. The black race has faced the most demanding way of success in their quest to exist in the world arena. Their exposure to discrimination, even after the abolition of slavery and emancipation, continued to be maintained under a softened and legalized segregation. There were periods of positive developments for the black race, yet every so-called progress granted by the white supremacy, has, in the long run, troubled them and in some cases weakened their power. The historical developments

and the outline of their path to freedom are planned to be explored in the following chapters in details.



CHAPTER II

AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

2.1. Historical Background

Civil War in American History is an extensive and bloody war, which occurred between the Union and Confederate States at the in 1860s. Lasting four years it left incredible casualties. The war “ (...) resulted in some 620,000 casualties (with more recent estimates suggesting the number could be 750,000 or more)” (Civil War in U.S. history, 2018). The thesis which is mainly concentrated on the African American history and the black race’s enlightenment process, could not be analyzed thoroughly enough without touching upon the civil war. What matters in fact for the thesis in about the civil war, is that it was a war for the abolition of slavery. The table below shows the population and its percentage related to the condition of slaves and freed black people and white people according to the states they used to live in the year 1860.

Region	White		Free black		Slave		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
New England	3,110,480	99.2%	24,711	0.8%	0	0.0%	3,135,191	100.0%
Mid-Atlantic	7,327,548	98.2%	131,272	1.8%	18	0.0%	7,458,838	100.0%
Midwest	7,833,904	99.2%	65,719	0.8%	17	0.0%	7,899,640	100.0%
Upper South	4,463,501	76.4%	183,369	3.1%	1,195,985	20.5%	5,842,855	100.0%
Lower South	3,573,199	55.9%	67,418	1.1%	2,754,526	43.1%	6,395,143	100.0%
Far West	382,149	98.9%	4,259	1.1%	0	0.0%	386,408	100.0%
United States	26,690,781	85.8%	476,748	1.5%	3,950,546	12.7%	31,118,075	100.0%

(Data Analysis: African Americans on the Eve of the Civil War, n.d.)

Table 1: Data Analysis: African Americans on the Eve of the Civil War

Source: Bowdoin University, Data Analysis,

As it is clearly seen in the table during the period of the civil war, the majority of black were in the southern states and only a small group of them were freed. The economic structure mainly based on the employment of slaves in the

agricultural plantations. The Constitutional government wanted to ban slavery in any part of America. However, southern slave-populated states resisted this demand claiming that it is an internal affair to be decided by their own states. The situation of the two sides was followed:

During the 19th century, the South remained almost completely agricultural, with an economy and a social order largely founded on slavery and the plantation system. These mutually dependent institutions produced the staples, especially cotton, from which the South derived its wealth. The North had its own great agricultural resources, was always more advanced commercially, and was also expanding industrially. (Civil War in U.S. history, 2018)

As it can be understood, the war had economic roots as well. There are some views, which see the root-cause of the war as being disguised under the abolition of slavery easy on the ear. There are also rumors whether the war was inevitable or could have been avoided and solved peacefully. Related to the assumptions Louis P. Masur states that:

Perhaps no event in American history has invited more speculation about whether it could have been avoided or turned out differently than the Civil War. It is an intriguing thought experiment to pose such questions as to what if Lincoln had acquiesced on Southern secession, or what if a settlement guaranteeing slavery had been reached in the winter of 1860–61, or what if some general at any one of a half-dozen battles had managed to decimate the enemy army. But ultimately such “what if” questions tell us nothing about what was. (2011: ix-x)

Then the war starts with the attack of the Confederacy’s attack on Fort Sumter. It lasted four years and as mentioned above cost thousands of lives from both sides. After the attack of the south, “(...) hostilities officially began. Lincoln immediately called for troops to be used against the seven seceding states, which were soon joined by Arkansas, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee, completing the 11-state Confederacy” (Civil War in U.S. history, 2018). The Confederate states were not recognized by the Union and no other country recognized them either. This was, in fact, one of the Confederacy’s frustrations. The Southern economic system was based on cotton, and southern states thought that Britain would not allow the destruction of cotton fabrication ever”. “In the beginning, the Confederacy also had the tacit support of many leaders of European nations, particularly in Great Britain, which was dependent on Southern cotton” (Masur, 2011). However to the frustration of the South, “Britain never formally recognized the Confederacy (neither did

France) and maintained peaceful relations with the Union (...)" (Civil War in U.S. history, 2018). Among the reasons for the hostility between north and south, Masur addresses his readers to a historically very old but realistic observation:

The colonies may have banded together in 1776 for the purpose of separation from England, but they had as little affection for one another as for central government. These antagonisms divided them not simply between North and South, but between state and state and between region and region, as those in New York disdained the residents of Connecticut and those along Virginia's coast often battled the settlers along the state's western frontier. (2011: 2)

Masur claims that from the beginning of Britain's colonization, the hostile seeds of northern and southern people were sowed, and this contributed to the growing tensions between the civil war sides. However, the biggest disagreement stemmed from the northern adoption of abolitionist attitude for slavery. Masur asserts:

To be sure, in the wake of the Revolution, Northern states adopted gradual emancipation plans: Pennsylvania in 1780, Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1784, New York in 1799, and New Jersey in 1804. The Massachusetts state constitution declared in 1780: "all men are born free and equal. (2011: 3)

2.2. Civil War and Slavery

The south saw the abolitionist policy as a threat to their territories from the beginning the debates over the morality of slavery. And accordingly," A racial ideology built around white supremacy united slaveholders and nonslaveholders and provided Southern states with a common identity" (Masur, 2011: 7). After the tensions over the abolition grew day by day, Masur talks of Senator James Henry Hammond of South Carolina as he had said; "You dare not make war on cotton," he threatened. "No power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton is king" (2011: 8). Masur draws attention to another factor intensifying the relations of North and south, he claims:

The 1830s and 1840s brought religious revivalism and economic transformation—manufacturing and industry developed at an unprecedented rate in the North. The Southern economy also grew, though it remained overwhelmingly agricultural. Immigration swelled the Northern population, and improvements in transportation—steamboats, canals, railroads—opened up the interior for trade and settlement. (2011: 9)

The revival of awareness also affected the black people in the South. "Economic inequality had continued to increase in the decades since the revolution,

but a belief that anyone could succeed governed the era, and people were in a constant motion seeking their best opportunities” (Masur, 2011: 9). Those who could not succeed or who were not given the required chance to succeed migrated, shaping a new formation in American society. There started the campaign by the media of America to demean the freedom of slaves. They were trying to make believe the slaves that emancipation is not beneficial for them and in the long run they would find themselves in misery. Masur exemplifies the campaign as follows:

(...) in 1850, a print titled Slavery, as it Exists in America. Slavery as it exists in England compared slave labor with free labor to the advantage of the former. The top panel shows happy-go-lucky slaves dancing and singing. In the background, two visiting Northerners discuss the institution with two slaveholders. “Is it possible that we of the North have been so deceived by false reports?” asks one. The bottom panel depicts a scene in a British textile factory where the workers are ragged and emaciated. A mother exclaims, “Oh dear! What wretched slaves this Factory life makes me and my children”. (2011: 12)

This propaganda aimed to stop the eternal dream of African American slaves. Yet it only contributed to delay it. As history proves it to us, once the dream of liberty falls into the hearts of any nation, it sooner or later obtains it. That has been the case for the black Americans as well. Though it took around a century more, the blacks were to be fully granted freedom. The conflicts between a propagandist north in favor of abolitionist slavery and the South’s strict protective attitude would lead the two sects into war. However, if the actors are not black, but simply objects of a race debate, there should be an alert for the following decades. The Union forces won the war and towards the end of the war; according to the ‘Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863’ Abraham Lincoln emancipated all black slaves. The war’s relation with the slavery and the emancipation needs deep study. Seemingly, an internal conflict of two sects the war, in fact, has seen the war of freedom fought over whether to ban slavery or to maintain and even spread it. Slavery and the debates over its expansion were seen inevitable in some states, which Masur thinks led to the division of the nation resulting in war:

By arousing the explosive issue of whether slavery would be allowed to expand into new areas, the annexation of Texas in 1845 and the war with Mexico from 1846 to 1848 initiated a train of events that ultimately led to the Civil War. The issues of slavery, states’ rights, and territorial expansion combined to shear the nation apart. (Masur, 2011)

2.3. Arming the Black People

Inside the war, the black soldiers took part as well, however, they were not enlisted in primary duties and they were given no ranks, which created discrimination even during the war. Howard C. Westwood interpreted this inconsistency as a foreshadowing for the future discriminations in the black fate, implying the life under Jim Crow laws and the segregation. He states:

Whether or not to accept inequity in pay raised powerful issues of black identity, since discrimination in pay-foreshadowed discrimination in citizenship. Appointing white officers for black troops, which softened initial white objections to black enlistment, became standard. Under this practice, however, black noncommissioned officers like Sgt. William Walker, Third South Carolina Colored infantry, assumed leadership disproportionate to rank. (1992: viii)

Arming the slaves was a contested issue at the time of war. In the black perspective, the majority of black people interpreted it promising and hoped to go beyond this and they shared the views that could be an opportunity to prove loyalty so that they could be granted equality. The oppositions were variously related to the enlistment of the black soldiers into the army and Westwood has stated some of them:

There was strong anti-black prejudice among most people in the Free states, and in the loyal slave states, the idea of arming the black man was anathema. Among many, there was fear that any such arming might lead, somehow, to savage slave uprisings with massacre of defenseless white civilians. (1992: 1).

According to the white fear; the black would learn to fight in the army and that would lead to a riot against the white hegemony. The white supremacist ideology did not only captivate the black physically but they did everything to imprison the minds of them as well. The strategy was true but away from being ethical and humane. If the black minds could surpass the mental imprisonment the way to freedom would be halfway finished. Fearing and demanding the white hegemony the white supremacists, in fact, objected every amendment done for the sake of slaves previously. The attendance of black men to war grounded a basis for the reconciliation of the two races. The black veterans' memories were used as the unifying impulse for equality by those who favored the black race's equality. Andre Fleche in his article related the participation of the black soldiers states:

Throughout the postwar years, prior military service, patriotism, and fidelity to the nation continued to compete with race as the main hallmark of upright citizenship in the estimation of Union veterans. Indeed, the "Soldiers' Faith" of obedience to authority, devotion to duty, and fraternity in the face of death eloquently articulated by Oliver Wendell Holmes and cited by David W. Blight as evidence of a reconciliationist, "non-ideological" view of the war, perhaps aided blacks the most in achieving the comradeship of the veteran in the eyes of ex-Union soldiers(2005: 175).

Fleche claims that though the performance of the black soldiers was 'excellent' most historians have ignored the reality and in response to the negative common view of these historians, he states:

It remains a less-well-known fact that the memories of many black and white Union veterans presented a remarkably unified and fully visible challenge to any view of the war that ignored the role black soldiers played in preserving the nation. The dominant position of the Union's largest and most powerful veterans' organization, the Grand Army of the Republic, honored the deeds of veterans of both races in their struggle against their common enemy. (2005: 175-201)

2.4. Black Ghosts of the Civil War

The negligence of the blacks' attendance into the war was not only ignored by whites but also sometimes discredited in the next decades. Murray interprets it as the outcome of the neglect as follows:

Black activists had little interest in commemorating the Civil War. (...) In the years after the Civil War centennial, the war received less attention, from both academics and popular audiences. Cook attributes this neglect to the "post-heroic era" when Americans "seemed to lose not only their faith in towering figures like Abraham Lincoln but also their psychological need for them". (M.Murray, 2018: xii)

The American Civil War and the approach of the scholars and historians to the evaluation of it have always been changeable according to the conditions of the era. Yet as the subject includes passages of historical records related to the black race, it does not mesmerize the readers. The evaluation of the war as a milestone for the colored people and the debates over the acquisitions of the black race within the war, no doubt has grounds as the blacks, soon to be demanding their civil rights, had for the first time in history collaborated the white men, not in the frame of master and slave relationship. They were comrades in the war. In addition, the heroic stories related to their collaboration with white man against the common enemy, have supplemented ground for their racial war as well. However, in their racial equality

fight, their former white comrades did not aid them. As the white men did not want to provide a basis for the racial debate over the common past of the two races, they avoided magnifying the blacks' aid in the after-war period. Murray carries her observation of the Civil War's interpretation forward until the 21st century and states:

Americans in the twenty-first century continue to grapple with the Civil War's legacy. Barack Obama reenergized Lincoln's popularity through rhetorical appeal and by launching his presidential campaign on the steps of the Old State House in Springfield, Illinois, where Lincoln had kicked off his senatorial race in 1858. The National Park Service's Civil War sesquicentennial theme of "Civil War to Civil Rights" offered an opportunity to explore racial accomplishments and the war's social and cultural legacies. Yet the overall public response to the war's 150th anniversary was anemic. (2018: 1015)

Susan Mary Grant in her article in which she explores the adverse publicity of the black contribution in Civil War draws attention to a monument, which she thinks:

(...) the Saint-Gaudens monument in no way reflected the general mood of the American people towards those black troops who had fought in the conflict, as the poet Paul Laurence Dunbar's response to Shaw's sacrifice reveals. Between 1863, when Henry Harmon expressed his optimism about history's treatment of the black soldier, and 1897, the American nation had all but forgotten that black troops had ever played a role in the Civil War. (1998: 41)

The struggle and success of white men's disregard of their black alliances depicted the Civil War of white Americans. "Rather than a war fought for liberty, in which the role of the African-American soldier was pivotal, the image of the American Civil War as a 'white man's fight' became the norm almost as soon as the last shot was fired" (Grant, 1998: 41). Grants' following lines in her article about the black men's being tricked, summarizes the African American history. In the history of African Americans, anything good was followed with a severe malignity. This has been the case in both Civil war and the following era: the Reconstruction. As for the subject Grants observes that:

The relationship between the black soldier and the 'land of the free' has always been ambiguous. The involvement of black troops in America's wars from colonial times onwards followed a depressing pattern. Encouraged to enlist in times of crisis, the African-American soldier's services were clearly unwelcome in time of peace. Despite this, the link between fighting and freedom for African-Americans was forged in the earliest days of the American nation, and once forged proved resilient. (1998: 41)

The attitude change that took place with The New Negro Movement and in the following decades has a close relationship with the deceptions African Americans had experienced in Civil War and Reconstruction Era. In other words; although the strict racial awareness can also be attributed to natural historical progress, it mainly is a result of the mistakes or deceptions, which The Old Negro had experienced. African American historical progress is on the way to be fully free, is full of trust and commitment to the white men that was started to be seen as their biggest mistake with the awakening of the New Negro. The New Negro presented with his leaders was to be alert on any following deception. The white men used the black race in the most complicated matters for the solution. The Civil War was no different at all. Grant explores the time when the Union army was not going well and the reason for the recruitment of the black soldiers. She states:

Although the War Department sanctioned the recruitment of black troops in August 1862, black regiments were not properly raised until after Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of January 1st, 1863. The decision came at a time when the war was not going well for the Union and coincided with the first draft in the North. In some ways, this helped. Racist objections to the arming of blacks could easily if cynically, be countered on the grounds that it was better than a black soldier dies than a white one. (1998: 41)

Exploring, all these underlying principles behind the war fought, it is possible to clarify that the Civil War, seemingly fought for the abolition of the slavery system, had more profitable reasons than the black man's freedom. It is definitely true that the biggest consequence was the end of slavery, but the depiction of the Civil War as a trophy of white man despite the alliance of black soldiers proves the untold reality as well. The abolition of slavery for the sake of 'land of freedom notion' can be linked to the Union's exculpation attempt for the war that took many of people's lives and destroyed the South. As Grant already states even at that time some black people opposed the idea of fighting in the Civil War " One black New Yorker argued that it would be foolish for blacks to heed the Union's call to arms since the race had no reason `to fight under the flag which gives us no protection" (1998: 41. The black New Yorker soon proved to be right. After the Emancipation Proclamation, the passing of the Jim Crow laws demeaned the rights gained after the Civil War. The hostile white racist attitude of some blacks was in such an extent that, Grant reports; "Notwithstanding racist arguments in favor of blacks rather than whites being killed,

most whites did not believe that blacks would make effective soldiers, seeing, them as cannon fodder at best” (1998: 41). However, the black soldiers refuted this view as:

Attitudes began to change only with the battlefield successes of several of the black regiments. Even before its official recognition by the War Department, Jim Lane's black regiment had performed well in Missouri, prompting one journalist to write that it was `useless to talk any more about Negro courage. The men fought like tigers, each and every one of them. (1998: 41)

The success that black soldiers managed during the battles altered the opposition against them but only during the wartime. The after-war racist attitude did not change. It is also another fact that even in the battles; the black soldiers were not treated, and armed as equally as white soldiers. “The quality of weapons distributed to them was also not always on a par with those the white regiments received (...).” (Grant, 1998: 41)

In conclusion, a war with a promise and faith to be free and integrated into the American nation; resulted in the Emancipation Proclamation that ended slavery but started segregation. For a race untrained and isolated for centuries, segregation was no different from slavery. Despite all the commitment and slavery that lasted for centuries, history taught the black race that waiting for an already deserved right one is not expect be granted but to seize it.

