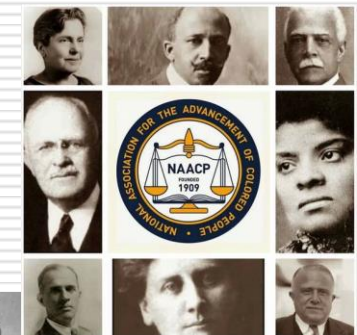
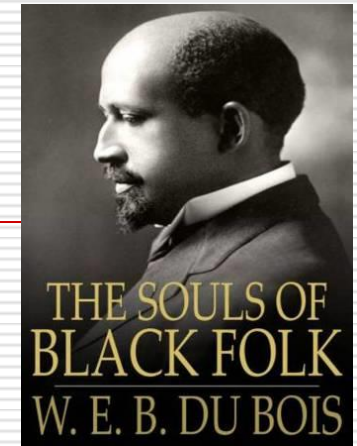


# The Problem of the New Century:

## Chapter 11: The Rise of W.E.B. DuBois

- Born in Great Barrington, Mass in 1868, Du Bois grew up in a relatively tolerant and integrated community. He was accepted in local schools, and was a brilliant student.
- On the Dubois side, he was descended from a French-American and a Haitian slave mistress. On the Burghardt side, he was descended from a slave, Tom, who fought in the American Revolution and won his freedom that way.
- Relying on money donated by neighbors, DuBois attended Fisk University, a black college in Nashville, Tennessee, from 1885 to 1888. His travel to and residency in the South was DuBois's first experience with Southern racism.
- After receiving BA from Fisk, he attended Harvard College from 1888 to 1890, where he was strongly influenced by his professor William James, the philosopher. DuBois paid his way through three years at Harvard with money from summer jobs and scholarships. In 1890, Harvard awarded Du Bois his second bachelor's degree, cum laude, in history.

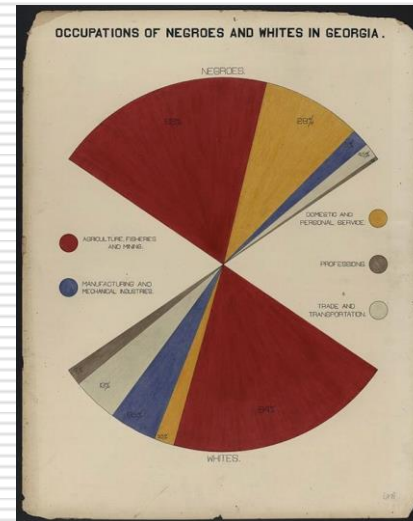


Who should accommodate to whom? he rivalry between DuBois and Booker T Washington

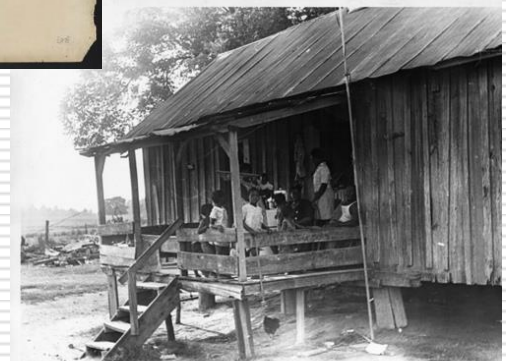
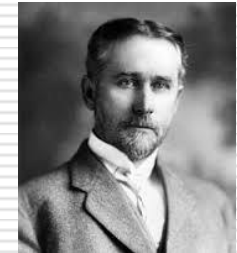
What's going on here? Top: DuBois most famous book, 1903. Center Left: Washington with wealthy donors. Below: Niagara Movement. Center right: NAACP Founders

# DuBois in Atlanta—and in Lowndes County, Alabama

- ❑ In July 1897, Du Bois took a professorship in history and economics at the historically black Atlanta University in Georgia.
- ❑ Du Bois's output at Atlanta University was prodigious, in spite of a limited budget: He produced numerous social science papers and annually hosted the Atlanta Conference of Negro Problems. Du Bois also received grants from the U.S. government to prepare reports about African-American workforce and culture.
- ❑ Most important, funded by the Labor Dept, was a thorough analysis of all classes, Black and white, in Lowndes County, AL. It detailed how convict slaves, peonage and sharecropping work. It employed dozens of researchers, Black and white, and did thousands of interviews.
- ❑ Dubois submitted his research, but it was destroyed by Charles Neil. Dubois had no copy, so he wrote 'The Quest of the Silver Fleece' as a 'fictional' account



