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Moving North: Intra-Racial Conflicts, White Resistance, And Radicalism of New Negroes in Harlem and Chicago

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Abstract

In the early twentieth century there was an essential period in the history of the United States called the Great Migration, during which a large number of Blacks from the southern states of America and the islands in the Caribbean moved to northern cities of the country. These black people migrated simply because 'of the impact of the war on the labor market' which 'stopped the flow of European immigrants' and of the fact that jobs in northern cities had a better pay than those in the South. From many destinations, Harlem and Chicago were among the most favored ones. This essay aims to examine the motivations and experiences of New Negroes in Harlem and Chicago as these two cities drew much attention to Blacks in the Southern cities of America as well as in the Caribbean. This essay argues that the influx of Blacks to Harlem and Chicago created intra-racial conflicts within black communities and resistance from white people. Yet all the disputes and problems faced by New Negroes in Harlem and Chicago inspired them to fight actively by organizing themselves in order to find workable solutions.

Keywords: The Great Migration; New Negroes; Harlem; Chicago; Racial Conflicts.

A. Introduction

In the early twentieth century there was an important period in the history of the United States called the Great Migration during

which a large number of Blacks from the southern states of America and the islands in the Caribbean moved to northern cities of the country. These black people migrated simply because 'of the impact of the war on the labor market' (Grossman, 1991, p. 14) which 'stopped the flow of European immigrants' (Drake & Cayton, 1970, p. 8) and of the fact that jobs in northern cities had better pay than those in the South (Grossman, 1991, p. 14). From many destinations, Harlem and Chicago were among the most favored ones. Harlem attracted various Blacks from West Indies, Latin America, Haiti, and French West Indies (Domingo, 1925, p. 648) as well as from Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida (inmotion, 2005). In contrast, Blacks migrating to Chicago mainly were from Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, and a small number from Arkansas. The Great Migration, unfortunately, did not make life easy for New Negroes[1] in their new cities, Harlem and Chicago, as they encountered various problems and conflicts.

Despite the importance of Harlem and Chicago as the main migration destinations for millions of Blacks and the fact that these two cities had the fastest growth of black population pattern during 1900-1920 (inmotion, 2005) compared to many other northern cities in America, there has not been much academic literature comparing these two cities. It is true that two black journalists, Ted Poston and Roi Ottley, once took part in a debate entitled "New York vs. Chicago: Which Is Better for Negroes?" (Gregory, 2006, p. 151). But, apart from this discussion, a comparison study on Harlem and Chicago seems to be unfound. For these reasons, this essay hopefully can contribute to the lack of debates on this particular topic and highlights how Harlem and Chicago, in spite of their differences in landscapes and locations, gave the same experiences to New Negroes in the first half-century of America.

This essay aims to examine the motivations and experiences of New Negroes in Harlem and Chicago as these two cities drew much attention to Blacks in the Southern cities of America and the

[1] Although there were different definitions among many black scholars such as Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey, and W.E.B. Du Bois, they unanimously agreed that the term New Negroes was created as a racial uplift for black people. (See Encyclopedia of the Harlem Renaissance by Aberjhani and Sandra L. West, p. 232).

Caribbean. This essay is divided into four sections. The first section examines the demographic differences of Harlem and Chicago and the rise of the black population in the early twentieth century. This is followed by a discussion of how the coming of Blacks created intra-racial conflicts within the black community. The third section elaborates White's resistance to the coming of Blacks and the housing problem faced by the newcomers. The final section is about ways used by New Negroes in organizing themselves to cope with problems they encountered in the cities of Harlem and Chicago

B. Method

This paper is qualitative research whose data relies entirely on literary sources related to New Negroes migration to the northern cities of America. The data are collected from both online and offline sources in the form of books, journal articles, and academic websites. The data are read and analyzed thoroughly in order to make critical analyses for the paper.

C. Results and Discussion

1. Blacks' Migration Motivations and a Population Shift

The influx of black people to Harlem and Chicago, which later created black communities in the two regions, has similarities in causes apart from merely economic reasons. In Harlem, the motivations of migrants coming to the city were, as Jonathan Gill points out, 'to take advantage of Harlem's modern housing stock, wide and pleasant boulevards, plentiful parks, and better schools' (Gill, 2011, p. 230). Similarly, those who decided to move to Chicago, as cited from The Negro in Chicago - Chicago Commission on Race Relations, was also in search of a better educational system, transportation facilities, and living conditions (CCRR, 1923, p. 84).

