THE BACKGROUND OF
THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE

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Take Harlem as an instance of this. Here in Manhattan is not merely the largest Negro community in the world, but the first concentration in history of so many diverse elements of Negro life. It has attracted the African, the West Indian, the Negro American; has brought together the Negro of the North and the Negro of the South; the man from the city and the man from the town and village; the peasant, the student, the business man, the professional man, artist, poet, musician, adventurer and worker, preacher and criminal, exploiter and social outcast. (1)

It is difficult to define accurately the Harlem Renaissance, alias the Negro Renaissance, because it was not merely a literary movement but an extraordinarily exciting general cultural movement that arose with Harlem as its center. Besides, it lasted a very short of time so that we cannot call it "renaissance" in the true sense of the word. However, despite the shortness of time and its geographic limitation, predominantly centered in Harlem, the Harlem Renaissance was a great historical pageant in the black culture of America.

Harlem, as the Mecca of America's black culture, attracted many intellectuals and people of various cultural endeavors: novelists and
poets such as Langston Hughes (1902-1967), Countee Cullen (1903-1946), Claude McKay (1891-1948), George S. Schuyler (1895—), Wallace Thurman (1902-1934), and Walter White (1893-1955): artists, musicians, and actors such as Aaron Douglass (1898—), Charles Gilpin (1878-1930), Paul Robeson (1898-1976), Bessie Smith (1894-1937), Ethel Waters (1900—), Louis Armstrong (1900-1972), Duke Ellington(1899-1974), Josephine Baker (1903-1975), and Fletcher Henderson (1898-1952); and other prominent figures such as Alain Locke (1893-1954), Charles S. Johnson (1893—).

It is said that the Harlem Renaissance was a decade that began in 1920 and ended in 1929. According to Langston Hughes the musical show, *Shuffle Along* (1921), played the prologue to the Harlem Renaissance that lasted until the Great Depression. He said in his autobiography *Big Sea*:

The 1920's were the years of Manhattan's black Renaissance. It began with *Shuffle Along, Running Wild* and the Charleston. Perhaps some people would say even with *The Emperor Jones*, Charles Gilpin, and the tom-tom at the Provincetown. But certainly it was the musical revue, *Shuffle Along*, that gave a scintillating send-off to that Negro vogue in Manhattan, which reached its peak just before the crash of 1929, the crash that sent Negroes, white folks, and all rolling down the hill toward the Works Progress Administration. (3)

It is interesting that for Hughes, *Shuffle Along* was the real attraction that brought him to New York, while enrolling at Columbia University was his mere excuse:

To see *Shuffle Along*, was the main reason I wanted to go to
Columbia. When I saw it, I was thrilled and delighted... It was a honey of a show. Swift, bright, funny, rollicking, and gay, with a dozen danceable, singeable tunes. Besides, look who were in it: The now famous choir director, Hall Johnson, and the composer, William Grant Still, were a part of the orchestra. Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle wrote the music and played and acted in the show. Miller and Lyles were the comics. Florence Mills skyrocketed to fame in the second act, Trixi Smith sang “He May Be Your Man But He Comes to See Me Sometimes.” And Caterina Jarboro, now a European prima donna, and the internationally celebrated Josephine Baker were merely in the chorus. Everybody was in the audience—including me.4

The Harlem Renaissance can be approached from many points of view, but basically a conglomeration of six factors are responsible for its emergence: first, the Negro vogue in the world; second, the birth of a black intelligentsia; third, the Great Migration and World War I; fourth, the New Negro Movement; fifth, the Jazz Age; and six, the relationship between black and white intellectuals.

**NEGRO VOGUE IN THE WORLD**

Before the Negro vogue started in Manhattan, there were signs of it in Europe. At the turn of the twentieth century, many painters, writers, and musicians began to appreciate and experiment with primitivism, which they had discovered in the African arts. Among them was Pablo Picasso, who became one of the first to appreciate the expressiveness of primitive sculpture. It is believed, in fact, that African sculpture was a major factor in his development of cubism. In
1907, for example, he painted "Les Desmoiselle D'Avignon." Henri Matisse, considered by many to be the most important French painter of the twentieth century, after visiting Morocco, gained a new insight into color. This experience led him to paint "Moorish Cafe" in 1912-1913. One of Picasso's best friends, Jean Cocteau, the poet, writer, and playwright, was influenced by the African arts through Picasso and showed this interest in his works. Hugues Panassié, who was French, introduced jazz to Europe.