**THE QUEST OF THE SILVER FLEECE**

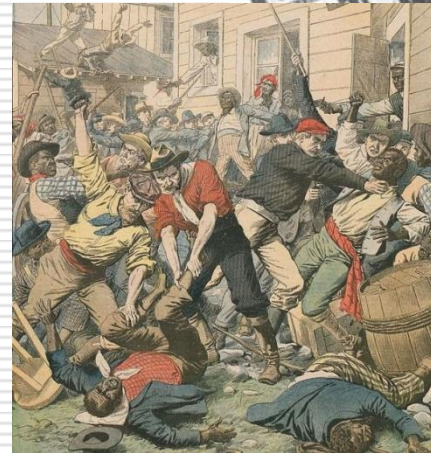


DuBois with his History Dept. Center left: Graphic he made for the study. Center right: Charles Neill, who had Dubois work destroyed because the results were 'political'.

# Chapter 12: New South Rising

## The Unleashing of White Violence

- On Sept 22, 1906, Atlanta newspapers reported four alleged assaults, none of which were ever substantiated, upon local white women. Extra editions of these accounts were sensationalized with lurid details and inflammatory language
- Thousands of white men gathered in downtown , By early evening, the crowd had become a mob; from then until after midnight, they surged down Decatur Street, Pryor Street, Central Avenue, and throughout the central business district, assaulting hundreds of blacks. The mob attacked black-owned bu
- On Sept 23, the state militia had been mustered to control the mob; they also reported that blacks were no longer a problem. Saturday night's violence had driven them off public streets.
- While the police, armed with rifles, and militia patrolled the streets, blacks secretly obtained weapons to arm themselves against the mob, fearing its return. White vigilante groups invaded some black neighborhoods. In some areas African Americans defended their homes and were able to turn away the incursions into their communities.



Papers fanned the flames. Below: State militia called out.



# The 'Whipping Machine' in Mines and Mills

- ❑ Alabama prisoners remained working in coal mines under horrendous conditions; in 1911 an explosion at the decrepit Banner mine killed 123 African American prisoners and raised even louder cries to end the practice.
- ❑ More than 95 % of county prisoners and 90 % of state prisoners were African American, and whipping was the accepted norm for punishment. Contractors whipped prisoners for insubordination and trying to escape, but they also used whipping to enforce discipline.
- ❑ Martin Tabert, a young man from North Dakota, was arrested on a charge of vagrancy for being on a train without a ticket in Florida. Tabert was convicted and fined \$25. Although his parents sent \$25 for the fine, plus \$25 for Tabert to return home, he was flogged to death by the whipping boss.

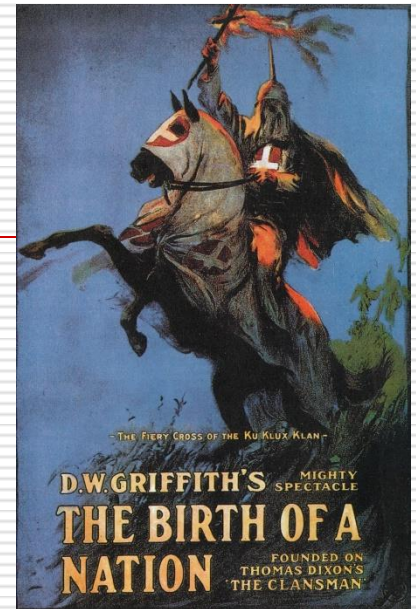
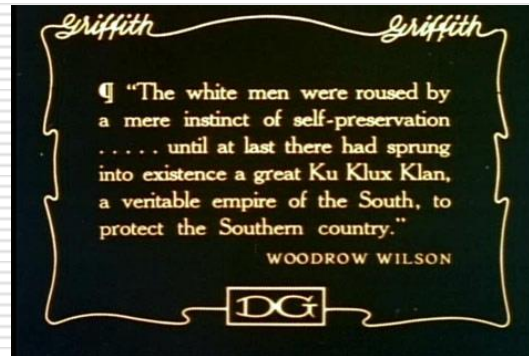