CHAPTER III

THE SEGREGATION ERA

3.1. Black Codes

Following the end of the Civil War, the slaves were freed by law with President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. Although freedom sounded a dream-like promise for them, the black slaves, however, did not have the sub structural qualifications to survive a postwar America. Being former slaves and having no experience to perform tasks needed for an ordinary job they were left hopelessly. As for the changes after the emancipation for both the black former slaves and white landowners, David K. Fremon states:

Landless and poor, most without skills or jobs, former slaves could leave their plantations, but where would they go? Some set out to reunite with family members who had been sold by their former masters. Others went in search of better opportunities. This mobility disrupted life on the plantations. Former slave owners were used to having a stable, undemanding workforce. Emancipation changed the rules of life. (2014: 11)

The only capacity that former slaves had was agricultural tasks and most of them had to go to white-owned plantations after they were emancipated. And this situation was a welcome by the owners of plantations which were led mostly by white rich men. "Some Southern whites were not upset about the slaves' emancipation. Freed blacks would now have to take care of themselves. Many former slave owners welcomed the chance to drive older blacks or troublemakers from their plantations" (11). However, the bosses of the plantations had to invent new rules to keep the workers in line and restrict them as much as possible so that they would not go back. This need of white planters urged the necessity of Black Codes in the southern states as Fremon implies:

These racist laws were designed to restrict the activities of the former slaves. White Southerners were used to being able to keep their slaves in line with laws and threats. The Black Codes, set up in the years after the Civil War, would attempt to impose the same limits on the freedmen. (2014: 11)

Black codes were restrictive laws for the former slaves passed by the former Confederate states in order to determine the condition of newly emancipated black people ("black codes", 2018). Although these statuses included basic rights for the ex-slaves, the history chapters and criticism mostly deals with the restrictions they posted on the black people. As they were harsh, enough to be memorable for the history chapters, black codes remain as one of the most severely criticized and ethically degraded laws. In fact, the reason for their birth is the racist and economic slavery regulations that white planters and white supremacists urged. Black codes imprisoned the former slaves to the plantations as they “ (...) denied African Americans the right to enter schools, theaters, hotels, and other public facilities” (Fremon, 2014: 11). Unwilling to lose their workforce in the plantations, white planters aimed to keep the same exploitative policies collaborating with the politicians. “A South Carolina law prohibited black people from taking any job other than agricultural or domestic work unless they obtained a special license from the local judge” (Fremon, 2014: 11). The former slaves were not only included into the plantations by force but in some states, they were excluded from residing as much as possible. “In Opelousas, Louisiana, African Americans needed written permission from an employer to enter the city” (Fremon, 2014: 11). The working conditions were harsh and far away from being humane and ethical. As stated above, the white planters with the help of the lawmakers of the southern states did everything to keep the black workers inside the plantations and prohibited their escape via regulating harsh rules and laws for the black former slaves. “Each January, Mississippi required blacks to have written evidence of employment for the coming year. A laborer leaving his or her job before the end of the harvest season could forfeit any wages already earned for the year” (Fremon, 2014:11). These inhumane laws and applications reigned until the year 1866 when the Civil Rights Act was passed and became law. The time from the emancipation, in fact, is nothing more than an updated version of slavery. They were not named ‘slaves’ legally yet the former slaves had no more rights than slaves at the time of slavery. They free yet free to go back to slavery. That is to say, black men and women were informed that they were free to choose slavery, which was almost the only alternative they had to survive. Nevertheless, the emancipation and termination of black codes are important in that

it bears the first attempt on the way of salvation that was completed in 1954 with the acquisition of The Civil Rights Movement.

3.2. Jim Crow Laws

Jim Crow Laws were discriminative laws that were applied in every public foundation in order to divide the blacks and whites from each other. They were implemented by the case of Plessy v. Ferguson which is a well-known court decision of the Supreme Court that resulted, in the beginning, one of the most criticized times of American History. This period of segregation included the separation of blacks from white citizens in any public building that they might come across. After the civil war the struggles of black to socially and politically reach equality before the constitutional laws the U.S. Supreme court had come up with this contradictive decision that lasted till the civil rights movement in the 1960s. Jim Crow laws aimed for the white supremacists to interact with black citizens in the least possible way. Buses, schools other public buildings were all segregated. Not being able to evacuate the black Americans from the country and yet uncomfortable with their presence in the society “The Supreme Court ruling in 1896 in Plessy v. Ferguson that separate facilities for whites and blacks were constitutional encouraged the passage of discriminatory laws that wiped out the gains made by blacks during Reconstruction” (Jim Crow laws, 2018). As mentioned above almost any public institution such as;

Railways and streetcars, public waiting rooms, restaurants, boardinghouses, theaters, and public parks were segregated; separate schools, hospitals, and other public institutions, generally of inferior quality, were designated for blacks. (Jim Crow laws, 2018)

The ‘separate but equal’ doctrine was set as the basis of the social order of American society. In fact, the birth of Plessy v. Ferguson, in the beginning, was not intended to oppress the black people and furthermore it did not merely violate or overrule the previously ruled amendments in Reconstruction era (Klarman, 2004: 9-10). Michael J. Klarman explains why he thinks that the criticism of these laws is in vain in terms of their constitutionality.

The rulings can be criticized, of course, but not on the grounds that they butchered clearly established law or inflicted racially regressive results The Plessy Era 9 on a nation otherwise inclined to favor racial equality. It is also unlikely that contrary rulings would have significantly alleviated the oppression of blacks: Such rulings probably could not have been enforced,

and, in any event, the oppression of blacks was largely the work of forces other than law. (2004: 9-10)

After the racial discrimination alleviated the racial unrest in the Southern states, the blacks started to look a way out. Some of them started even to immigrate to Africa. There was a racial disturbance throughout the country. A considerable amount of immigrants headed for the North, however, this was to disturb the racial-biased white population living in the northern states. “First, growing black migration to the North had heightened the racial anxieties of northern whites. Fears of a southern black exodus had existed during the Civil War, but these fears diminished as black migration tapered off immediately after the war” (Klarman, 2004: 12). However as the condition deteriorated and the unrest between the races accelerated, the migration numbers began to increase dramatically. Black thus oppressed southerners started to immigrate to the northern states in waves. “Black migrants to the North, numbering only 49,000 in the 1870s and 62,000 in the 1880s, increased to 132,000 and 143,000 in the following two decades” (Klarman, 2004: 12). However, the north and northerners did not welcome the oppressed immigrants. The difficulties they had been through in the southern states were to face the black immigrants over and over. “The growing numbers of blacks in the North led to discrimination in public accommodations, occasional efforts to segregate public schools, increased lynching, and deteriorating racial attitudes”. (Klarman, 2004: 12)

Among the probable solutions, Booker T. Washington’s accommodationist strategy in order to overcome, in sooth to say to learn to live with, the segregation and discrimination, gained popularity at most. Booker T. Washington, born to an African slave was one of the most prominent figures of African American history. Washington had a deep influence on the black community and he had relations with the political wings of the society as well. Relying on his political support and the advocacy of the black people themselves, he had the chance to be the leader of the black sphere for a long time. However, his style of approaching to the segregation and discrimination addressed more to the blacks than to the white who in reality were the creators of the segregation and discrimination against the black people. That is to say by doing this he was harshly criticized by other influential black leaders for that he, instead of fighting the root cause of the injustice and discrimination, he dealt with the victims of the segregation and discrimination. “Washington's solution was an

idea, a theory here called "race relations," that opened a way for the ideological reconciliation of two opposites: racist proscription and democracy” (West, 2006: ix). Although praised at the beginning of his career later on Washington had to face fierce criticism from the other leading figures such as W.E.B. Du Bois. His idea, whether it was the appropriate or inappropriate way to follow in the long term, was mainly to avoid confrontations with the political segregation laws, but instead to lead the black race forward in education and craftsmanship. As for the success and failure of Washington’s policy, West indicates; “Judged by the esteem of his contemporaries, Washington's idea was a great success. Judged by the sorry fate of many millions of African Americans, Washington's leadership was a failure”.(2006: x). However, there were both positive and negative reflections on Washington’s way of managing the process of segregation under Jim Crow laws. Michael Rudolph West is of the opinion that, the success behind Martin Luther King does partially belong to the idea of avoiding fighting actively and violently against the segregation at the beginning of 20th century lies in the policy maintained by Booker T. Washington. (2006: xi)

To the academic mind the question about how the white perspective saw the recent political and racial agenda. It is a well-known fact that there were white supremacists that wanted to rule over the black slaves yet mostly led by liberal politicians and other influential leaders there were white people who supported the abolition and the process of emancipation from the beginning. Among these various groups, we encounter with those white groups who were only concerned about their economic profits and thus supporting the segregation for the blacks as implied below:

The growing political power of poor white farmers, whose precarious economic and social status inclined them to treasure white supremacy, did not bode well for blacks. Higher status whites were more often concerned with class than with race and sometimes displayed paternalistic racial attitudes that were holdovers from the era of slavery. (Klarman, 2004: 11)

This group of white people as Klarman states above were actually supplanted by their leaders and directed so as to dissent the removal of segregation. For a detailed report Klarman goes ahead stating;

These racial paternalists, who had supported qualified black rights during Redemption, were supplanted around the turn of the century by political

demagogues, such as “Pitchfork” Ben Tillman and James Vardaman, who preached unrestrained white supremacy. As governor of South Carolina in 1892, Tillman pledged that he would himself “willingly lead a mob in lynching a Negro who had committed an assault upon a white woman. (qtd. in Klarman: 11)

After the reconstruction and the benignant amendments that were ruled to enhance the condition of the black citizens in the South, the invention of Jim Crow laws disrupted the development of black strive to survive. The fact that black people did not take part in national-wide riots and terrorized the public institutions stems mostly from the idea to formulate their own existence which was, as stated above, the main core of Booker’s understanding of racial cure of the segregation. However as previously stated his policy was not welcome by the whole intellectuals of the black world. Starting from the turn of the century and led by W.E.B. Du Bois a new paradigm shift took over the black intelligentsia. Unlike Booker T. Washington, Du Bois favored the idea of ‘fighting’ in a much more elaborate and fierce path. Du Bois and his paradigm related to the strive for the survival of the black sphere is to be dealt with in an extensive analysis in the chapter of the Harlem Renaissance. Going back to Booker West states; “He “stood in the most delicate position of any man on the American Continent, be he black or white,” one speaker said, seeking ever to maintain “peace and unity and friendship between the two races” (2006: 23). The perspective of Booker towards the solution of the segregation and discrimination against the black people was his realistic vision of what the race is in, and understand what could be done and what should be done according to the conditions of the era (West, 2006: 24). The pragmatic vision and simple-minded attitude he adopted for the race relations was the most memorable side of Washington (2006: 25). He mostly compared with W.E.B Du Bois in terms of their contributions to the black world. As for this fierce comparison, Spinarn stated; the difference of the two is that Booker as the man of action while Du Bois was a mere theoretician (qtd. in West 25). Though the two African American leaders are thought and reflected as opposite to each other West approaches the comparison from a different view. West, unlike the advocates of the two black leaders, analyze them according to their contributions and combine their efforts for an overall conclusion with the perfect emancipation succeeded in the 1960s. In other words, he unifies these completely different visionary African

American leaders in the success that was reached via the grant of civil rights in the 1960s.

There began efforts that reached their ultimate destination after four decades of a “protest era” and in a civil rights movement motivated by idealism and the destruction of the edifice of white supremacy with which Washington and, by inference, the people of African America whom he ostensibly led, had reached an accommodation. (2006: 26)

West does also draw a parallelism between Martin Luther King’s civil disobedience and Booker T. Washington’s accommodationist policy merging them in the success of the civil rights movement. According to West the accommodationist years and the decades of protest of W.E.B. Du Bois in fact complemented each other, together with the civil disobedience of Martin Luther King.

Nevertheless, the notion of a simple and straightforward course from Washington to the King-led movement has, in some quarters at least, a certain attraction and usefulness insofar as it fits with the prevailing sense of what is called America’s racial past; that view locates all the ideological complexity, all the difficult, very complicated questions of equity and morality, as emerging only with the achievement of the civil rights movement’s successes. (West, 2006: 27)

Related to the ultimately combined and hidden collaboration that history gets to prove to us, West quotes another biographer’s testimony related to Washington reporting; “it was the genius of Washington’s program, combined with the beneficence of the American nation, that granted black people their homes and businesses and educations and bright midcentury prospects” (qtd. in West: 28). The dream that Dr. Luther King Jr. had once dreamed off, and the reconciliatory approach of Booker T. had undertaken and even the fierce protest tone that W.E.B. Du Bois had insisted and presented in fact melt in the same pot with the acquisition of civil rights in 1954. Every figure in the process of African American salvation and strive to survive contributed, staging their own unique way of struggle, to the ultimate success of their survival. The fact that their struggles and fight resulted in the acquisition of civil rights does definitely not acquit the inhumane and unfair treatment the race had faced up to 1960s. The humanity or better to say the western civilization David Leeming asserts have learned to overcome the dark shades of the history they once conducted with pride. David Leeming in his biography about James Baldwin states, quoting Baldwin, that western civilization outwitted history by making monuments.