The Negro vogue in Europe had a profound influence on black as well as white people in America. For blacks it bolstered their growing self-awareness and helped them move out of the state of isolation they had been confined to for a long time. For whites it was a tremendous spiritual uplift discover the vitality of black culture.

BIRTH OF A BLACK INTELLIGENTSIA

From the very beginning of American history, American black people had to carry the heavy burden of prejudice on their backs. Most had never been treated as human beings before the Civil War. Abraham Lincoln became a historical hero of freedom with his Emancipation Proclamation. But although it was an epoch-making resolution in American history, it did not give true emancipation to black people. They did not know that for a while, so they praised their freedom with great joy and sang songs such as:

Abe Lincoln freed the nigger,
Wid da gun and wid da trigger,
An I ain't git ginna whipped no mo.
Ah got mah ticket
Out of this heah thicket,
An I'm headen for da golden sho. (55)

As a result of emancipation, black people in the South made their first step out of enslavement. The regulations that made them slaves were wiped away by the proclamation, but unfortunately, they were not emancipated from the shackles of social and economic enslavement.

In both the South and North, some public primary schools for black people were established increasingly year by year. Sociologically, after the Civil War, a few blacks even managed to enter the middle class, though this was very difficult because of the attitude of southern whites. Economically, it was not until after 1890 and especially after 1900, that a real burgeoning of enterprises for and by black people arose. Despite these changing and difficult circumstances American blacks produced prominent figures in various fields.

Among them were Hiram R. Revels (1827-1901), who was the first black to be elected (February 15, 1870) to the United States Senate; Booker T. Washington (1856-1915), who founded Tuskegee Institute in Alabama when he was just 25 years old and who later served as one of the leaders of the Negro movement, and W. E. B. DuBois (1868-1963), who worked for black people as a leader among those who opposed the conciliatory activities of Booker T. Washington. In the literary field we find Sutton E. Griggs (1872-1930), Charles W. Chesnutt (1858-1932), Paul Laurence Dunbar (1872-1906), W. E. B. DuBois, James Weldon Johnson (1871-1938), and others, all of whom helped establish a foothold for the Harlem Renaissance. Of the fiction written before the twenties Gloster says:

During the years between 1890 and World War I, American Negro
fiction was, with few exceptions, extremely race conscious. Chesnutt and Dunbar experimented in the plantation tradition; and Chesnutt, Dunbar, Mrs. Dunbar-Nelson, Durham and Ellis wrote stories of white people in which the race problem was avoided. A decided majority of writers, however, answered the propaganda of Page and Dixon and sought to give the Negro a more favorable position by glorifying him and exposing his oppressors.

By the twenties these writers and poets had established the cultural groundwork for the Harlem Renaissance. However, they had one serious limitation—they were the “talented tenth”, as DuBois put it, representing the black middle-class mentality. Robert A. Bone appreciated this fact in describing the novelists of the talented tenth:

The next generation of Negro novelists found that their literary heritage from the early period was largely negative. It taught them only what pitfalls to avoid. There was a substantial legacy from the early period, however, without which the Negro Renaissance could not have occurred. This legacy was a firm economic base from which a true Negro intelligentsia could evolve. The level of culture which the race had attained by the 1920’s was not attained without a struggle. That struggle was the burden and the triumph of the rising Negro middle class.

In the twenties intellectuals appeared one after another, forming a true intelligentsia quite different from the talented tenth in the previous period. Generally speaking, middle-class minds have a tendency to “the will to power” or a narrow-minded conservatism. To part from this tendency is indispensable for a new era. During the years
of the Harlem Renaissance, Harlem became the central place where the new intelligentsia gathered in a block.