Martin Tabert



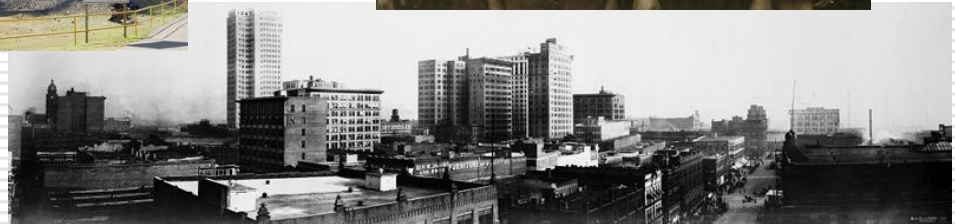
# Woodrow Wilson and the 'Manufacturing of Consent'

- ❑ 'Birth of a Nation' was the first major US motion picture, highly successful and seen by millions. It was highly controversial for its portrayal of black men (many played by white actors in blackface) as unintelligent and sexually aggressive towards white women.
- ❑ It also portrayed the Ku Klux Klan as a heroic force. There were widespread African-American protests against it, such as in Boston, while thousands of white Bostonians flocked to see the film. The NAACP spearheaded an unsuccessful campaign to ban the film.
- ❑ The film also inspired the formation of the "second era" Ku Klux Klan at Stone Mountain, Georgia, in the same year. Under President Woodrow Wilson, it was the first American motion picture to be screened at the White House.



# Chapter 13: Birmingham Rises from Slave Labor

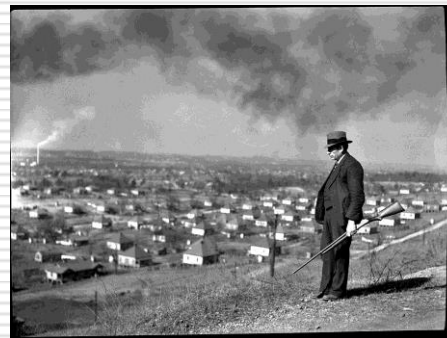
- ❑ The 'Magic City' rose at the site of the railroad crossing was notable for its proximity to nearby deposits of iron ore, coal, and limestone – the three main raw materials used in making steel. Plus the labor of convict slaves.
- ❑ Birmingham, the 'Pittsburgh of the South,' is the only place worldwide where significant amounts of all three minerals can be found in close proximity.
- ❑ While excluded from the best-paying industrial jobs, African-Americans joined the migration to the city, drawn by economic opportunity. The Great Depression of the 1930s struck Birmingham particularly hard.
- ❑ New Deal programs put many city residents to work in WPA and CCC programs.



Birmingham in 1920. Convict labor ended in 1928, bringing in more white labor and child labor. US Steel bought the mills

# Chapter 14: Miners on Strike

- ❑ District 20 of the United Mine Workers had been formed in 1898, but its ability to deliver decent wages and working conditions to its members was sharply limited by the power of the employers.
- ❑ The most remarkable feature of the strike was the union's ability to unite miners across the racial divide, a development that was unique not only for Birmingham, but for American society as a whole.
- ❑ The owners denounced the UMW's interracial workforce as an insult to southern traditions, and called for armed state intervention against the racially mixed strikers.
- ❑ Black UMW member William Millin was snatched from the jail at Brighton and lynched by two mine deputies, provoking fierce, armed retaliation against company guards by a racially mixed group of union miners