In Atlanta, he visited the monument to Martin Luther King—a monument “as absolutely irrelevant as the Lincoln Memorial”. Making monuments was “one of the ways the Western world has learned (...) to outwit history [and] time—to make a life and a death irrelevant (...). There’s nothing one can do with a monument”. (Leeming, 2015: 400)

Baldwin, in fact, questions the actions of white civilization to produce art and historiography relying on the pains of the black race. The pains and injustices exposed to the black race can not be justified with monuments and statues of the victims of the emancipation ages. For centuries the black Americans were not welcome in their countries although they were transferred to the Americas by force and continued to be enslaved far away from the soils they were born in. Experiencing racist attitudes, assassinated and isolated by political exclusions and facing severe injustices the black Americans had been reflected and campaigned as the trouble-makers by the law-makers. Summarizing the racist attitude staged by white oppression West reports as:

The problem (if there is a problem) is the problem of race as decoy or blind, a diversion or a place to hide from what is really the matter, the bad casting of a bad American drama originally authored by white persons but taken out on tour by black actors using “agency” to redraw their own roles. (2006: 30)

West touches upon another problem that blacks faced in their path to civil rights acquisition. He claims that the white supremacist ideology and the bearer of this ideology turned a blind eye to the African Americans’ request of justice (2006: 30).

The end of Jim Crow laws was the beginning of a new era for the American society and for all colors of skins. To highlight the importance of the decision taken to terminate the discrimination of Segregation, David K. Fremon reports; “The Supreme Court’s decision would change the lives of millions, as it began to destroy the system of Jim Crow segregation that had existed almost since the end of the Civil War”. (Fremon, 2014: 8)

CHAPTER IV

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD

4.1. The Reconstruction Era

Whites and blacks, having become extremely polarized during and after the Civil War, had already started to disintegrate and side against each other socially. 11 southern states had already seceded from the Union, which meant the main body of today's the United States. Resulting from various reasons similar to the Civil War's causes, the eleven southern states had founded their local governments. Between the reasons, the one about the black race is the reason for the inclusion of the Reconstruction Era to the thesis. The term 'reconstruction' connotes the struggles of the Union's government to reconcile both the already breakaway states and the two parted unequal races. Reconstruction politically means rebuilding period of the tired and destroyed states due to the civil war casualties. The reconstruction period, in the United States history, connotes an important period, which is memorable with attempts to equalize the African-Americans with the white before the law. The main goal of the Union was to regain the states that were out of the Union during the civil war.

The purpose of the Reconstruction Act was to supervise the return of Southern states to the Union. In theory, the act would allow for federal officers to help set up new governments for the South and to make sure that the civil rights of the former slaves were protected as they made the transition to freedom. (Fremon, 2014: 12)

4.1.1. The 13th Amendment

The 13th amendment banned any kind of slavery. In the history of the African Americans the importance of the 13th Amendment is paid special attribute due to its commands for abolition of the slavery:

Passed by Congress on January 31, 1865, and ratified on December 6, 1865, the 13th amendment abolished slavery in the United States and provides that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction". (13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Abolition of Slavery)

The black people were granted voting rights and the southern states would set up their own governments supervised by the Union.

Under the Reconstruction Act, new elections would be held. Black men could vote in these elections. After the elections, Southern states would draw up new constitutions that were acceptable to Congress. (Fremon, 2014: 12)

There were struggles in order to raise the colored people in terms of social, political and economic growth. Eric Foner who is one of the most credited historians of the time of Reconstruction defines the era as:

Long portrayed by many historians as a time when vindictive Radical Republicans fastened black supremacy upon the defeated Confederacy, Reconstruction has since the late 20th century been viewed more sympathetically as a laudable experiment in interracial democracy". (Foner, "Reconstruction". (2018)

The laudability of the era, in facts, stems from the climate that followed the Reconstruction period by which the race was forced to go back to suppressed years in terms of social and political rights as well as the economic aspect of their suppression. However, in order to well define, the laudability that Foner implies it is essential to trace the political and social agenda of this quite short period. Starting with the political agenda as Foner puts it:

Reconstruction witnessed far-reaching changes in America's political life. At the national level, new laws and constitutional amendments permanently altered the federal system and the definition of American citizenship. In the South, a politically mobilized black community joined with white allies to bring the Republican Party to power, and with it a redefinition of the responsibilities of government. ("Reconstruction", 2018)

4.1.2. The 14th and 15th Amendments

The biggest gain of black Americans via Reconstruction is the establishments of amendments and laws related towards civil rights. As related to the subject, Michael J. Klarman also summarizes the beneficial amendments and legislations done which he finds 'extraordinary':

Slavery was abolished. The 1866 Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed blacks basic civil rights, such as freedom of contract and property ownership. The Reconstruction Act of 1867 and the Fifteenth Amendment enfranchised blacks for the first time in most of the nation. Additional federal legislation in the 1870s solidified suffrage protection, forbade race discrimination in jury selection, and guaranteed equal access to common carriers and public accommodations. (2004: 10)

The Republican Party is an important key-factor for the developments and amendments, which were succeeded for the welfare of the slaves and colored and thus oppressed people. Republican Party tried hard to keep the states together, as the 11 southern states were out during the civil war. The party of the Republicans, under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln, adopted a policy, which produced amendments for the unity of America as a whole united nation and favored egalitarianism in between the colors of skin.

The President Abraham Lincoln in his last speech, on April 11, 1865, Lincoln, referring to Reconstruction in Louisiana, expressed the view that some blacks—the “very intelligent” and those who had served in the Union army—ought to enjoy the right to vote. (Foner, "Reconstruction", 2018)

4.2. The Dunning School

However, as mentioned at the beginning of the African-Americans’ History chapter, this story of the black, involved oppression, inequality, slavery and even assassinations, one of which was the assassination of president Abraham Lincoln in April 1865. The blacks though disheartened by the death of Lincoln, were lucky for about a decade more. Right after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, the reconstruction efforts changed from a party policy to an extensive government policy namely the Presidential Reconstruction.

However, there is not a reached consensus as for the debate over whether the Reconstruction is one of the golden eras of the African American history among historians. In order to give voice to the Dunning School’s understanding of the Reconstruction policy and their attitude towards this period, Foner in his book *A History of Reconstruction* summarizes the followers of Dunning School’s ideology towards the era: “All told, Reconstruction was the darkest page in the saga of American history” (1990: 5). He also indicates that Reconstruction is a distinguished era of history in that the perspective and views towards its usefulness or harm for the black Americans has changed through each newly found source (1990: 4). In order to exemplify the variety of the changing views in time, Foner goes back to 1920s and 1930s and claims;

During the 1920s and 1930s, new studies of Johnson's career and new investigations of the economic wellsprings of Republican policy reinforced the prevailing disdain for Reconstruction. Johnson's biographers portrayed him as a courageous defender of constitutional liberty whose actions stood above reproach. (1990: 5)

While this was happening another picture of the same view was being taken yet retelling a complete story of Johnson's period. The historians of the Progressive School have obtained a more skeptical look into Johnson's reign seeing the political ideologies as masks which are hiding the real goals of their beholders (Foner, 1990: 5). They furthermore claimed that the Radicals, naming them northern economic agents, tried to dominate and spread Northern Capitalism into the South (Foner, 1990: 5). It is important to speak of the Dunning school to profoundly analyze the racial bias that been constructed by the Dunning School. It was mainly a group of historians led by Professor William Archibald Dunning. They were the most reliable authority until the country met fair enough democratic laws to protect the critics of the Dunning School historiography.

Their school was Columbia University in New York City, and their teacher was Professor William Archibald Dunning (1857–1922), one of the most important figures in developing and legitimizing southern history and the Reconstruction era as research fields. During the first half of the twentieth century, Dunning reigned as the foremost authority on Reconstruction. (Smith & Lowery, 2013: 1)

Eric Foner simply describes the Dunning School as “the first generation of university-trained historians to study the Reconstruction era” (Smith & Lowery, 2013: ix). The scholars of this school had an influential effect on the understanding or misunderstanding of the Reconstruction period. This group of historians had dominated the trajectory of political history one way or another.

The term Dunning School is a shorthand for the interpretation of Reconstruction that dominated historical writing and public consciousness for much of the twentieth century. It takes its name from William A. Dunning, the Columbia University historian who early in the century supervised a group of graduate students who produced dissertations, subsequently published as books, narrating the history of Reconstruction in the various southern states. (Smith&Lowery, 2013: ix)

The main idea they adopted was that giving the blacks the right to had been a crucial mistake naming it ‘monstrous thing’ or ‘tragic era’ (Smith & Lowery, 2013: ix). The books and articles that this group produced were based on the idea of black

inability to participate in the economic and political growth of the country they lived in. The Dunning school's *underpinning* as Foner puts it forth "was the conviction, to quote one member of the Dunning School, of "negro incapacity". (Foner, 1990: 6). The sense and public opinion that was created by the racial bias had to fall in the second wave of Reconstruction, which took place in the 1860s. "By the end of the 1860s, Reconstruction was seen as a time of extraordinary social and political progress for blacks. If the era was "tragic," it was because change did not go far enough, especially in the area of Southern land reform".(Foner, 1990:6). The historical progress of the revision of the Reconstruction proves that once the period started and exposed to Dunning School's political and racial historiography, the truth was distorted and the result was an approximately a hundred years of delay towards emancipation in an overall sense. That is obviously why Foner questions the extent of history saying; "It is a peculiarity of the historical profession that it displays remarkably little interest in its own history" implying that history should cover its own historical progress (Smith & Lowery, 2013: ix). John David Smith sees the fundamental flaw to be the deep racist attitude against Reconstruction. (Smith & Lowery, 2013: x)

The historical perspective should definitely be evaluated according to the conditions of the era that history is recording. This fact might raise a question on minds as to whether the historiography conducted by the Dunning School was a necessity of the time and the political agenda yet at the time of Reconstruction there, opposing views as well. Therefore, it is impossible to reduce the criticism of the Dunning School's racist historiography to the historiography's fundamental principle that the history needs to be evaluated according to the events on time. Foner while touching upon this aspect of the issue rejects the likelihood of necessity of time, which names 'prevailing sentiments of time' and goes ahead as such:

In any event, the writings of the Dunning School did more than reflect prevailing prejudices—they strengthened and helped perpetuate them. They offered scholarly legitimacy to the disenfranchisement of southern blacks and to the Jim Crow system that was becoming entrenched as they were writing. (Smith & Lowery, 2013: xi)

4.3. Reconstruction for the Black Americans

The Reconstruction period although variedly evaluated and both praised and dissented, have in general contributed to the modern civil rights acquisitions of the black people. It was the spark for not only the political gains but also the rise for the black Renaissance that was to be born in the 1920s. Taking into consideration, both positive and negative impressions of black intelligentsia have nourished the black struggle from the Reconstruction while their struggle to exist in any sphere of human existence was staged in the history arena. Eric Foner shares similar ideas while terminating the foreword to *The Dunning School: Historians, Race, and the Meaning of Reconstruction* by John David Smith and J. Vincent Lowery:

Scholars now view Reconstruction as a praiseworthy attempt to create an interracial democracy from the ashes of slavery and emphasize its accomplishments as much as its failings. Most of the writers in this volume attribute the eclipse of the Dunning School to the declining legitimacy of racism and the effect on historians of the modern civil rights revolution (sometimes called the Second Reconstruction). (Smith & Lowery, 2013: xii)

In contrast with the praiseworthy attempts titled by Smith and Lowery, the following years however brought familiar troubles and hardships to the black Americans again. It is possible to claim that the progress of African Americans journey to fully free citizenship has unfortunately been uneven, as the trip has always been disrupted by impediments mostly caused by racist and white supremacist ideology. That is to say, once the path to freedom for the black Americans opened the racist attitude of the white supremacist people's struggles to maintain the older rotten system and demand to continue to batten on black Americans wanted the same system to rule eternally. This harsh reality unfortunately strikes back again on the history of African Americans. Fremon puts this into words saying; "Freedom did not arrive at the same time and in the same way for all black Southerners. In large cities such as Richmond, Virginia, the word came instantly" (Fremon, 2014: 11). This painful process though interrupted many times around century more was to result in success in the second half of the 20th century. Following the positive amendments, the black race had to witness a process in which the given rights were trying to be disfranchised. According to Wintz the political experience of the black race during the reconstruction and in the following years did not continue as it began. He states:

The basic political experience of blacks at the turn of the century was that during the two decades following the end of Reconstruction they had witnessed the systematic erosion of the rights they had achieved under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and through the various acts of Congress and the Reconstruction governments in the South. (Wintz, 1988: 6)

An overview of the period starting with the emancipation and continuing with the 14th and 15th amendments, proves that the white sphere was forced to give the black race their due. However as it was just done because of external and much more crucial national affairs such as the secession of the southern states, after the inclusion of the southern states back into the Union, the granted 'favors' were trying to be taken back. For those, which could not be taken back, the white supremacists introduced new 'patch laws' to maintain the ongoing domination on the black race. The Black Codes and Jim Crow Laws are good examples of these 'patch laws'. With the invention of these fundamentally ill updates in the legal system, the segregation or even further the slavery and inequality between white and black people were grounded under the disguise of legal equality.

4.4. Ku Klux Klan

Ku Klux Klan is the bloodiest group against the racial equality and political freedom of the black race in America.