GREAT MIGRATION AND WORLD WAR I

The most important element that made Harlem the "Mecca of black people" was the great migration to the North that started in 1910. Actually, blacks had started migrating in the 1890's after the Reconstruction period in the South had ended. At the time, white Southerners had regained their power and many problems confronted black people. Earlier, in the 1860's, the Ku Klux Klan in gown and hood had appeared and persecuted black people day and night. Later, in the South and the North, though especially in the South, the social position of black people was regulated unreasonably through the segregation laws of each state (grandfather clause, poll tax, and Jim Crow laws). These laws, moreover, were unfortunately supported by the Supreme Court, which upheld the legality of segregation on the basis of the "separate but equal" doctrine in its decision of the Plessy vs. Ferguson case in 1896. Even worse, lynching spread across the country, though it was most prominent in the South. When black people attempted to cross the color line, all kinds of obstructions, especially lynching, waited for them. I cannot find an accurate accounting of some statistics, however, it is said that the number of deaths by lynching was more than 2,522 from 1889 to 1918. It is obvious, therefore, that to fulfill their potential as human beings black people had to flee from their homes and the more oppressive conditions in the South—economic exploitation, political intimidation, injustice in the courts, and mob violence.

But the great migration of 1910 to 1917 was based on a different
reason. Development of industry in the North became a magnet for black people, who believed that living in the city was better than living in the South as sharecroppers all their lives. The outbreak of World War I further promoted the development of industry in the North, and big businessmen, wanting to gather a cheap labor force, focused their eyes on the black people in the South, especially since immigration from Europe had stopped with the war.

During this decade it is estimated that the total urban population of black people in the North soared from approximately 27 percent to 34 percent. Prior to this time immigration from Europe had diluted the percentage of the population of black people. The cityward tendency of black people from the South, which added to the population of black people already in the cities, created many black slums in the North— in Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and New York. In New York, Harlem became the biggest black “city” in the world, and many writers, poets, and other celebrities from all over the country were brought together:

Jessie Fauset was from Philadelphia, Charles S. Johnson from Virginia, Anna Bontemps from California, Countee Cullen from Kentucky, Aaron Douglass from Kansas, Wallace Thurman from Salt Lake City, Rudolph Fisher from Washington, Walter White from Atlanta, .. Richmond Barthé from New Orleans. (9)

NEW NEGRO MOVEMENT

The Harlem Renaissance emerged, as I have said before, through a potpourri of many factors, but the most important was the New Negro Movement, which provided both the major energy and directional
drive. Its principal catalysts were DuBois and Marcus M. Garvey (1887-1940): the former was a propellant of the Niagara Movement and, later, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.), and an author whose philosophical writings had a profound impact on the Harlem Renaissance; and the latter was the founder of the Garvey Movement (Back to Africa).

The Niagara Movement was started in 1905 not only to challenge oppression by white society but to change the prevalent submissive attitude advocated for black people by Washington. In the late nineteenth century, Washington was the most influential leader of the Negro Movement, being supported by both black and white people. In 1895 he gave a memorable address at the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta Georgia, which more than adequately expressed his position:

As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, matching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with teardimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defence of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

There is no defence or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If anywhere there are efforts tending to curtail the fullest growth of the Negro, let these efforts be turned into stimulating, encouraging, and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen...{
In this speech we can see Washington's basic attitude toward the black problem. As a leader of black people he took the following stand: first, black people should be patient and faithful to white people; second, black people should till the fields, clear the forests, and build the railroads and cities of America without going on strikes or being engaged in organized labor struggles; and third, black people should stress industrial training rather than academic education. His thoughts were exceedingly popular and supported by both races. When we consider the situation of black people at that time, his policy might be considered natural and rather wise. But paradoxically his policy probably sustained the maltreatment of his people. With his insistence on a menial and subservient image, this position denied blacks a moral stance from which they could demand equal or fair treatment.

In 1903 DuBois published *The Soul of Black Folk* and created a tremendous sensation. In this book he criticized the thought and philosophy of Washington:

So far as Mr. Washington preaches Thrift, Patience, and Industrial Training for the masses, we must hold up his hands and strive with him... But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles the emasculating efforts of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds,—so far as he, the South, or the Nation, does this, we must unceasingly and firmly oppose them. By every civilized and peaceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the Fathers would fain forget: "We hold these truths to be self-
evident. That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”

In 1905 he organized the Niagara Movement, which was based on this assertion. The first black protest organization of the twentieth century articulated a program of political agitation and protest against social, economic, and political discrimination. Unfortunately, the downfall of the movement was ordained at its inception because it was too militant and idealistic for conditions at that time. However, it was the historical predecessor of the N.A.A.C.P., which was organized in 1909 and absorbed most of the membership of the Niagara Movement.