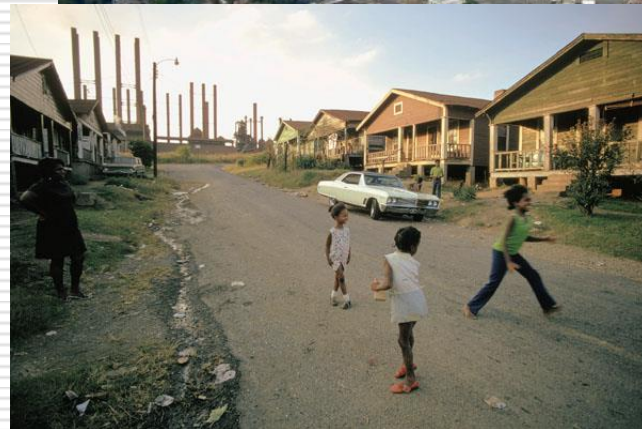
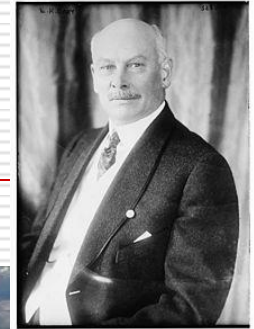


Poster distributed in Alabama to recruit.  
 Note there is no mention of a strike in the leaflet  
 Courtesy: Rosemary Feurer



# Chapter 15: US Steel Takes Control

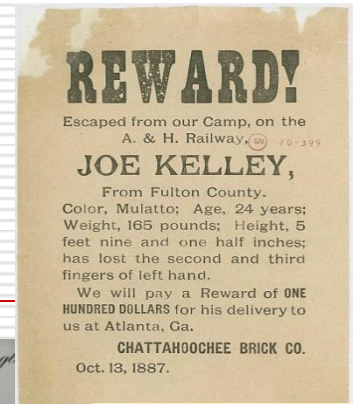
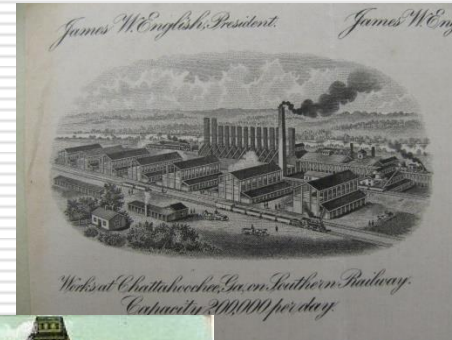
- ❑ **U.S. Steel enlarged its holdings by erecting the Fairfield Works to complement TCI's original Ensley operation. Over the next seven decades, these Birmingham furnaces produced millions of tons of pig iron, half of which was dedicated to steel production and half of which was sold as foundry iron.**
- ❑ **Reformers abolished convict leasing in the 20th-century Progressive Era, stopping the system in Florida in 1919. The last state to abolish the practice was Alabama in 1927. One advocate was US Steel's Elbert Gary, shocked by the practice, but slow to eliminate it.**
- ❑ **Birmingham was 'far from Pittsburgh, far from New York.'**



**Top: Elbert Gary.  
Middle: Fairfield Works. Left: Black neighborhood today next to closed mills.**

# Chapter 16: Atlanta Grows Banks from Enslaved Labor

- Mayor English 'inaugurated the first public improvement of any magnitude in street paving, the first granite block pavement being laid during the first of his term. This greatly needed work was prosecuted with great success. In fact, it is not too much to say that from the assumption of Mayor English's control, as chief magistrate of the city, may be dated the commencement of the real and substantial growth and prosperity the city has since enjoyed.'
- The Commission on Interracial Cooperation (1918–1944) was an organization founded in Atlanta, Georgia, December 18, 1918. In spite of its official "interracial" title, the commission was formed primarily by liberal white Southerners. It worked to oppose lynching, mob violence, and peonage and to educate white southerners concerning the worst aspects of racial abuse.



Mayor James W. English.  
Above: Poster for Brickyard Slave



Bank created from brick and construction industries. Vacant lot of old brickyard today. A plan is to make it a memorial park.