However, unlike Gill, The Negro in Chicago provides complete information about the causes of black people's migration to Chicago with additional inclusions of 'lack of protection from mob violence, injustice in the courts, and denunciation of the South' (CCRR, 1923, pp. 84–90). Furthermore, although Gill claims that 'Negroes wanted to go to Harlem the way the dead want to go to heaven' (Gill, 2011,

p. 216), there are several other features of Chicago that influenced the decision of many Blacks to migrate to the city rather than Harlem such as its strategic position, baseball teams, and its reputations (Grossman, 1991, p. 99).

The Great Migration unavoidably changed the proportion of the population in Harlem from previously 'home to a large variety of other ethnic and religious enclaves, including a Jewish community of well over 100.000 people in the early 1910s' (Gurock, 1979, p. 1) to the largest community of black people several years later. There was a gradual growth by approximately 2 percent of black population in Harlem from the year of 1910 (about 2 percent) to 1920 (about 4 percent) (Tolnay, 2001, p. 576). This rise of Blacks coincided with a significant fall of foreign-born Whites by over 5 per cent within ten years. As a result, 'by the end of World War I, Harlem was the biggest black in the world, though whites were still in the majority' (Gill, 2011, p. 184). Domingo reported that in 1920 36.613 foreign-born Blacks were living in the United States, constituting 50 per cent of all total foreign-born Blacks in the US (Domingo, 1925, p. 648).

Likewise, Chicago saw the same development that its white population kept going down from year 1910 to the end of the period while at the same time the percentage of Blacks rose significantly. The tables provided by Horace R. Cayton and St. Clair Drake below also clearly show this (Drake & Cayton, 1970, pp. 8–9). In 1910, the number of Blacks was only 44.103 compared to the more superior proportion of native-Whites and foreign-born Whites and other races which stood at 1.357.840 and 783.340, respectively (Table 1). In just ten years, however, although native-Whites were still the majority with 1.783.687 of people, the percentage of foreign-born Whites decreased by 5.9 percent from 35.7 per cent in 1910 to 29.8 percent of the total population of Chicago (Table 2).

Table 1. Population of Chicago by Ethnic Group: 1900-1944.

Year	Total	Native-white	Foreign-born White and other Races	Negro
1900	1,698,575	1,081,720	586,705	30,150
1910	2,185,283	1,357,840	783,340	44,103
1920	2,701,705	1,783,687	808,560	109,458
1930	3,376,438	2,275,674	866,861	233,903
1934	3,258,528	2,351,683	670,540	236,305
1940	3,396,808	2,441,859	677,218	277,731
1944	3,600,000	2,642,000	621,000	337,000

Table 2. Percentage of Native-White, Foreign-Born, Negro, and Other Races, in Total Population, Chicago: 1890-1944.

Year	Native-white	Foreign-born white	Negro	Other races	Total
1890	57.8	40.9	1.3	. .	100.0
1900	63.7	34.4	1.9	. .	100.0
1910	62.2	35.7	2.0	. 1	100.0
1920	66.0	29.8	4.1	. 1	100.0
1930	67.4	24.9	6.9	. 8	100.0
1934	72.1	20.1	7.3	. 5	100.0
1940	71.9	19.8	8.2	. 1	100.0
1944	73.1	17.1	9.3	. 5	100.0

2. Intra-racial Conflicts Among Harlem's and Chicago's Blacks

Both Harlem and Chicago were not new to Blacks. For Harlem, as Gill suggests, although numerous historians identified the city as a community of black people in 1904, before the Great Migration the 'entire blocks in East Harlem already resembled a Spanish-language version of the Negro mecca'

(Gill, 2011, p. 209). In comparison, Blacks have resided in Chicago since its establishment (CCRR, 1923, p. 139). When the Great Migration took place, approximately forty-four thousand Blacks already lived there (Drake & Cayton, 1970, p. 73). This phenomenon contributed to a similar internal problem among Blacks in Harlem and Chicago.

In Harlem, the coming of Blacks from the South, as Osofsky explains, 'created antagonisms which were intra-racial in nature' that Blacks who had lived in the city for years blamed the black migrants

for the rising restrictions they encountered (Jackson, 1969, p. 43). Not only was the relationship between these two Blacks inharmonious, African American and Blacks from West Indian also distanced themselves from each other.[2] This is partly because of 'professional jealousy and competition for leadership' that West Indian Blacks were more well-educated and thus had better jobs and political organizations (Jackson, 1969, p. 43). Moreover, Domingo explains that 'there is considerable prejudice against West Indians. It is claimed that they are proud and arrogant; they think themselves superior to the natives (Domingo, 1925, p. 650). Such prejudice was seen in a dialogue between Red, an African American with his friends in Rudolph Fisher's short story, Ringtail. While playing poker Red was asked by one of his friends why he does not like West Indian Blacks, Red answered:

> "There ain't nothin' I do like about 'em. They're too damn conceited. They're too aggressive. They talk funny. They look funny – I can tell one the minute I see him. They're always startin' an argument an' they always want the last word. An' there's too many of 'em here" (Fisher, 1990, p. 54).