Marcus Garvey established Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) in 1914 in Jamaica and came to New York in 1916. He gave up attempting to attain racial equality in the United States and planned set up to a government in Africa for American black people. One of his first steps was to establish a temporary government without a country, and he became its first president. His assertion, “Back to Africa,” was not accepted by the intelligentsia of the black middle-class because of its radicalism. However, his thought attracted the black masses, and the black soldiers who just returned from the battlefields of Europe. In order to realize his plan, he organized the Negro Factories Corporation and the Black Star Line (a steamship company) and also published a newspaper, *The Negro World*, to propagandize his ideas. In 1923 he was arrested for mail fraud and was deported in 1927. His plan, though not a success, left a feeling of pride and assertiveness in the minds of black people.
DuBois contributed to the Harlem Renaissance in that he created the spiritual basis for it with his book, *The Soul of Black Folk*, and, through his efforts with the Niagara Movement and later as a staff member of the N.A.A.C.P., propelled the movement to obtain the rights for manhood of blacks; he also gave young black writers and poets opportunities to publish their work. Garvey contributed to the Harlem Renaissance in that he gave black people the pride of blackness through his movement.

In the twenties one person who was an outstanding representative of the young black intellectuals was Alain Locke, a philosopher, writer, critic, scholar in the social science, and editor of *The New Negro*. The term “New Negro” was used as a substitute for “Old Negro” to get rid of the implications about black people as “something to be argued about, condemned or defended, to be ‘kept down’ or ‘in his place’, or ‘helped up’ to be worried with or worried over, harassed or patronized, a social bogey or a social burden.”\(^{(12)}\) The term “New Negro” expressed the concept of the new spirit of dignity, manhood, and pride of blackness; that is, it contained the refusal of a subordinate status like “Old Negro.” The concept was accelerated directly by the black nationalism of Garvey and indirectly by the Negro vogue among American whites after World War I. Locke explained the social aspects of the New Negro as follows:

The wash and rush of this human tide on beach line of the northern city centers is to be explained primarily in terms of a new vision of opportunity, of social and economic freedom, of a spirit to seize, even in the face of an extortionate and heavy toll, a chance for the improvement of conditions. With each successive
wave of it, the movement of the Negro becomes more and more a
mass movement towards the larger and the more democratic chance
—in the Negro's case a deliberate flight not only from countryside
to city, but from medieval America to modern.\(^{(13)}\)

During the summer of 1926 Wallace Thurman, Zora Neale Hurston,
Langston Hughes, and four others decided to publish a Negro quarterly of the arts called Fire. Hughes explained the need for such a publication to "burn up a lot of the old, dead, conventional Negro-white idea of the past, *épater le bourgeois* into a realization of the existence of the younger Negro writers and artists".\(^{(14)}\) He made clearer his basic attitude in another essay:

> We younger Negro artists who create now intend to express
> our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame. If white
> people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, it doesn't matter.
> We know we are beautiful. And ugly too. The tom-tom cries and
> the tom-tom laughs. If colored people are pleased we are glad.
> If they are not, their displeasure doesn't matter either. We build
> our temples for tomorrow, strong as we know how, and we stand
> on top of the mountain, free within ourselves.\(^{(15)}\)

From these passages, the images of the New Negro Movement flashes
upon us with strength and pride.