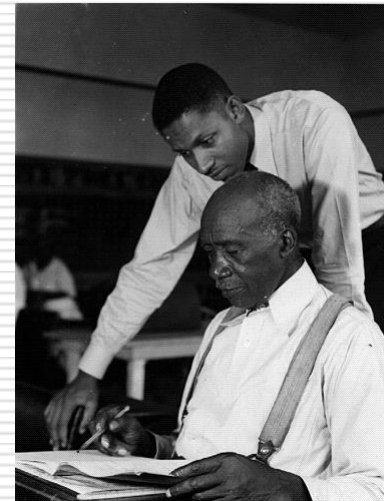
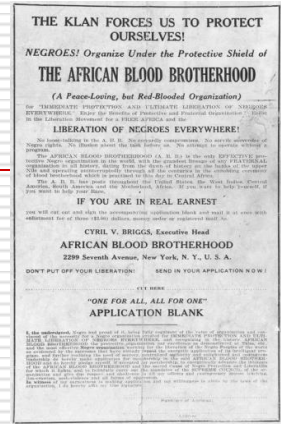


# 1930s: The Great Depression and FDR's 'New Deal'

- ❑ It was during the New Deal, that the silent, invisible hand of racism was fully exposed as a national issue; as something the country could no longer pretend did not exist.
- ❑ FDR led a political party that was heavily represented in Congress by racist Southern Democrats who supported segregation and even opposed the adoption of a federal anti-lynching law.
- ❑ FDR had to choose his battles carefully and at times appears timorous in the face of racial injustice-especially when viewed from today. His wife, Eleanor, often took more advanced views.
- ❑ But the Communist Party did not have these constraints. It organized boldly in the South, especially against lynching and in defense of the 'Scottsboro Boys.' It soon was seen as a party for Blacks.



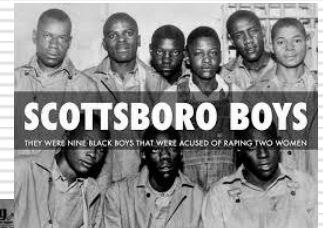
Returning Black WW1 troops. The militants formed the ABB, which later joined the communists and socialists



WPA literacy school in GA. WPA hired 350,000 Blacks annually, or 15% over ten years, for all kinds of work



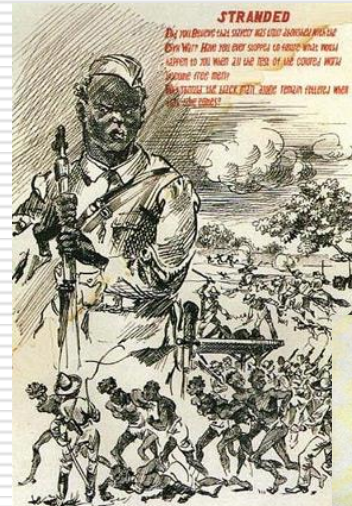
Above:  
CCC  
workers.  
350,000  
hired by  
1942



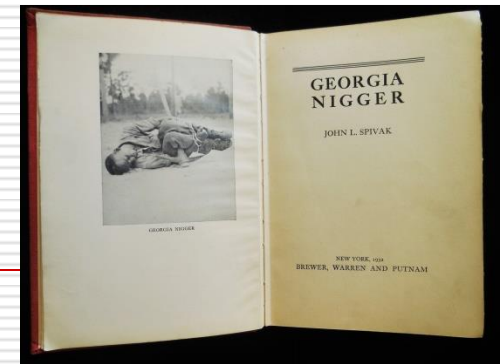
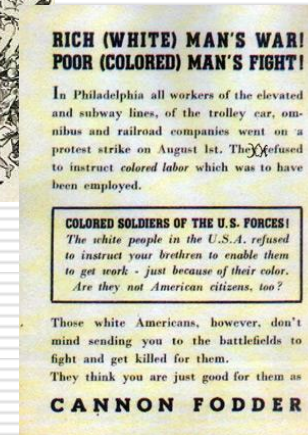
All 9 found guilty. They were later released or pardoned.