THE KU-KLUX KLAN began in Pulaski, a town in Middle Tennessee, in mid-1866, and Klan groups began to spread beyond the immediate neighborhood of Pulaski by early 1868. That summer, an explosion of Klan demonstrations, announcements, warnings, and occasional but sometimes deadly acts of violence in scattered areas throughout the South marked the Klan's proliferation. (Parsons, 2015: 7)

Founded right after the civil war as a reaction to the Emancipation of the slaves, this radical group has conducted many deadly incidents against the black people. Elaine Frantz Parsons explores the birth of the Klan and puts forth:

The Klan emerged after the Civil War as a solution to the problem of southern white defeat. We know now that white political, economic, and social dominance of black southerners would long outlast slavery, but white southerners, lacking the benefit of hindsight, were not at all certain that they could maintain their grip on resources and power in the South after losing the war. (2015: 1)

Despite all the economic and political advantages compared to the newly freed black Southerners, the reason why, the Southern whites needed such a Klan is reported in the lines below by Parsons;

Yet white southerners shared a widespread fear that their former slaves would rapidly overtake them. They worried that all of the remaining pillars of their power could be chipped away if freed people took full advantage of their new freedoms and the federal government and other sympathetic northerners supported them. (1-2)

In fact, the psychological fear that they soon could lose the dominant power over the blacks was the main incentive to set up such a Klan. One could also interpret this formulation as a fear of vengeance that could take place when the black people reached the awareness of the evil that had been done to them under slavery. Parsons also indicates; “After the war, with these traditional forms of control gone, whites feared that black southerners, in small ways or large, would overpower them and demand resources and rights” (2). Ku Klux Klan from the time of its first emergence planned and acted against the amendments and progress of the black race. They were a radical and extremely violent group. However, at the beginning they were not united in the end they formulated and organized terrorist group, that is the Klan. Due to not being as effective as they wanted the terrorist group lacked unity and:

The Ku-Klux Klan would solve this problem. It revalued collective local nighttime attackers, allowing Ku-Klux to effectively remain small, local, and difficult to detect or suppress, and yet to imagine and present themselves as part of a single pan-southern resistance movement. Wedding small-scale organization with an insistent discursive claim to regional coherence, the many small groups that comprised the first Ku-Klux Klan would together become the most widely proliferated and deadly domestic terrorist movement in the history of the United States. (Parsons, 2015: 6)

As the civil war had a feature being fought on whether slavery should be abolished or maintained, the after-war losing side seemed not to have digested the defeat. That was one reason for their terrorizing actions. Parsons summarizes the brutal actions they did in the lines below:

From 1866 through 1871, men calling themselves “Ku-Klux” killed hundreds of black southerners and their white supporters, sexually molested hundreds of black women and men, drove thousands of black families from their homes and thousands of black men and women from their employment, and appropriated land, crops, guns, livestock, and food from black southerners on a massive scale. Klan groups aimed many of their attacks at black people who expected and demanded political rights and social dignity. (6)

The Klan and the fear they generated on the black people did rule over any aspects of the black people's lives. It was truly an empire of fear that was ruling over former-slaves. They were so oppressive that:

White-on-black violence, particularly as it took on the malignant form of Klan violence, therefore limited how all black southerners and their white allies used public space and resources, participated in political life, and defended their interests against white employers and neighbors. It shaped not only what they could do and where they could go but how they could walk and carry their bodies, how they could speak, and where they could look. (Parsons, 2015: 7)

The Klan truly formed violent obedience between the black people, yet many of the residents of South found the solution in immigration to the North. Due to the Klan's terrorizing actions, the progress of the African American enlightenment was disheartened and disrupted. Ku Klux Klan contributed to the black people's recognition of the 'separate but equal' doctrine of Jim Crow laws. The Klan and its bloody actions triggered the New Negro Movement as well. Unlike the Old Negro who could not resist the Klan, the New Negro would fight and not remain silent against the violent acts of Ku Klux Klan and all other racist attitudes.

CHAPTER V

THE IMMIGRATIONS FROM SOUTH TO NORTH

5.1. Racism in South

After the emancipation coming with the end of the civil war the black former slaves were now free; yet free to look a way out of the social and economic order that left only agricultural jobs which were no different than slavery in the South. The black codes and Jim Crow laws presented harsh conditions for the black people to survive. They started to leave and immigrate to northern states. “Between 1865 and 1890, about forty thousand blacks moved west to Kansas. About one hundred eighty-five thousand black migrants went north in the 1890s” (Fremon, 2014: 35). In fact, immigration as a way to escape the racist and unfair life of the South was not the easiest to perform. It needed money as well as an educational background that is needed for a person’s inner desire for freedom. Having the desire for freedom is a demand that most educated people could want. Likewise, Fremon reports that “ (...) many of these were affluent and educated residents of Border States like Tennessee and Virginia” (2014: 35). For another reason for the immigration Fremon states; “There were no jobs, no education there,” claimed Margaret Burroughs, founder of Chicago’s Du Sable Museum of African American History”.(2014: 35). Quoting *The Houston Observer*, Fremon exemplifies the concrete reasons that led black people to immigration saying “the black Southerner “is kicked around, cuffed, lynched, burned, homes destroyed, daughters insulted and sometimes raped, has no vote or voice, and in some instances when he asks for pay receives a 2 x 4 over the head” (2014: 35). The black race was humiliated to the degree that the black people were sometimes insulted as being put on par with dogs just because they were defending themselves from the white attacks (Fremon, 2014: 32). The white attacks and insults did not turn into a national turmoil and the main reason for that is a race being the black one, unaware of its civil rights and lacking the passion to display resistance required to react even violently. That is to say, the victims of violence and insult due to lacking a history of freedom evaluated the hatred and injustice around them as natural because of a history of slavery. In other words, the black former slaves had

already been inured to the injustice against them. No meaning of full acceptance of submission should be concluded from this fact though, as history shows us even non-violently and less fiercely than the one W.E.B. Du Bois insisted on the black race had always been after the emancipation and fully free citizenship. As Fremon states as clearly as it needs to be, in spite of the mistreatment and inequality and injustices they showed to the black people the Southern whites however did not want the black people to leave (2014: 35). The reason for this discrepancy has something to do with the economy. Under the Jim Crow laws and black codes, the black people were being exploited. The money paid to them was very low but the work demanded from them was dehumanizing and for the whites to replace them with the same economic profits was the hardest thing to do. (Fremon, 2014: 35). If they left states Fremon and goes ahead:

If they left, who would do the backbreaking, low paying work? Poor whites would not stand jobs under slave-like conditions. Likewise, European immigrants to the United States refused to accept working conditions that were worse than those they left back home. Plantation owners maintained, "Negroes are a necessity to the South, and it is desirable that they should stay there and not migrate to the North". (2014: 35)

As the Southern white authorities did not favor the black idea of immigration to the north, they tried hard to keep them where they were manipulated and exploited.

Whites tried different tactics to keep blacks from leaving the South. Some raised workers' pay. Others suggested reforms, such as an end to lynching. Some pointed out bad weather, high rents, or low-quality food in the North. If an unhappy migrant returned from the North, Southern newspapers headlined his or her story. (Fremon, 2014: 35-36)

However, the struggles to keep the black in the South and the propaganda that was staged did not succeed to keep the black people at home. Due to the fear of getting the attention of the white authorities who wanted the blacks to stay, the black migrants had to leave mostly at night in order not to get caught (Fremon, 2014: 36). As the immigrants who had made it to the North started to contact their families and friends in the south the immigration rates increased, mostly because the Southern whites were trying to reflect North as somewhere worse than South.(Fremon, 2014:36). From 1910 to 1920 approximately a million of black immigrants arrived in South.

At the beginning of the migration, first waves initially starting right after the emancipation the first group of immigrants was literate educated people and in fact, the immigrants are mostly accepted to be educated and literate people. However, Thomas N. Maloney in his article related to migrations claims that the illiterate and uneducated were as many as the literate and educated people (Maloney, 2002: 1). He also investigates the issue from the perspective of marital status of the immigrants. Maloney states that:

The implications of this migration for U.S. labor markets, urban history, organized labor housing markets and welfare policy are much discussed if not yet entirely understood (...) Accounts from contemporary observers suggest that the increased pace of migration in the 1910s coincided with a change in the characteristics of the migrants, a shift toward a less educated, perhaps more "footloose" population than had earlier come to the North. It seems reasonable to expect that a great increase in the volume of migration might have altered the migrant selection process. (Maloney, 2002:1)

Maloney bases his article on the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) project and thinks that the figures based upon the project have illuminated the common misconception related to the qualification that is to say, the condition of the black immigrants.

The results indicate that among black men, the positive effect of literacy on the probability of migration remained unchanged as the volume of migration increased. Furthermore, migration rates rose more among married black men than among single black men, reducing the disproportionate selection of single men into the migrant stream (though, on the net, single men were still more likely to move than were married men). (Maloney, 2002:1)

Maloney highlights the irregular proportion and distribution of immigrants' marital status as well as their literacy condition challenging the previously accepted misconceptions. Most white supremacists used to think that the black race is unable to exist and build a civilization of its own. They thought that the white hegemony should continue to rule over the black race claiming the incapability of the black man. However, the struggles on the path of freedom and Maloney's findings lead us to the fact that the idea of freedom was deeply hidden in the souls of black men and women regardless of their marital or educational condition. This clarifies the insight quest of freedom that lies in the hearts of every single black slave and former-slave and challenges the era's white supremacist superiority allegation over the blacks. Confining the idea of emancipation and the desire for a better life to those

only educated under a civilization built and maintained by the white or western societies would be the most unrighteous understanding of the black societies. Even under the accommodationist policy of Booker T. Washington, the blacks did not in fact accept the so-called superiority and unfair treatment of racist attitudes.

5.2. Boll Weevil

There is more than one single reason behind the migrations to the north one of the most important of which is the boll weevil. Among the other reasons boll weevil is the most striking as it is a worm-like animal. For a better understanding of what it is and how it affected the south the Columbia Encyclopedia writes as:

Boll weevil or cotton boll weevil (bōl), cotton-eating weevil, or snout beetle, *Anthonomus grandis*. Probably of Mexican or Central American origin, it appeared in Texas about 1892 and spread to most cotton-growing regions of the United States. Over the years the weevil became a significant pest, destroying about 8% of the annual U.S. cotton crop. Boll weevil devastation was a major reason for diversification of the South's historic cotton economy. ("boll weevil", 2018)

After the invasion and the serious damage, the boll weevil caused, the economy suffered a blow and deteriorated gradually as the Southern economy mostly relied on agriculture. The agricultural plantations used to be full of black workers and the boll weevil consequently played a huge role in their migration to North. "Poor weather and the boll weevil infestation devastated the cotton crop, and racial violence and political disenfranchisement grew more intolerable" (qtd. in Maloney:2). Maloney also gives some statistics related to the migration and the immigrants' rates and races:

Based on census survival ratios, Eldridge and Thomas (1964, 141-42) report that African Americans exited the South at the rate of 70 per 1000 between 1910 and 1920, nearly tripling the rate of 25 per 1000 observed between 1900 and 1910. These rates of exit were especially high among 20- to 44-year-olds and peaked at 165 exits per 1000 for 25- to 29-year-olds. (Maloney, 2002: 2)

As previously stated the immigrants' arrival did not meet the expectations of the black men and women at the time. The residents of Northern states were unhappy about the newcomers, and some black former residents claimed that the racist segregation was not felt in the north till the southern immigrants came and furthermore they thought that black immigrants brought the troubles with them (Maloney, 2002: 3). Tensions within the black community--between Northern blacks

and recent migrants--also increased. Some Northern blacks blamed the recent migrants for worsening race relations (Maloney, 2002: 3). After immigration to the north, the situation was not the same anymore. While concluding his article about the results of the migrations to the north Maloney goes as:

Racial tensions grew in the North and segregation became more pronounced in these years. African Americans who were born in the North or who were longtime residents of the region felt these changes and, to some degree, blamed the new arrivals for the growing hostility. However, this worsening of race relations in the North appears to have been not so much a response to real changes in the characteristics of the migrants, but rather simply the attempt of Northern whites to draw sharper lines between themselves and the growing black community. (Maloney, 2002: 10)

Truth is that some Southern originated troubles were transferred to the North, yet any sudden and unexpected demographical change, at this very large scale, would not differ much than the migration of the blacks to the North. Wintz states that:

Besides the obvious changes evidenced by the growth of black ghettos in northern cities and the resurgence of black militancy in the face of an apparently unremitting chain of racism, violence, and injustice, there was also a more subtle shift of attitude among blacks. (1988: 6)

CHAPTER VI

HARLEM RENAISSANCE

6.1. What is the Harlem Renaissance?

Harlem Renaissance is social and cultural of enlightenment coming with a radical rise in the black world. As Cary D. Wintz simply defines “The Harlem Renaissance was basically a psychology -- a state of mind or an attitude -- shared by a number of black writers and intellectuals who centered their activities around Harlem in the late 1920s and early 1930s” (1988: 2). In any country and in any city there have always been communities of black populations living isolated from the rest of the white population, however, that of Harlem was distinguished. So what made Harlem special? What made it the ‘black metropolises for some? Wintz states; “for the New Negro, Harlem was the Mecca of the black world” (1988: 3). First of all; there are historical and sociological phenomena lying behind the rise of the black world. Up to this chapter, the thesis has tried to present a historical background of the change that happened in Harlem. Many reasons lie behind the revolutionary artistic, cultural and to some extent political rise in Harlem. The ironical point is that although there were opposite views about uprising the black race in many fields of human civilization, in Harlem Renaissance all of the views, movements and wars contributed to what really culminated and later on gained the name Renaissance. As an exterior determinant, Huggins attributes the political awareness of Harlem’s intellectuals to the outbreak of World War I. He states:

Like others of that generation whose collective experience was World War I, Harlemites were caught up in its wake. Surely, the ethnocentrism that generated self-determination as an Allied aim in that war informed a new racial awareness among blacks throughout the world. The war also forced a re-evaluation of Western civilization and encouraged non-Europeans to esteem their own cultures as being as valid and civilized as Europe’s. War-disillusioned white men (American and European), on the other hand, helped enhance a black self-concept through their own search for valid, authentic experience. (2007: 7)

In addition, for the internal motivations of the Renaissance, Huggins speaks of the black race’s original qualities and the genetics of the Negro stating:

(...) Freud and the new psychology caused sophisticated people to deny the artifices of civility and manner and to seek the true self through spontaneity and the indulgence of impulse. In so far as, Afro-Americans could see their own lives as being more natural and immediate than their countrymen's, they could be convinced that the mere accentuation of their characteristic spontaneity would work toward the creation of a new Negro, a new man. Indeed, if anyone doubted that the black man's time had come, he needed only look at the awakening of Mother Africa as evidenced in the recent European discoveries and appreciation of African culture and civilization. Such elements of the spirit of the age contributed to the Harlemites' view of themselves and their historic role. (2007: 7)

The history had recorded several improvements in favor of black men and women up to Harlem Renaissance, yet an artistic and cultural reform has never been recorded to such a great extent as the one in Harlem. Huggins attributes the specialty of the Renaissance to the Negro's character, saying: “ (...) what distinguished Harlem from the several other burgeoning black metropolises were changed, seemingly centered in Harlem, in the character of Negro protest and thought(2007: 18). Though Harlem Renaissance reminds people of an unstopped and ongoing positive impression, upon deeper inspection one gets to know that an equivalent amount of violence, corruption, woman trafficking, and many more crimes had found itself a large place in Harlem. So, in fact, Harlem was not a land of paradise contrary to what was believed at the time of Migrations to North. As stated above more than one single reason led the history to record that artistic rise in Harlem. Being mostly historical events such as the period starting with the emancipation of the slaves, Reconstruction of the states in a united America, Jim Crow Laws, The boll weevil and many other factors have dragged the minds and bodies that formulated the Renaissance in Harlem. Huggins enlightens the facts about the migrations' help to create the Harlem Renaissance asserting: “The circumstances that made Harlem and New York appear a viable center of Negro cultural, intellectual, and political life were in part the result of the large migration of talented blacks to the city in the years before the war”. (2007: 18)

The intellectuals that gathered in Harlem, later on, were called 'the giants' as they have performed revolutionary works in Harlem. A race, insulted, degraded and despised and most important of all enslaved for centuries, proved the human capacity of producing art and civilization for the first time in a society dominated by whites who from the beginning of the first encounter with the black men treated him like a

creature a bit more capable of performing tasks than an animal. The black people felt a compulsion to prove themselves and the works and activities produced at the time of Renaissance, in fact, can be viewed as struggles to prove the capacity of the black race. Although later on challenged by Nathan Irvin Huggins in his criticism of W.E.B. Du Bois saying that it is impossible to unite two separate races with the culture, which had been separated by history, the main struggle was to strive to survive in a white-dominated society (Huggins, 2007). Booker T Washington had the same views but his main concern was to elevate the black sphere of the American nation in handcraft and jobs that black people might have in order to be integrated into a harmonized black and white society with no clashes.