**JAZZ AGE**

The Jazz Age decorated the Harlem Renaissance with a turbulent
fresco of pain, spirit, and exuberance. Today, everyone knows and
sings jazz. In this sense, jazz is the greatest gift from American
After World War I jazz, which rings out the soul of black people, was in full swing in both races. It was the epitomy, the essential vibrant heart of the spirit and struggle of a newly awakening America, both black and white. The youth who participated in the World War I with great passion and ideals in the name of "the War to End All Wars" and the "War to Make the World Safe for Democracy" became the war victims. The American dream appeared to have burned out in the aftermath of World War I's hell, and the youth felt the bitterness of disillusion and were tortured by doubts and mistrust of America's traditional values. For whites it was an epoch of heart-searching doubts and spiritual struggles, the era of Freud, sexual revolution, and the Lost Generation. In the Roaring Twenties, as it was called, flaming youth cried out against the stuffiness and artificial restraints on the Victorian era and drank bootleg whiskey heavily in defiance of authority. Jazz gave consolation and the wonderful vitality of primitivism to these white people, while it gave self-discovery and self-confidence to black people. What is the spirit of jazz that so profoundly moved them? J.A. Rogers (1880-1966), the author of *Sex and Race*, declared:

The true spirit of jazz is a joyous revolt from convention, custom, authority, boredom, even sorrow—from everything that would confine the soul of man and hinder its riding free on the air. The Negroes who invented it called their songs the "Blues," and they weren't capable of satire or deception. Jazz was their explosive attempt to cast off the blues and be happy, carefree happy, even in the midst of sordidness and sorrow. And that is why it
has been such a balm for modern machine—ridden and convention—bound society. It is the revolt of the emotions against repression. (16)

Jazz penetrated social circumstances and awakened an echo of rebelliousness and youthful spirit in the minds and hearts of a nation. Originating in New Orleans where it was played as the music of the dance hall and brass band march, jazz spread to Chicago and then to New York like a wave rippling in the water. By the twenties New York's jazz style was in full swing; Louis Armstrong had come from Chicago to New York, and other great jazz musicians such as Duke Ellington, Bessie Smith, and Fletcher Henderson were also there, playing active parts in the Harlem Renaissance. Hughes noted:

But jazz to me is one of the inherent expressions of Negro life in America: the eternal tom-tom beating in the Negro soul—the tom-tom revolt against weariness in a white world, a world of subway trains, and work, work, work; the tom-tom of joy and laughter, and pain swallowed in a smile. (17)

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BLACK INTELLECTUALS AND WHITE INTELLECTUALS

The influence of white intellectuals on the Negro Renaissance ought not be overestimated. Some Negro critics have charged the New Negro Movement with white domination, but a sober appraisal leaves no doubt of its indigenous character. The New Negro Movement was not a “vogue” initiated by white “literary faddists,” but a serious attempt by the Negro artist to interpret his own group life... In the long run, however, the Negro novelist out-
grew his primitive phase; meanwhile it helped him to discover unsuspected values in his own folk culture.\(^{(18)}\)

As Bone has pointed out, we must not overestimate the influence of white intellectuals on the Harlem Renaissance. However, it is a fact that during the twenties, white intellectuals very often helped black writers and poets to publish their novels and poems or in other ways helped substantially more than they had in times past. Before these years very few black writers and poets had been assisted by whites. Two of the rare exceptions were Charles Chesnutt and Paul Laurence Dunber.

For Chesnutt, a short-story writer and novelist, there had been Walter Hines Page, an editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*, who aided him as a sponsor. During the early part of Chesnutt’s writing career his identity as a black was concealed, showing the sad reality of those days. At the start of his career, he sent a draft dealing with the subject of “passing,” but unfortunately Page rejected this manuscript in favor of the more acceptable “conjure” tales. Afterwards, Houghton Mifflin took over and published his short stories and novels, including *The House Behind the Cedar* (1900) and *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901).

Dunbar, the first black poet to win national recognition, had been discovered by Helen Trudell and became famous after publication of his first book of poems, *Oak and Ivy* (1893). In 1895, when he published his second volume, *Majors and Minors*, William Dean Howells reviewed it very favorably. With the assistance of Robert Ingersoll and Howells, he was held in high esteem as a black poet.

During the Harlem Renaissance not only was help given to black writers by whites but the subject matter of many white writers dealt seriously and sympathetically with the black situation, such as Eugene
O'Neill's *Emperor Jones* (1920) and *All God's Chillun Got Wings* (1924); Waldo Frank's *Holiday* (1923); Sherwood Anderson's *Dark Laughter* (1925) DuBose Heyward's *Porgy* (1925); Carl Van Vechten's *Nigger Heaven* (1926); and E. C. L. Adams's *Congaree Sketches* (1927) and *Nigger to Nigger* (1928).