# Chapter 17: Jim Crow at Home Weakens the US Abroad

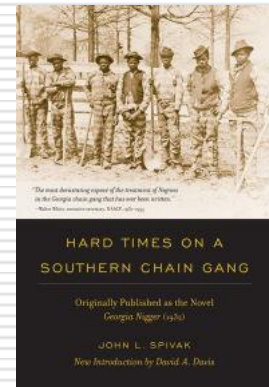
- John Spivak traveled throughout the South in the early 1930s interviewing prison camp officials and photographing camp practices and punishment records. His novel, 'Georgia Nigger,' depicting the brutality of peonage labor and chain gangs, was serialized several newspapers, including the Daily Worker and the Des Moines Tribune.
- His 1935 exposé in the Communist Party's 'New Masses' charged a congressional committee with deliberately suppressing evidence of an offer made to retired Marine General Smedley D. Butler by Wall Street financiers (the Business Plot) to lead a military coup against FDR's New Deal and replace it with a fascist regime.
- Under the sponsorship of New Masses, Spivak toured the United States in 1936 delivering a lecture on the dangers of fascism called 'I Saw.' He also exposed Japanese and Nazi propaganda on race



Above: Japanese appeal to Black troops. Right: German flyer aimed at Blacks.



John Spivak



Top: Spivak's book, 'Georgia Nigger,' later republished with a new title. It kept the story of convict slavery alive through the 1930s and beyond.

# The 1940s sets the stage for a gathering storm of revolt for a new generation in the 1950s and 60s

- ❑ The 'Double V' campaign was launched in 1941, to press for Black right to help win the war.
- ❑ A Phillip Randolph Planned a March on DC, but agree to cancel it when FDR promised a deal.
- ❑ Executive Order 8802 was signed by FDR on June 25, 1941, to prohibit racial discrimination in the national defense industry. It was the first federal action, though not a law, to promote equal opportunity and prohibit employment discrimination in the US.
- ❑ Executive Order 9981 was issued on July 26, 1948, by President Harry S. Truman. It abolished racial discrimination in the United States Armed Forces and eventually led to the end of segregation in the services



Tank factory in Detroit with Black and white workers



FDR signing 8802, creating Fair Employment Practice Commission



Randolph with Eleanor Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia

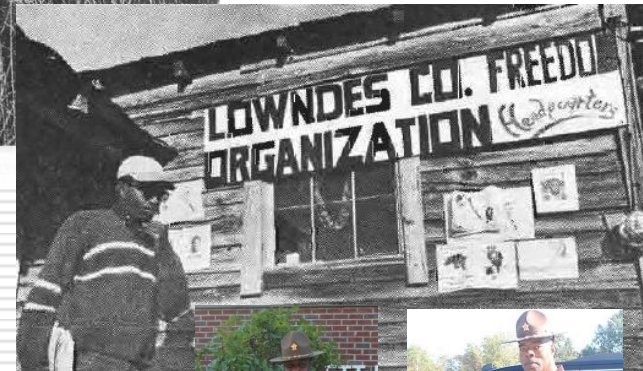


# Closing notes of optimism

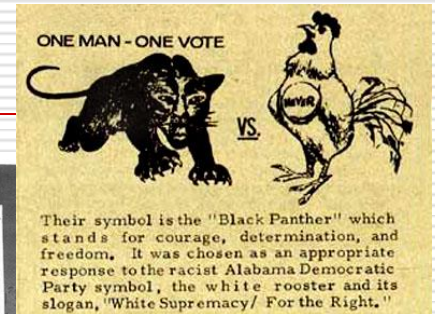
- In 1966 after working to register African-American voters, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO), the first independent black political party in the county since Reconstruction, recruited several local residents as candidates for county offices.
- It adopted the emblem of the black panther, in contrast to the white rooster of the white-dominated Alabama Democratic Party.
- The LCFO continued to fight for wider political participation. Their goal of democratic, community control of politics spread into the wider civil rights movement. The first black sheriff in the county to be elected since Reconstruction was John Hullett, elected in 1970.



Election night, Lowndes County, 1966



Stokely in 1966, made 'Black Power' widely used. Right: Today's Sheriff and police chief



Their symbol is the "Black Panther" which stands for courage, determination, and freedom. It was chosen as an appropriate response to the racist Alabama Democratic Party symbol, the white rooster and its slogan, "White Supremacy/ For the Right."

## Panther vs Rooster



Chief West and Sheriff Williams.