Harlem Renaissance has been the subject of many academic articles, books, and dissertations up to now yet similar to any production of African-American experience it was not granted the attention required until a long time passed. "...The traditional neglect of black America as a subject had much to do with this positioning of the era on the periphery of our sense of history" (Huggins, 2007: xvi). African American history has always been neglected from the beginning with the Dunning School's doctrine until modern times. Huggins, while putting forth the extent of neglecting states that "many educated blacks impatient with the progress of the race— impatient with the race itself—dismissed the era" blaming some of the black intellectuals as well. (2007: xvii)

Harold Cruse was one of the first to call attention to the Harlem Renaissance ("something ... which has not been adequately dealt with in the history books") and to link this outburst of creative energy with what he argued to be the problematic cultural identity of present-day black Americans, a people "left in the limbo of social marginality, alienated and directionless on the landscape of America (Helbling, 1999: 1).

The giants of the Harlem Renaissance, in fact, filled the vacancy of academic research fields and historiography of black American people. By working hard to enact the skills and deeds of the black men's inner power, Harlem's giants contributed to a nation's reawakening process via performing art culture. The giants of Harlem magnified and praised the skills and capacity of their black fellows. This aspect of the Renaissance makes it precious as the black race progressed in the

mental slavery imposed by the white masters for centuries. For centuries they were made to believe that a black person can only conduct slavery and even after the emancipation the blacks were, in fact, conducting 'volunteer slavery' in the white-owned plantations. The emancipation and Reconstruction acquisitions were meaningless for a mind untrained about the human's inborn talents. That, in fact, justifies the first wave of migration to the north and the immigrants' mostly being the educated people. So what is the Harlem Renaissance? Maurice Wallace answers as;

While white America was celebrating the jazz age and the Roaring Twenties, black America was celebrating its own jazz and blues age. The flowering of black literature and poetry, of black music and dance, visual arts and pan-African politics in this era soon came to be identified as the Harlem Renaissance. (2007: 67)

In the previous chapters, immigration to the North was mentioned in advance. However, not directly to Harlem district, a great number of immigrants ultimately stopped at Harlem being their final destination. Although Harlem was initially a town white middle-class Americans, after the arrival of the black immigrants started to change demographically, in the end reaching the status 'capital of the black world' as Huggins name it. Geographically having an isolated shape Harlem gradually became a town of black residents. Under the severe segregation, black people were forced to 'voluntarily' live in isolated cities away from white people. Although W.E.B. Du Bois severely criticizes Booker T. Washington's leadership of the black world, judging from the original artworks that the blacks set forth it would be wrong not to attribute any credit to Washington and his understanding of reconciliatory policy between the two races. It is ethically, morally and legally, no doubt, indecent to segregate the two races; however the reality that on the way to survive and prove the black men's adequacy in all fields, Harlem's isolated and black population, for the first time in American history, under the leadership of the giants, found an opportunity to prove that the black race is no different from any other race in producing civilization, culture, and art. On the other hand avoiding concrete clashes and a nation-wide battle Washington paved the way of the black race for culminating in all fields including education, craftsmanship, and culture which takes into consideration the lack of readiness of white race was the most rational route to follow. It may sound contradictory to link the Harlem Renaissance to the

accommodationist and reconciliatory policy of Washington, but when thought on an individual-scale any success of a person needs first a quiet and aloof from racial clashes which could have led to a wider turmoil. The objectivity principle of scientific history enables the researchers to identify the historical events and figures, even when these figures such as W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington are two opposing figures, upon studying the advancement of the race and the mentioned figures' contributions with their unique styles and philosophies, to the accomplished common purpose. Regardless of the philosophies and styles, they adopted every black American leader has contributed to the advancement of the colored people in America, which is more or less the same for the comparison of W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington. It is actually a richness to have more than one single method of achieving the common purpose like that of democracy, which shelters various, and opposite views working for the ultimate but same goal, to lead the country to welfare. However adhering to the objectivity of scientific history, makes it is also essential to reveal the events, movements and the leaders of these movements who halted the progress towards the common goal, which is the welfare of the black race in African American history. When the method adopted is wrong, the goal being to lead the nation to welfare, does not needless to say, vindicate the failure of any person or group of people.

6.2. Is Harlem Renaissance a Success or a Failure.

As stated before, the major debates over the Harlem Renaissance cluster around several subjects, one of which is the questionable benefits of it to blacks. There are views that, even though the actors of the performance –being the black people, were conducting the rebirth of the black race, the white patrons and spectators were enjoying it most. In other words, there was being conducted an African-American originated art and culture yet the buyers and spectators were still the white dominators. Consequently, the movement or the Renaissance, in fact, was an illusion for some. One of these critics is Langston Hughes whose quotations Huggins uses as; “the ordinary Negroes hadn’t heard of the Negro Renaissance (...). And if they had, it hadn’t raised their wages any” (2007: xvii). He even goes ahead as for how Hughes saw the meaning of the Renaissance stating:

The “Renaissance,” had been mainly a cultural bubble that burst even as racism, poverty, and crime destroyed the dream-or “deferred” the dream, of economic and cultural emancipation that had brought most blacks north to New York starting early in the twentieth century”. (Huggins, 2007: xvii)

However, it is important also to look at what was literally happening at the time of the Renaissance. The giants of the Renaissance adhered to the principle of defending the black race out loud and without any fear. Unlike the previous paradigm of Booker T. Washington’s soft-spoken policy, the new intellectuals of Harlem insisted on a more radical defense of the race against the dominant white supremacy.

James Weldon Johnson’s monograph *Black Manhattan* (1930) and his autobiography, *Along This Way* (1933), as well as books by Claude McKay, including his novel *Home to Harlem* (1928), gave and continue to give perceptive readers a sense of important aspects of the subject of black life in Harlem, including its contradictions, denials, neuroses, and legitimate aspirations. (Huggins, 2007: xix)

The scholars of the Renaissance or of the later decades and the giants of Harlem “(...) astute black leaders such as W.E.B. Du Bois and James Weldon Johnson knew that they were involved in something special” (Huggins, 2007: xvii), however, it is also a fact that;

Scholars of the 1930s and 1940s surely were too close to the heyday of the movement to see its features clearly, to capture its artistic contrasts and density. Many critics were unable to go far beyond its novels and poems, its literature, which contributed to a one-sided, often misleading view of what was by definition a multifaceted phenomenon. (Huggins, 2007: xix)

The Renaissance of Harlem as Huggins states in his book *Harlem Renaissance* has reached beyond the issue of black vs. white (2007: xix). The Harlem intellectuals;

Often uneasy about the role of whites in the movement [who demanded a strict anti-politics against the white supremacy and hostility of some radical groups like Ku Klux Klan] (...) usually could not see the extent to which the Harlem Renaissance illuminated the subject of the interdependency of black and white American culture. (Huggins, 2007: xix)

Huggins who values the Renaissance implies that the new phenomena happening around Harlem were not solely crucial for the black race, but they had an interdependent importance for the whole nation in America as the productions of the Renaissance, whether entries of history or lines in a poem or a novel, and they did vastly matter for the whole society in America. It has been mentioned previously that many aspects of African Americans were neglected; one of those neglected fields

and uncategorized into the American Studies was the Renaissance itself. The giants were readily aware of the distinguished period that they were experiencing, but under Jim Crow segregation, it was not easy to become popular enough to be integrated into the common experience of America wholly. In other words; whatever positive happened about the black race's history and culture was either negatively reflected or completely ignored by the majority of dominant white academics as well. There are exceptions though as Huggins already mentions:

The one exception in this tale of scholarly inadequacy in facing the black American subject was the work of those well placed historians of the United States, including John Hope Franklin, Stanley Elkins, Kenneth Stampp, and Eugene Genovese, who had made slavery and the South one of the premier topics in American historiography. (Huggins, 2007: xxi)

Huggins clarifies how, even though not to glorify the deeds of the black race, some scholars aroused interest in the culture and history of African Americans as reporting;

Rival theories argued about the impact of slavery on black culture—whether the slave (the African brought to America) had been a blank slate, his brain, and spirit erased by his traumatic experience, or whether aspects of African culture had survived to aid black cultural life during slavery. This controversy about slavery ironically raised the prestige and currency of the black historical subject and stimulated scholarship in other areas of African-American history. (Huggins, 2007: xxi)

Going back to the Renaissance it is observed that after the golden years of the movement ended, Harlem evolved from the notion of being the black world's capital, into a city where crime and violence rates were high and where the positive acquisitions and impressionist were replaced by corruption and immorality. Huggins addressing to the pioneer figures of the Renaissance related to their promising feelings about the future of Harlem and the black world, claims that; the generation, which Johnson spoke to (...) was optimistic and progressive. It would take more defeat than they had yet known for them to believe that what they were building would, in time, imprison them". (2007: 4)

What he means by the imprisonment, is actually the saddening fact after the golden years of the movement had passed Harlem, in the beginning of the movement seen, as a paradise by many would turn into a city of misery due to the metamorphosis Harlem experienced. In addition, the reasons for that evolution according to Huggins were present from the time the movement began yet few

scholars of the movement were to talk about the possible dangers which towards the end took over the area (2007: 4). They were so focused on the positive sides of the movement and era that they had neglected the problems, which ultimately were to bring the end of the Renaissance. Huggins attributes the main idea behind the negligence of the concrete problems, to the need the intellectuals of the Harlem Renaissance felt to glorify the black race (2007: 5). “A positive self-image (...) was considered the best starting point for a better chance” (Huggins, 2007: 5). Ironically criticizing the Harlem’s notable intellectuals Huggins states:

Inequities due to race might best be removed when reasonable men saw that black men were thinkers, strivers, doers, and were cultured, like themselves. Harlem intellectuals, with their progressive assumptions, saw themselves as the ones most likely to make this demonstration. They were on the threshold of a new day. (2007: 5)

The question that ‘is Harlem Renaissance a success or a failure?’ constitutes one of the major problems of the thesis. Huggins answers his striking analysis of the Harlem intellectuals’ inerrancy:

(...) most Harlem intellectuals aspired to high culture as opposed to that of the common man, which they hoped to mine for novels, poems, plays, and symphonies. They saw art and letters as a bridge across the chasm between the races. Artists of both races, they thought, were more likely to be free of superstition, prejudice, and fear than ordinary men. They might meet on the common ground of shared beauty and artistic passion. It was thought that this alliance “at the top” would be the agency to bring the races together over the fissures of ignorance, suspicion, and fear. Despite a history that had divided them, art and culture would re-form the brotherhood in common humanity. (2007: 5)

Harlem’s intellectual’s negligence of the concrete problems and directing their power to the integration with the white color through art and culture, has resulted in only producing white customers for the art that the black race had put out. As Huggins wittily observes; when the two races were divided into two opposite sides via history, art would not be enough to unite the blacks and whites. He also states; “The blackface minstrel show stylized a Negro character type that black men used to serve as a passport through white America. Yet, the mask demeaned them while it hid them”. (2007: 11)

6.3. Art and Culture in Harlem

The black race's motivation to prove the adequacy of their race as a civilized nation could not succeed to wipe the color line out; on the contrary, it generated or contributed a formation of customers and pleasure seekers exploiting the artistic but black productions. "This was an attitude of cultural elitism" states Huggins while defining the struggle for unity at the top (2007: 5). However, Huggins does not blame the Harlem intellectuals for the quest of progressing through 'cultural elitism' concluding his criticism as:

But it is wrong to assume that these black intellectuals, because of it, were not related to the black common man in Harlem, I think that in the early decades of this century most Negroes were apt to agree that it was a good thing to have Negroes writing "good" novels, poems, plays, and symphonies. Not always because they could read, listen, and understand them, but because the fact that these works were written was a remarkable achievement. (2007: 5-6)

What Huggins defines as the real problem is as he states:

Our problem here, as in any history, is to see men and women of another era in their own terms and not our own. And that will require of us a humanism that will modulate our own egos and self-consciousness enough to perceive theirs. Their world was different from ours. We must start there. (2007: 6)

Huggins believes that the two races, due to their background and structural distinction were two extremely different and the black race should have started the quest of 'coming of age' first of all with accepting the difference. Any success story cannot be applied to every person in the society; and if the persons are of two distinct backgrounds such as having two different skin colors, which were, the furthest distance between two different people and races, the story of success turns out to be nothing more than a romanticized journey. The journey that the Harlem intellectuals demanded the normal black men should start, for the aim of raising the race up, would end up both in the welfare of the race and proving the competence of the Negro in America. Romanticizing the class mobility thus taking their protagonists from the trash of the society upwards to the top, Harlem's leading minds encouraged their people to believe in this tragic end. However, one thing they might have skipped is that even if this story had ever come true, it would still be eternally a product of western civilization as the dream itself is originally a product of the white Americans. The black intellectuals of Harlem fell for that dream of whites and trailed

the Harlemites as well. The delusion of the Harlem Renaissance's dream as a prototype of the American dream is not a complete failure though. Huggins analyzes the fallacies of the dream yet puts forth the positive sides of the movement too. He, in fact, does not adopt a manner of complete disregard for the artistic progress recorded. What he does mainly, is to take into consideration the norms and the unquestionable art and culture forms as the achievements of Western civilization and thus that of the black race as well. He concentrates on and questions the scale of success for the black art due to the norms being products of white civilization. He explains this as:

As long as the white norms remained unchallenged, no matter what the Negro's reaction to them, he always needed to return to the white judge to measure his achievement. It would have required a much more profound rejection of white values than was likely in the 1920s for Negroes to have freed themselves for creating the desired self-generating and self-confident Negro art. I am not suggesting that blacks needed to acquire a race hatred; there was evidence of that already. I mean merely that Negroes had to see whites—without the awe of love or the awe of hate—and themselves truly, without myth or fantasy, in order that they could be themselves in life and in the art. (2007: 323)

Huggins urges the black race to not only create art and culture but an authority, which has the adequacy that can seal the Negro art's fate as success or failure. Without having this type of substructure, the Negro art would have to confront the white dominant and most probably patronizing authority for the fate of black art. Huggins criticizing W.E.B. Du Bois and his contemporary leading figures of the Renaissance due to his concentration of the emphasis of high art he states:

It was commonly thought, in those decades around World War I, that culture (literature, art, music, etc.) was the true measure of civilization. Harlem intellectuals, sharing in that belief and seeing themselves as living out the moment of their race's rebirth, naturally marked off their achievement by such artistic production. Thus they promoted poetry, prose, painting, and music as if their lives depended on it. (2007: 9)

Not all of the critics of the movement are as pessimistic as Huggins though. Being one of those who highlights the good sides of the Renaissance Wintz concentrates on the progress recorded at the time of Harlem's rise. Wintz analyzes the depiction of the local colors in the literary works concluding that these works were beneficial for the promotion of black culture. Wintz informs:

Besides serving as the spiritual home of the movement, it also provided the material and the setting for many literary creations of the Renaissance. The poetry, short stories, and novels of the period abound with scenes and characters lifted from Harlem's streets and cabarets. Most of the Renaissance writers produced at least some work of Harlem local color. Rudolph Fisher, Claude McKay, and Langston Hughes were especially adept at portraying New York's ghetto life. (1988: 3)

Wintz, despite the good sides of the promotion of the black urban life in Harlem, also mentions the unchanging misery of Harlem's people asserting:

It was a teeming, overcrowded ghetto, and much of its laughter and gaiety only thinly veiled the misery and poverty that was becoming the standard of life for the new black urban masses. This, too, was reflected by the Harlem Renaissance. (1988: 3)

After the process of emancipation and the Great Migration, the black people had a process of Urbanization. In America, Harlem was attributed to another but crucial importance, taking into consideration the urbanization of the black race for the first time after getting rid of the chains of slavery. Wintz highlights this fact saying:

Harlem played an important role in the Renaissance because Harlem itself symbolized the central experience of American blacks in the early twentieth century -- the urbanization of black America. Harlem housed the first major concentration of blacks who settled outside the South, and it reflected on a larger and more concentrated scale the patterns of change that were occurring in Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, and dozens of other northern industrial cities in the first half of the twentieth century. (1988: 3)

Even though they were still under segregation, the people of Harlem started to experience urban life in a black populated city where they were no more slaves. This radical shift from slavery to urbanized black civilization did pave the way for the Renaissance. The fact that they were having troubles and living in poverty in Harlem did not stop them from formulating the Renaissance. The artists and intellectuals of the city promoted and depicted this miserable life under segregation, and this way they contributed to the development of the movement as much as the historical factors behind the Renaissance. Wintz touches upon the aims the black men of letters and their objectives in their works. He states:

(...) it is necessary to say something about the relationship between black literary creativity of the twenties and the similarly intense creativity among white writers of the same period. Like their black counterparts, the white writers of the 1920s engaged in experimentation in form revolted against what they considered the restrictions imposed by an obsolete morality and

sought to identify truth and meaning in a world of violence, oppression, and absurdity. (1988: 4)

While the Harlem writers were focused on race issues in their works: “ (...) during the twenties white writers ignored the race question more than at any other time in American literary history” (Wintz, 1988: 4). The negligence of the black world was systematically maintained in the literary world as well. “The Harlem Renaissance was the product of history and a way of life about which most white writers knew very little. This, of course, was a natural outcome of life in racially segregated America.” (Wintz, 1988: 5)

The immigrants to Harlem were not seeing themselves as guests or seasonal workers in the demographically white dominant North. Apart from a few exceptional examples, the immigrants did not have the idea of returning to South. This mental shift of adopting North instead of South as a new habitat to live and progress in their future life was also felt in their leading intellectuals of Harlem as Wintz declares:

By the 1920s, few black intellectuals still believed that the future of their race lay in the South. As they turned their attention northward and focused their hope on the emerging black communities in northern cities, however, they also were turning their backs on their southern heritage. (1988: 6)

It is possible to tolerate this kind of change though. The comparison between south and north presented to both workers and intellectuals of Harlem a clear picture of preference in favors of the north. Therefore, the immigrants very rarely thought to go back to the South at the time of the Renaissance. However, the will to stay did not stem from a heavenly life in Harlem or other Northern states. Truth is that; the black people were living under better conditions in their new places, and some even got proper education and owned properties, but the majority of the population remained uneducated with no decent jobs and living extreme poverty (Wintz, 1988: 6). The condition had already started to deteriorate not only due to poverty or unemployment but also due to the growing white hostility felt towards black people. The white people thought that the black changed the structure of the society and that they should not have been let to migrate in large numbers to the North. This accordingly evolved to a racial hostility among white Americans. The growing tension between the two races was triggered. Related to the underlying reason for the unrest Wintz states:

Even those who had achieved some material success saw these accomplishments threatened by the growth of segregation and racial violence. Supreme Court reinterpretations of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments left blacks defenseless against the segregationist enactments of southern legislatures. (1988: 6)

As mentioned above, the segregation was brought to Northern states with the arrival of immigrants as well. This absolutely does not mean that the segregation was due to the black population, and they are not the side to be blamed for the segregation. This, in fact, means that before the great migration, the north was not populated by blacks as much as the period after the arrivals of the black waves, and it also means the northern economic agents who had previously boasted as the north is not segregated and the blacks would have been fully free if they were to migrate to north, proved to be an untested and a jactitation in order to attract blacks to the Northern states. The reason the northern agents wanted the southern former slaves to be transferred to the north, was to benefit from their manpower for the industrial workforce. However, the white population was untested and had not proved to be friendly against a concrete black population; that is why the southern segregation was transferred and applied in the north as well. That is again why the black people chose or better to recognize as 'were forced to choose' to learn to live with the segregation and discrimination. They ultimately escaped of segregation but again welcome by another hostile racism. The solution for the black people according to era's conditions, which was what they had done in Harlem, was to live in isolated districts with the least contact with white Americans. Having failed to reach the humane life and work conditions, the black immigrants to the north, faced with America's biggest problem of the era, for many times in a row since the emancipation: racism. This continuous racist attitude of white supremacists in both southern and northern states contributed to the political and cultural awareness of black intellectuals for their own roots. They wanted to rise upon on their own cultural backgrounds and led by the giants of Harlem they turned back to their own identities. They wanted their identities to be accepted by white Americans.

6.4. World War I and the New Negro

The racial debates of the Harlem intellectuals were sparked with another exterior reason though; World War I. Wintz explains the support of blacks to the whites during the war with the expectation of reaching racial equality saying:

The outbreak of World War I only intensified racial conflict in America. Traditionally blacks have supported America's war efforts in hopes that a display of loyalty and battlefield gallantry would win them popular support in their quest for equality. And, in their efforts to participate fully in their country's battles, blacks have traditionally confronted a government reluctant to accept their services. During World War I the already existing racial strife intensified these problems. (1988: 11)

Wintz states; although the idea was not accepted by few, the support of the black race was promoted by the leading figures of the Renaissance as well:

Most black leaders responded to the onset of the war by urging blacks to support their country wholeheartedly. Even W. E. B. Du Bois set aside his struggle for integration and asked his people to "close ranks" with white America and to "forget our present grievances" for the duration of the war, even though this meant accommodation with the segregationist policies of America's military forces. (1988: 11)

Despite the military assistance of the black race, the white race did not side up to their black fellows at all. Even in the army, the black soldiers were not assigned with important duties as Wintz puts forth:

Most blacks, however, made every effort to comply with Du Bois's request in spite of the openly discriminatory policies of their government. At the outset of the war, for example, Colonel Charles Young, the ranking black regular Army officer, was forced to resign. The Navy allowed blacks to serve only as mess boys, while the Marines would not accept blacks in any capacity. The Army eventually accepted blacks in all branches except for the pilot section of the Air Corps, and, after considerable agitation by the NAACP, established a segregated officer training camp for blacks. Of course, the entire military was segregated. (1988: 11)

The contribution of World War I was not due to the segregation in the army though (Wintz, 1988: 11). As stated above the black soldiers who have joined the war with their white alliances were in pursuit of proving their loyalty to the country and in exchange for receiving the support of white people to overcome the racial barriers and obtain equality in real terms. However, the result was again frustration. Failing to obtain their ideas to live equally under humanely conditions the black

people and their leading minds shifted to much more radical change in their struggles against racism.

Blacks hoped that the uniform they wore and the sacrifices they were willing to make for their country would win them some measure of respect and equal treatment. They were proud of their military accomplishments and more reluctant than ever to accept a second-class position in society. From the beginning of the war, however, whites responded to black soldiers with hostility and fear. They did not view the black soldier as a friendly ally; instead, they saw him as a potentially dangerous element which in the future would have to be even more carefully kept under control. (Wintz, 1988: 11-12)

The reality that Wintz mentions above and the worldwide consequences of the war shaped the next policy of W.E.B. Du Bois and his people for the coming years. The black race was to turn to its own racial roots even in the political arena. Up to that time W.E.B. Du Bois and some other intellectuals of Harlem were known for their strict policy against accommodationist strategy, yet as Wintz highlights; at the time of the Great War, even W.E.B. Du Bois temporarily quitted his original idea, and encouraging the manner of putting the internal conflicts of America related to racial unrest aside. However; due to the assumption that, whether he was deceived or made a mistake himself, his ideological shift was even stricter than his initial approach to the race problem. As related to this ideology change of Harlem intellectuals Huggins states:

By the end of the war, in 1919, Afro-Americans who called themselves radicals were already serving notice that the Negro of postwar America was going to be much more militant than his prewar brother. The Messenger had insisted that the “new style” Negro would not accept accommodation or ignore grievances even in the interest of the war. The Negro would no longer “turn the other cheek,” be modest and unassuming. He would answer violence with violence rather than with meek though moral protests and requests for justice. (2007: 53)

6.5. Post-War Negro

The Post-war Negro was to be different and more cautious in order not to be deceived again. Huggins, quoting W. A. Domingo clarifies the definition of the ‘New Negro’ as follows: “His willingness to fight showed that the New Negro was as anxious to make “America safe for himself” as he had been to make the world safe

for democracy (...)” (2007: 53). The New Negro through the lessons of history had been exposed to discrimination, not being granted the previously promised words about equality; he was to be politically more active. Huggins goes ahead with the demands and desired prescriptions for the new Negro as:

His labor was not to be exploited as the Old Negro’s had been in the past. But, above all, he would insist on “absolute and unequivocal social equality,” which would be achieved by identifying his interests with those of the working classes. (2007: 53)

Another striking definition of the New Negro has been done by Mathew H. Ahmann, who concentrates on the active aspect of the New Negro as follows:

Now what we call the "New Negro" has changed all this. [The previous racial image and bias formulated and maintained about the Negro.] It is increasingly evident that Negroes will not accept anyone else's definition of themselves. And for the first time, faced with direct and forceful pressure, whites have come face to face with Negroes as they really are. Though this change has been, and is bound to be, unsettling -- for it forces us to act -- it will produce more and more rapid progress to the free and open society that is the dream of all of us. (Ahmann, 1969: x)

Counting on the white men and expecting the required racial tolerance did not work till the Negro decided to change himself. This decision of facing the white men, Ahmann asserts as the most important since Lincoln’s time was the brand new starting point of the Negro struggle from that on. While introducing the factors which contributed to the birth and growth of the New Negro Ahmann highlights the underlying principle as follows:

The New Negro in the North cannot be understood in isolation. He must be understood in terms of the early and, particularly, the recent history of the Negro in the United States and the complexity and interrelatedness of the pattern of civil rights, political, economic, and international developments characteristic of our times. (1969: 25)

The historical and sociological defeats that the black men experienced formulated the New Negro. The process has taught them to participate in activities and as stated before; to shape their own authority in defining their own image not only in art and culture but also in a political sense as well. After the increase in the Northern black population following the migrations, Ahmann remarks that the New Negro reached a political power, especially in the presidential elections as well. This

political power where the black was not disfranchised meant and urged a compulsion of the alliance for the white politicians. In order to receive the electoral support of the black voters, the politicians had to treat much more than a manner of handling a minority group. Because the black population simply meant a great number of votes, the white now that had to ask for their assistance for ruling the country. This awareness of the black leaders helped the formulation of the New Negro, which can also be concluded from Huggins' revelations where he refers to Domingo saying; "the New Negro "cannot be lulled into a false sense of security with political spoils and patronage. The job is not the price of his vote". (2007: 53) Ahmann, in order to explain the political power of Negroes, states:

Negroes who are free to vote in these communities -- with the exception of Washington, D. C., where everyone is disenfranchised -- have the balance of political power in these states, which have a large concentration of electoral votes. If and when Negroes are required to vote in terms of critical racial issues, they could and do exert tremendous political power, particularly in presidential elections. (1969: 26)

As a result of the political power accumulated in the Northern states, Ahmann implies that the welfare of the black race could be provided as he states: "As the Negro increases his political power in northern communities he will influence the status of Negroes in the southern states and facilitate the general progress toward full social, political, and economic equality" (1969:26). According to Ahmann, the demographical and geographical change altered the economic horizon of the race as well. When the density of the population was concentrated on the Southern states the main jobs that blacks could do were agricultural jobs, yet with the migration and correspondingly the urbanization process the black employment shifted to a broader range of professions which he exemplifies with the figures below:

The use of Negro labor in the factories in the North has resulted in significant increases in the economic status of the Negro. The average income of Negro families in the North is approximately \$4,000 annually while the average income of Negro families in the South is a little more than \$3,000 annually. (1969: 26)

The intellectuals of Harlem, from the emancipation and enfranchisement onwards shifted through various political preferences and sometimes these particular choices were harshly criticized after the failure of obtaining the desired solution of racial conflicts. In some cases especially in the Reconstruction period, the candidates

of the political parties did not provide what they promised to the Negroes and the deterioration of the situation via Black Codes and Jim Crow laws disheartened the black former slaves. Not to experience the same crucial deceptions again Huggins states what the New Negro would have to do as follows:

The Negro was mainly a worker, so his new leaders would reject association with capitalism and the bourgeoisie and support a labor party. He would focus on objectives that were to his immediate economic interest, workingman's goals: shorter working hours, higher wages, and more jobs. He would join white labor unions where he could; he would form his own when white unions discriminated. He would educate himself and others in order to facilitate just race relations, but he would use "physical action in self-defense". (2007: 53)

So the New Negro would fight against the discrimination and if needed would physically act and get its own due. This type of policy adopted by the leaders of the black world stems from the era's requirements which history and exterior reasons such WWI urged or better to say enabled them. Their own artistic and cultural awareness did not contribute as much as the historical events natural and to some extent accidental gains such as the increase of the population and the political power accumulated via the demographical changes. There are several reasons behind the production of high culture and art forms yet still debated as being a failure for the Renaissance. One thing to clarify; is the aimed and over concentrated art and original culture of the black art, was not as successful as history when compared according to the acquisitions recorded. As Huggins well analyzed when the division is based on history then the unity had no chance to be provided by culture. This was in fact what exactly happened when talking about the Renaissance's success or failure. The abundance of aspects of any historical or artistic movement to analyze makes ~~the~~ reality also multiple. So one can say that Harlem Renaissance did what it needed for the promotion of black adequacy to conduct and produce high art and culture, but on the other hand, one can also see that their production of cultural and high artistic products did not equalize them with white people. Being one of the pioneer interpreters of the Harlem Renaissance, Huggins also recognizes this tragic failure of the concentration on art and culture:

For in questioning the quality of the works—the artistic achievement—I necessarily challenge the success of the "Renaissance" in delivering what it claimed for itself. Some will argue that in our day of the crisis of black

identity it is harmful to question any Afro-American achievement; positive self-concept needs pure black poets as well as pure black heroes. (2007: 9)

What Harlem Renaissance claimed for itself was to equalize the two historically divided races. And the success, if there was ever in the time of the Renaissance, must mainly be attributed to the low-standard majority instead of high standard intellectuals. Analyzing the productions of the leaders and intellectuals against the majority living in poverty it is possible to declare that the artistic and cultural forms created, could not be as effective as the only thing the poor black people had in their hands: voting. Art in fact, which in some cases served only to much more demean the black race, could not surpass politics and history, which, hence proves Huggins to be right. In addition, Huggins criticizes the black artists and critics of the art of the era from another point of view. He thinks that originality which was aimed by the artists could not be attained by the already existing western literary or artistic forms (Huggins, 2007). Huggins blames the Harlem promoters for being so concentrated on the vision of high culture that they missed to look thoroughly at jazz (2007: 10). For Huggins jazz was the only authentic creation of black race that needed to be promoted and studied carefully. According to him the artists of Renaissance missed the only concrete opportunity of existing in the American artistic arena as jazz had its roots in the African culture. Due to neglecting to well-treat jazz, Huggins complains that the non-musicians that is to say the majority of Harlem Giants could not well-perform to survive in the already western art forms. (2007: 10)

It is an undeniable truth that while having a branch of art completely of African origin, the negligence of the era's artists, though they had claimed to turn back to their own capacities of their culture, showed an inexplicable discrepancy ignoring jazz. Huggins explains that jazz music was viewed as unrefined folk art by the high culture devotees (2007: 10). In order to draw attention to the discrepancy of the Harlem Intellectuals he criticizes them and states:

It is very ironic that a generation that was searching for a new Negro and his distinctive cultural expression would have passed up the only really creative thing that was going on. But then, it is not too surprising. The jazzmen were too busy creating a cultural Renaissance to think about the implications of what they were doing. (2007: 11)

In Huggins' criticism Langston Hughes is the one favored and excluded from the responsibility of neglecting jazz music. Huggins saw the effort to prove the artistry of the black race in vain. He states:

Harlem intellectuals promoted Negro art, but one thing is very curious, except for Langston Hughes, none of them took jazz—the new music—seriously. Of course, they all mentioned it as background, as descriptive of Harlem life. All said it was important in the definition of the New Negro. But none thought enough about it to try and figure out what was happening. (2007: 9-10)

Among the black intellectuals, one name is very popular since his first debut into the history of African Americans: W.E.B. Du Bois.



CHAPTER VII

ART, SPORTS, AND CULTURE IN HARLEM RENAISSANCE

7.1. Cultural Revival

Harlem revival happened on the shoulders of Giants as Kareem Abdul-Jabbar defines the situation. The black race owes them a tremendous contribution to black men's fight for existence, for they were the first figures to turn their concentration to African American culture and internal capacity. After centuries of racism followed by segregation and discrimination, the Harlem Giants realizing the necessity to rely on their own dynamics for the change, have started a new movement. Named also the New Negro Movement, Harlem Renaissance left cultural revival together with invaluable artistic and social acquisitions for the black race to rise on. From Harlem Renaissance to the Louis Armstrong a wide range of cultural heritage was left behind the Renaissance with the help of Harlem's giants. With their works and efforts, they proved the black men to the American nation, which for centuries lacked and questioned the belief of black men's adequacy. Although scholars later on questioned the efficacy of some of the Harlem leaders' and artists' works, truth is that they were successful in being on *Vogue* as Langston Hughes defines it. This chapter of the thesis focuses on the artists and sportsmen as well as the prominent leaders' contribution to the Renaissance from a critical point of view. The first and according to Nathan Irvin Huggins must be the most important figure of the Renaissance is Langston Hughes. (2007: 10)

7.1.1. Langston Hughes

Hughes is one of the most popular figures in the Harlem Renaissance. Ezra Pound states “Thank God; at last, I come across a poet I can understand” (Tracy, 2004: 5). Steven C. Tracy analyzes Hughes’ style and states:

In Hughes's work, in style and subject matter and philosophy, we encounter the philosophy of the “all us” regularly. We need to understand and feel and act upon the idea that we are all “us,” not “we” and “they”. There is no not-us, and the concept of not-Hughes simply does not understand just where the Hughes aesthetic—the plain, the simple, the vernacular—fits into both the contemporary and timeless aesthetic-at-large. (2004: 5)

The reason Langston Hughes is part of Harlem Renaissance lies in the sentences of Tracy below as it goes so; “For Hughes, here, at last, were hierarchies challenged, modified, subverted, to include everyone, African Americans as well, in the American aesthetic dream” (2004: 7). Langston Hughes adopted the belief that the American Dream should be accessible to anyone living in the continent. What he means, in fact, is the accessibility of black men to the dream. Tracy writes about Hughes's vernacular style and praises Twain, as being the pioneer to this kind of duty in American Literature, as he states:

Clearly, Twain's skill at employing the vernacular in a variety of dialects was pivotal for American literature. Even more pivotal was his decision to allow a young, uneducated, backwoods, lower-class boy—four times marginalized—to speak for himself. And to put into the mind and mouth of that boy a local and personal exemplification of the moral and ethical struggle over slavery that made the evils of slavery obvious and Huck's choice to help steal Jim elementary. (2004: 8)

And the inclusion of that boy though had entertaining aims either; was not merely a technique to amuse readers, as this attitude of Twain was, on the other hand, giving a voice to a boy which was forgotten for centuries under the scope of a racist attitude Tracy assures:

Now, Twain was not above using dialect to ridicule or merely entertain, and, indeed, we find some of this in the novel. But his larger purpose was to show a postlapsarian America how a young, unwashed innocent, something like itself some one hundred years before, could make a sound and courageous moral and ethical choice based on a personalized and individualized

experience, rather than on the inherited racism of his cultural heritage. (2004: 8)

Hughes took reflecting the human's value regardless of their background and skin color. He believed in the virtue of people and employed the voice of ghettos that had been voiceless for centuries. Tracy summarizes the protest tone in Hughes art reporting:

Hughes, naturally, recognized the need for his art to take a sociopolitical stand, to make an art for life that affirmed the dignity and humanity of human beings. In this, he followed in the polemical tracks of an American tradition that included the most famous of all protest novelists of the nineteenth century (...). (Tracy, 2004:9)

Hughes' style of relying on the cultural source of the nation fitted the struggle of African Americans very well as "Hughes was one artist who deeply cherished the value of that folk heritage" (Tracy, 2004: 11). However, the biggest trouble was positioning the ground basis of the fight of the black nation, as the race had a past of slavery, a past that the white hegemony would not accept as a rich and praised history. Turning back to a culture, which had been invisible up to the Renaissance, proves the level of the challenge Hughes and his friends took on. The path was too far away to explore and employ for boasting. Any marginalized group in the continent of America was to survive upon their praised history or cultural heritage. Lacking such a frame and hungry for freedom the New Negro experienced the biggest challenge in their history. Huggins reports the extent of the dilemma as follows:

Doubtless, Africa was a large question for the black intellectual searching for identity and heritage; it was compelling because of the rootlessness and placelessness of the Afro-American and his search for the springs of a race's origins. It was not answered by the romantic ejaculations that Cullen used for passion. (2007: 82)

The challenge they experienced was not difficult for the search of cultural background and a history ornamented with victory tales though, it was also difficult for the reason that white Americans were not ready to accept a Negro's talent to perform art and praise it. Tracy exemplifies some of the degrading views related to the art of Hughes:

Whitman saw his first edition of *Leaves of Grass* vilified as a "gathering of muck (...) entirely destitute of wit" and himself compared to "a pig among the rotten garbage of licentious thoughts" (Zweig 266). Similarly, Hughes

was called a “sewer dweller” (New York Amsterdam News) and the “poet low-rate” (Chicago Whip) of Harlem for the lowdown folks poems of *Fine Clothes to the Jew* (1927). Twain saw his masterpiece both banned and relegated to the status of a children's book. (2004: 11-12)

Huggins states, “For Hughes, Harlem was to be the center of his life, the black people there the main source of his literary inspiration” (2007: 24). Langston Hughes in his lines taken from his poem *Afro-American Fragment*, in fact, laments the lack of background to build the race’s culture on.

Afro-American Fragment

*So long,
So far away
Is Africa
Not even memories alive
Save those that history books create,
Save those that songs
Beat back into the blood—
Beat out of blood with words sad-sung
In strange un-Negro tongue—
So long,
So far away
Is Africa.*

*Subdued and time-lost
Are the drums—and yet
Through some vast mist of race
There comes this song
I do not understand,
This song of atavistic land,
Of bitter yearnings lost
Without a place—
So long,
So far away
Is Africa’s
Dark face. (Huggins, 2007: 82)*

7.1.2. W. E. B. Du Bois

W.E.B. Du Bois occupies a tremendous place in the black Americans' history. He was born on 23 February in 1868 and passed away in 1963, leading a life devoted to the black Americans' rebirth and welfare. Although sometimes criticized for the actions he took towards the enlightenment and salvation of the race, no scholar at all can avoid giving credit where it is truly due. Among the leaders of the black world, Du Bois had a radical and sharp tone in his defense of the race. He has written many books and articles mostly about the glorification of the black men and the unfair treatment they had received throughout history. Due to his opponent attitude towards the white authorities, similar to the racism against his people he has been exposed to many racist and unfair treatments as well. While traveling abroad as writes in his biography:

For the 15th time, I was going abroad. I felt like a released prisoner because, since 1951, I had been refused a passport by my government, on the excuse that it was not considered to be "to the best interests of the United States" that I go abroad. It assumed that if I did, I would probably criticize the United States for its attitude toward American Negroes. This was certainly true. (1968: 11)

While defining himself and his slavery-rooted predecessors, at the beginning of his career he writes in his autobiography, which names a 'soliloquy' that:

I, on the other hand, represented something old, which had projected itself into a new America, and clothed in slavery, and poverty had begun a modern race problem. I looked therefore upon this world, as I had looked before, as a member of the darker race, which had suffered from the oppression of the white European world. (1968: 14)

Du Bois for the background that shaped his personal attitude towards race issues and the black world he summarizes the underlying principle that made him understand the world and states:

As a student, I had learned of the struggle between races; of the way in which the slave trade had been stopped, slavery abolished, colonial imperialism begun, until finally in the 20th century the nations of Europe had fallen to fighting each other over the problem as to who should dominate Asia and Africa. I came to Europe to learn if now European imperialism was about to disappear, and what hope we had of a future. Was a world of peace and racial equality about to emerge? (1968: 14)

That question in fact sparks the racial awareness of Du Bois, as he goes ahead saying, "I was disappointed" (1968: 14). Throughout his career, Du Bois was in the

pursuit of wiping out the racial bias and discrimination he first faced in London. Du Bois in his fight against the racial discrimination pursued a very productive life.

(...) writing fourteen pioneering books of sociology, history, and politics and, in his eighties, a second autobiography and three large historical novels, complementing the two large works of fiction he wrote in the first two decades of this century". (Horne & Young, 2001: ix)

His seminal text *The Souls of Black Folk* was the most influential works at the time. It still draws the attention of the scholar today. Charles Lemert highlights the book's significance in his foreword to *The Souls of Black Folk* by W. E. B. Du Bois expressing:

A century after its publication, *The Souls of Black Folk* has become one of the English language's classic literary works to such an extent that less and less does one think of it as a book defined by association with this or that particular genre or field of interest. It is not just that W. E. B. Du Bois' fine literary hand turned out some of the more stirrings of Elizabethan, prose of the waning Victorian era. Nor is it that *Souls* is the source of ideas and phrases that have affected the literary sensibilities of several generations of readers. (2016: vii)

Du Bois with his leadership to the black race dedicated his whole life and scholarship to the welfare of the race, and when talking of the welfare he meant nothing but freedom. He defines the grant of freedom in the lines before:

Away back in the days of bondage they thought to see in one divine event the end of all doubt and disappointment; few men ever worshipped Freedom with half such unquestioning faith as did the American Negro for two centuries. To him, so far as he thought and dreamed, slavery was indeed the sum of all villainies, the cause of all sorrow, the root of all prejudice; Emancipation was the key to a promised land of sweeter beauty than ever stretched before the eyes of wearied Israelites. In song and exhortation swelled one refrain—Liberty; in his tears and curses, the God he implored had Freedom in his right hand. At last, it came,—suddenly, fearfully, like a dream. (2016: 3)

Du Bois informs the emancipation with enthusiastically in the lines below as well:

Shout, O children!

Shout, you're free!

For God has bought your liberty! (2016: 3)

W.E.B Du Bois had the most protestant voice between the Harlem leaders. He rejected the idea of learning to live with segregation and demanded strict action against discrimination. Towards the end of his career, he even supported the idea of

Pan-Africanism. He fought against racism throughout his life. He died in 1963 in Ghana.