All these writers attempted to arouse serious attention to the true picture of America's blacks among their white readers. Before this time cultural collaboration, as I have said before, depended on a few white intellectuals; the relationship between white and black people in the years of the Harlem Renaissance pushed toward more cooperation. I don't wish to imply that there were no serious problems of prejudice and segregation in American society at that time. Jim Crow was active and the Negro vogue among whites brought certain unwelcome "favors" for black people. When Harlem became the most fashionable night spot in New York, white people rushed to the clubs and cabarets there to be amused, and the proprietors shut their doors on black people. Hughes, reviewing those days, said:

White people began to come to Harlem in droves. For several years they packed the expensive Cotton Club on Lenox Avenue. But I was never there, because the Cotton Club was a Jim Crow club for gangsters and monied whites. They were not cordial to Negro patronage, unless you were a celebrity like Bojangles. So Harlem Negroes did not like the Cotton Club and never appreciated its Jim Crow policy in the very heart of their dark community. Nor did ordinary Negroes like the growing influx of whites toward Harlem after sundown, flooding the little cabarets and bars where formerly only colored people laughed and sang, and where now
the strangers were given the best ringside tables to sit and stare at the Negro customers—like amusing animals in a zoo.\(^{(19)}\)

For black intellectuals, however, closer and more expansive relations with white intellectuals were progressing. Zola Neale Hurston, for example, who was on the staff of *Fire* and did important investigations on the folklore of the South, owed not a few white persons a great deal. Her case was a "little bit funny" as Hughes has said: "In her youth she was always getting scholarships and things from wealthy white people, some of whom simply paid her just to sit around and represent the Negro race for them, she did it in such a racy fashion."\(^{(20)}\)

George S. Schuyler, who wrote *Black No More* (1931), was a disciple of H. L. Mencken, and his books showed his literary debts to Mencken. Jamaican-born poet and novelist Claude McKay was a prominent figure in the Harlem Renaissance and was called "l'enfant terrible." In his autobiography *A Long Way from Home* (1937), he wrote about his friendship with white intellectuals:

I soon became acquainted and friendly with *The Liberator* collaborators and sympathizers: Art Young, Boardman Robinson, Stuart Davis, John Braber, Adolph Dehn, Hugo Gellert, Ivan Opfer, Maurice Becker, Maurice Sterne, Arturo Giovanitti, Roger Baldwin, Louis Untermeyer, Mary Heaton Vorse, Lydia Gibson, Cornelia Barnes, Genevieve Taggard, William Gropper and Michael Gold became contributing editors at the same time that I joined *The Liberator* staff.\(^{(21)}\)

During these days the role of Van Vechten was unique in that he associated with a multitude of black intellectuals and assisted them.
When Hughes wanted to publish his first book of poetry, *The Weary Blues*, in 1926, Van Vechten introduced him to Alfred A. Knopf. In 1928 with Van Vechten’s assistance, James Weldon Johnson, who was not part of the Harlem school, published *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man*. About Van Vechten’s relationship with blacks, enough cannot be said. As evidence of this, Hugh M. Golster gave him considerable space in his book, *Negro Voices of American Fiction*, citing his range of influence as “the Van Vechten Vogue.” Bone has also admitted his importance to the Harlem Renaissance:

Van Vechten’s role in futher the Negro Renaissance was unique. His literary salons provided a warm atmosphere in which artists and intellectuals of both races could break down their taboos against personal association. His one-man “know the Negro” campaign was eminently successful in overcoming prejudice and awkwardness among his white contemporaries. His efforts on behalf of individual Negro writers and artists were indefatigable, and were amply rewarded in later years when many of his former protégés entrusted their literary efforts to his care.  

**NOTES**


2) Ms. Baker’s date of birth has been reported as either 1903 or 1906.


9) Langston Hughes, "Harlem Literati of the Twenties," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, XXII (1940)


13) Locke, *ibid* p. 515.


20) Hughes, *ibid.*, p. 239.