7.1.3. Louis Armstrong

Harlem Renaissance's most favorable progress was done in music. Jazz Music went beyond the limits of Harlem. Another very important voice of the Harlem Renaissance is definitely Louis Armstrong. Louis Armstrong;

(...) learned to play the cornet in the band of the Waif's Home in New Orleans, and after playing with Kid Ory's orchestra he made several trips (1918–21) with a Mississippi riverboat band. He joined (1922) King Oliver's group in Chicago, where he met and married the pianist Lillian Hardin. His early playing was noted for improvisation, and his reputation as a trumpeter and as a vocalist was quickly established. (Armstrong, Louis, 2018)

Among other artists and intellectuals of Harlem, Armstrong has attributed special importance due to his being the father of Jazz Music. The other artists produced perfect in already-known branches of art. However, Armstrong mastered in a field where there was no pioneer to lead him. Jazz as a cultural product was entirely owned by the black race. Paul Whiteman clarifies this idea stating: "Jazz came to America three hundred years ago in chains" (Berrett, 2004: 66). Jazz Music as Nathan Huggins highlights was the only cultural production that black Americans could be boasted as the type did not exist in white American art (2007: 10). Huggins also states that Jazz was not on the agenda of the Harlem Giants as much as the other art branches in a period when the black world was in pursuit of existence through art and culture. Huggins thinks that jazz as an original and unique Music which belongs to African roots was the very thing that Harlem Renaissance needed. As opposed to the negative reviews that Jazz received James Lincoln Collier states:

Indeed, a case can be made for the thesis that he was the most important of them all, for almost single-handedly he remodeled jazz and, as a consequence, had a critical effect on the kinds of music that came out of it: rock and its variants; the music of television, the movies, the theater; the tunes that lap endlessly at our ears in supermarkets, elevators, factories, offices; even the "classical" music of Copland, Milhaud, Poulenc, Honegger, and others. (1985: 3)

Armstrong's success has already been beyond America, yet his being a black man meant a special point for the black Americans. At a time confined and isolated to ghettos the black race, one can say, broke down the prejudices of the white world

with Armstrong's success. Collier links the magnitude of his success to his blackness and states: "he was a black, at a time when one of the most important international political movements was the struggle of blacks for parity in the world" (1985: 3). Armstrong was also memorable for his improvisation technique. As for the issue Collier highlights his success in improvisation saying:

(...) Armstrong was the creative genius who first demonstrated the possibilities inherent in improvised music. He hardly invented the concept of improvisation: that is probably as ancient as humankind. But over the long history of what is called Western music, improvisation never played so central a role as it came to have after the early rise of jazz. (1985: 4)

To sum up; Louis Armstrong though his success has gone beyond his race has been a critical revolutionary figure for Harlem Renaissance. His original and unique music has challenged the bias that was destined on the black race. His success, though not completely, have broken the prejudice of the white man towards the black race. His career has inspired the next generation black artists who experienced an identity crisis. Harlem Renaissance was in a sense a quest for cultural heritage for the Negro to rise upon. Armstrong created that heritage on his own with his unique style. Unlike the other artists, who saw Jazz as a raw cultural text which needed to be refined as Huggins imposed upon the giants of Harlem, Armstrong managed to be the most distinctive figure when originality of the black race's contribution taken into consideration. That is why on his funeral "the tens of millions of people all over the world who mourned him remembered him as an endearing child of nature who became famous singing improbable tunes like "Hello, Dolly" and "Blueberry Hill" in a voice choked with gravel" (Collier, 1985: 3).

7.2. The Women's Role in the Enlightenment

The enlightenment of the black race could not have been achieved without the contribution of the female figures of the race. In the exploration of the historical quest many black women encounter the researchers with striking talent and struggles for the equality of an integrated American nation. Starting to perform their artistic deeds under slavery, the woman black artists and intellectuals proved to be pioneers for their next generation sisters. This bond could be exemplified with N.F. Mossell's starting point of the defense of black women, and Zora Neale Hurston's contributions at the time of Harlem Renaissance.

7.2.1. N. F. Mossell

The issue of Black enlightenment has been a popular subject to numerous studies up to now, however apart from several concrete studies; the subject of women's contribution from the very beginning of the birth of *Negro Enlightenment*, needs to be handled in details. Although the black male figures have spent years and some even took a step further by sacrificing their lives, the attitude of *some* ladies of the race cannot be underestimated at all. This part of the thesis is designed to employ Zora Neale Hurston and N.F. Mossell who are considered to have undertaken critical roles to prove the contribution and adequacy of not only the black men but also the black women. This chapter focuses on a few Afro-American women's works and studies, which have crucially altered the fate of the race. Starting with Mrs. Mossell's deeply love to her black sisters; it is clear that her works and her attitude have inspired her ensuing black figures. She led a devoted life to the race and her black sister. The main idea that she had been defending was; the employment of black women and their inclusion to the workforce of America so that the race could rise not only over the masculine shoulders yet over the soft contributions of the black women. According to Mossell, giving place to women in jobs such as journalism will provide softer reactions from the readers for the works a black woman would produce in journalism. Mossell, in fact, does not put forward a fierce idea as to discriminate black men and women yet, on the contrary, supports the idea of the collaboration between not only black and white people but also the collaboration of black and white people in the whole country. She dignifies both sexes saying "noble sons of noble mothers". Her attitude is towards creating, or better to say studying an ongoing or an existing intellectual history of the black race (2019).

As the Victorian ideal woman is still a question to us; Mrs. Mossell touches upon the subject as questioning the "Victorian America". As is commonly known, the Victorian ideal woman did not belong to the business sphere yet she was supposed to belong to the homely sphere, where she could only be the human being conducting *womanly* affairs such as raising children or cooking and conducting other similar roles marked only for the women. Mossell challenges the Victorian ideals encouraging women to participate in the works especially the intellectual jobs that are predetermined for males. Without going through an inferior comparison between

males and females, Mossell tries to raise her race, which is clearly understood from her definition of noble womanhood. She states that: "Her noble womanhood must develop in the context of a "growing race"; the "growing race" must, at the same time, allow for the development of "noble womanhood" and greater equality in home and family life." (N.F. Mossell, 2019: xi). Mrs. Mossell also appreciates the women who successfully work in various jobs and honorable positions and praises their good work. She pays special attention to women's potential and capacity to perform journalism. She inspires and encourages the other black women to be journalists and writers and explains some tips to apply for the success in their careers. From those who followed her footprints and her ideals, Zora Neale Hurston is the most striking women figure in the African American literature.

In the enlightenment of Afro-Americans' process, there seems to be neglect towards the contribution of the black women in this long weary struggle. Zora Neale Hurston is one of the leading woman figures of the revival in the New Negro Movement; on the other hand, N. F. born in 1855 was author, teacher, and activist who demanded the integration black American ladies' integration to the society.

7.2.2. Zora Neale Hurston

Zora Neale Hurston on the other hand; she comes after the age in which N. F. Mossell demanded the inclusion and collaboration of African women into the society. Linking the two women I am of the opinion to present that, though ignored not only by the white race but also by their own black race, these two African American ladies have complemented one another's will. In other words, Mossell's dream was partially succeeded by Zora Neale Hurston. Hurston was:

An anthropologist and folklorist, Hurston collected African-American folktales in the rural South and sympathetically interpreted them in the collections *Mules and Men* (1935) and *Tell My Horse* (1938). A third volume of tales, *Every Tongue Got to Confess*, was discovered in manuscript and published in 2001. Hurston, a significant figure in the Harlem Renaissance, was also the author of four novels including *Jonah's Gourd Vine* (1934) and the influential *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937). Her plays include the comedy *Mule Bone* (1931), written in collaboration with her friend Langston Hughes. ("Hurston, Zora Neale", 2018)

The period she started to draw public attention was when she moved to New York when it was also the time of the New Negro Movement's heydays.

When Hurston arrived in New York, she could not have arrived at a more propitious time. The Harlem Renaissance was in full swing, flourishing from the beginning of the 1920s until the onset of the Great Depression in 1934. (Campbell, 2001: 3)

Harlem for Hurston was the most appropriate place to be at the time as, “Within the area known as Harlem was an incredible assortment of writers, painters, sculptors, musicians, and politicians—all of whom were engaged in energetic activity unrivaled anywhere in the United States” (Campbell, 2001: 3). The reason of her progress was the climate and definitely new trend of the artists and their recognition of black heritage as the basis of Negro’s rise. Campbell touches upon this very fact as he reports:

Writers such as Hurston, Hughes, Cullen, Claude McKay, and Jean Toomer were not the first African-American writers, of course, but they were among the first to be conscious of themselves as black writers who believed that the bridge between the white and black races depended upon the arts. Moreover, they were proud of their black heritage, with its roots in Africa and a black folk tradition. (2001: 3)

Later on, being named the ‘giants’ this group of writers and artists did not only shape their own way of Negro art but also proved to be the praised of aspiration source of many African American creative minds and souls in the next decades. However, apart from her being a skillful author, she was also a folklorist as Campbell puts forward her importance for American Folklore; “Hurston’s later fieldwork, however, was highly original; she soon became (and remains) one of the most noted folklorists in this country” (4-5). Her literary vision still makes her one of the prominent literary figures of American Literature. Similar to Langston Hughes and Louis Armstrong her career is beyond the racial isolation, due to her being both local and universal which makes her valuable. Campbell while praising her fictional ability states; “Zora Neale Hurston’s fiction, especially her novels, leads us to examine ourselves in relation to the world around us. Without exaggeration, her novels enlarge both our minds and our hearts”. (11)

7.3. Sports in Harlem Renaissance

Sports are one of the areas which Harlemites expressed their racial and accumulative background. The African Americans after a concrete success especially in boxing and basketball felt that their identity is being proved via their sports

figures. Harlem Renaissance was a successful basketball team at the time. Their style of playing the game was intrinsically unique as the players were all black. The teams' style was in a manner that the game and the rules were being mocked and altered. Harlem Renaissance had a profound effect on basketball history. Jack Johnson was one of the figures and African American people felt proud of Johnson's victory against racist Tommy Burns. His attitude before the boxing match and the victory he won gave mental ease to the Black community in America. Chris Lamb states that "Nothing is more threatening to white supremacy than blacks who do not accept "their place". And Jack Johnson did not accept his place" (2016: 2). Related to the African American citizens' reaction after the match Lamb goes ahead stating:

Black Americans saw it as their victory. A growing number of blacks refused to accept their place. They walked taller among whites and refused to accept inferior status. In Chicago, the Manassas Club, an organization of wealthy blacks with white wives, hired white waiters to serve them food and drinks at a banquet to celebrate Johnson's triumph. "Johnson's victory demonstrates the physical superiority of the black over the Caucasian," one of the club's members said. (2016: 2)

After the Harlem Renaissance, most black people saw sports as an arena to prove their adequacy in a white-dominated society. The sport was important as it gave the grounds to be proud of themselves. As for Johnson's success Lamb goes ahead:

If Johnson could triumph over whites, what about other blacks? White America could see the impact that Johnson had on others of his race. Every time Johnson won, he laughed louder and he strutted more arrogantly. Every time he won, other blacks walked taller and demanded to be treated with more respect. (4)

However, the progress of Johnson was, unfortunately, a reminder of a typical African American success right after which an unfair treatment was done. He was convicted by the court and the white supremacist citizens were relieved. Anything good was followed by a malignity in the African Americans' history. According to Lamb, there were African sportsmen whom the white dominant society liked as well. One of them was Joe Louis who never challenged the color line and accepted the white supremacy, unlike Muhammad Ali who was the opposite type and thus harmful to the white Americans. (2016:5)

Kareem Abdul-Jabbar is famous for his extraordinary talent and brilliant career in basketball. However, Abdul-Jabbar is an Afro-American in the first place and what happened to the whole colored race did also happened to him. Born in

Harlem, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar is one of the strict advocates of the Harlem Renaissance. Kareem Abdul-Jabbar has a deep respect for the prominent figures that led to the social and cultural rise of Black America. It would be proper that Abdul-Jabbar still feels and requires the youth to maintain the values and acquisitions that ‘the giants’ as he names the forefathers of the Harlem Renaissance. Kareem Abdul-Jabbar does not only celebrate the valuable works that the Giants have done but he also draws attention to the inadequacies of the Renaissance. Having been born 3 decades after the beginning of the change in Harlem, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar had the chance had the change to observe the background of the Renaissance (Jabbar, 2007). He is of the idea that today’s black youth should rise on the shoulders of Harlem Giants in order to lead a better and equal life. (13)

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have followed a chronological order of the history of the black enlightenment. The main methodology that I applied in my exploration has been presenting the objective linear order of event and the important figures of the era. After presenting the key figures, I adopted a technique of questioning whether it contributed to the process of the enlightenment of the black race or it delayed the desired goal. My research and thesis have proved that most of the developments were intriguing and delayed the acquisition of civil rights and freedom. I have put forth both the favoring views and criticisms of any figure and event in the history of the black race. Following the chronological order of the history, I presented firstly the general outlook for any development and event, and then I continued to challenge the effects of the events from an objective point of view. Exploring the historical background of the black Americans from the first contact of the slave ships with the white soil to the Civil Rights Movement of 1950s, I have come to the conclusion that; the unfair and inhumane treatment against the black Americans have a historical and progressive and most important an institutionalized system that was later on questioned and challenged. Inside this progress, I have challenged the seemingly positive historical events and movements, which on closer inspection proved useless or far from reaching the desired goal. The black slaves were transferred to Western Countries and enslaved and labored under harsh conditions. They were not treated as

human beings but animals in some cases. The main relationship between white and black people was based on a master-slave discourse. They were enlisted into the army yet treated as cannon fodders and assigned critical roles during wartime. Though the blacks expected to be granted freedom and integration to the American society, even after the civil war they were frustrated as the dignity they presented during the war was over passed. The fact that the enlightenment took such a long time, in fact, is a consequence of the seemingly decent improvements. The African Americans were deceived and made to accept the 'separate and equal doctrine'. They were forced to live under segregation and discrimination. The first protestant and fierce voice were ultimately heard with the New Negro Movement. The New Negro did not accept the separate but equal philosophy. They adopted a radical and resistant attitude, unlike the previous accommodationist policy, which was imposed on the black race. Living in isolated cities the black people had to prove the adequacy of the black race in art, culture, and sports. The Harlem Renaissance raised invaluable minds and souls that the next generations relied upon in their struggles for the enlightenment. However, as I have adopted the objectivity principle; I questioned the usefulness of the Renaissance as well. The general image has both proved benefits and harm as well. The useful aspect of the Renaissance was that the productions of the black minds and providing a basis for the next generations. However, Harlem Renaissance as I observed, in the quest of originality for the black sphere, has ignored the most important production of African American Culture: Jazz. Being an original production of the black world, jazz was seen as a raw field, which needed refinement. On the other hand, the giants of the Renaissance have spent their effort in mastering in the already shaped and framed genres of white civilization, which indeed was pointless. I do reject the black men's mastering in the novel painting or sculpture however if the quest is the revival of the black heritage jazz is the very answer they looked for. Louis Armstrong was the great musician of the time but even today, we have restricted information about his personal life and background. Jazz music, which deserved to be on the top of the New Negro's agenda found less attention than the other branches of art. Furthermore, the other branches of cultural heritage did not belong to the Negro. In addition, this would lead to applying for an authority for the evaluation of the works produced. In contrast, for jazz, the black

mind and soul was the very authority to evaluate and shape the criteria of the success. The quest of freedom for the black race has been dominated by a passivity that delayed success. The fact that their freedom fight was not conducted against a nation but a paradigm of centuries old, contributed to the delay as well. This paradigm was slavery. A slave is supposed to be an inactive person and the centuries-long expectation and habit did not diminish instantly. It took centuries for the white supremacists to learn that, due to color skin nobody deserves to be enslaved. It also took decades for the black race to realize to learn that 'freedom must always be conquered'. The black race's passive resistance may have ultimately succeeded to be rewarded with freedom and civil rights acquisition but the length of the time it took is an undeniable reality as well. This failure can not only be attributed to the white supremacy but the black Americans' own mistakes were also part of the fault, too. As for the cultural enlightenment, especially during the Harlem Renaissance, I have come to the conclusion that it was the main dynamic that triggered the mental freedom of the Negro. That is the reason for emerge of the term 'New Negro'. New Negro of the Harlem Renaissance was apt to seek freedom and refuse the separate but equal doctrine of the segregation policy. The fact that this awakening was reached under an isolated structure of Harlem is the biggest irony of the New Negro.

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Almanca	Başlangıç

Hobiler: Kitap okumak, Futbol Oynamak, Seyahat etmek.



25/06/2019

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