For these reasons, as Minkah Makalani explains, the racial and social complexity among African American and Caribbean immigrants often 'revealing internal conflicts that strained the ties binding its diverse peoples' (Makalani, 2011, pp. 26–27). As a consequence to this, even a prominent leader of New Negroes, Marcus Garvey was urged to leave the United States through 'Garvey Must Go' campaign in 1922-1923 (Wintz & Finkelman, 2004, p. 36). African Americans also hoped West Indian Blacks to leave the country together with Garvey as stated by one of Red's friends during the poker game, "Hope Marcus Garvey takes 'em all back to Africa with him. He'll sure have a shipload" (Fisher, 1990, p. 54).

Not only African Americans saw West Indian Blacks negatively, the latter group were also reluctant to be considered Blacks because for them it meant racial downgrading and subject to discrimination (Kasinitz, 1992, p. 8). Furthermore, in their

[2] See: Minkah Makalani, Straight Socialism or Negro-ology? Diaspora, Harlem, and the Institutions of Black Radicalism.

homelands, many of them, especially those who had light complexions, Makalani argues, 'occupied an intermediary social position between blacks and whites' (Makalani, 2011, p. 27). The complexity of race perception among many Caribbeans could be best understood from C. L. R. James's writing in the early 1930s as cited by Makalani;

> "The Negroid population of the West Indies is composed of a large percentage of actual black people and about fifteen or twenty percent of people who are a varying combination of white and black. There are the nearly white hanging on tooth and nail to the fringes of white society, and these, as is easy to understand, hate contact with darker skin far more than some of the broader- minded whites. Then there are the browns, intermediates, who cannot pass as white by any stretch of imagination, but who will not go one inch towards mixing with people darker than themselves. Associations are formed of brown people who will not admit into their number those too much darker than themselves. There have been heated arguments in committee as to whether such. Such a person's skin was fair enough to allow them to be admitted without lowering the institution's tone. Should the darker man have money or a position of some kind, he may aspire. It is not too much to say that in a West Indian colony the surest sign of a man having arrived is that he keeps company with people lighter in complexion than himself" (Makalani, 2011, pp. 28–29).

Similarly, Chicago also had its own inner conflict between black migrants and so called 'old settlers'.[3] According to Cayton and Drake, there was a different feeling between southern migrants and old settlers about the mass movement of Blacks to Chicago. While the former group felt enthusiastic with the economic opportunities as well as a freer community in in the city, the latter saw the new migrants 'disturbed the balanced relationship within the Negro community and with the white community (Drake & Cayton, 1970, p. 73).

Cayton and Drake provide an example of how old settlers felt victimized as a result of the coming of Blacks.

[3] 'Old settlers' refers to Blacks settling in Chicago before World War I. See Cayton, p. 66.

> Old settlers still complain that the migrants "made it hard for all of us". Typical of such statements is that of a woman who came to Chicago as a child in the Nineties: "There was no discrimination in Chicago during my early childhood days, but the Negroes began coming to Chicago in numbers it seems they brought discrimination with them" (Drake & Cayton, 1970, p. 73).

In addition, according to Allan H Spear, 'the crude, rustic ways of many of the migrants, their inability to maintain acceptable standards of cleanliness, and their traditionally sycophantic demeanour in the presence of whites antagonized the old settlers' (Spear, 2018, p. 168). Such anxieties were resulted from the fact that the presence of black migrants could potentially make old settlers lose their respectability in the eyes of their white peers because in Chicago 'class and particularly, the distinction of old settler respectability was established through representational markers of "bourgeois status"' (Baldwin, 2007, p. 29). This status was not attached to working-class southern migrants.

Black people in northern cities differed from those coming from the South 'in their manifest optimism about the likelihood of defeating discrimination' and 'in possessing a more positive image of their own capacities and potential' (Ellison, 1974, p. 57). While the majority of southern Blacks had long accepted the concept of black inferiority, in the North, Blacks managed to 'reject such self-damaging delusions' (Ellison, 1974, p. 57). For this reason, old settler respectability ideology was actually aimed to create 'a unified and positive image of the race to counteract the cultural assumptions of white supremacy' (Baldwin, 2007, p. 29). This group of people also believed that the ideal approach to react to racist stereotypes and better the political standing of Blacks was 'through an embrace of the Victorian values of modesty and self-control' (Satter, 2009, p. 385).

Therefore, it was reasonable if, during the Great Migration, for example, the debate over black beauty cultures such as hair straightening and body whitening among black new comers was very intense between old settlers and new black settlers. While old settlers highly appreciated black women's inner purity and viewed black beauty culture as self-indulgent (Satter, 2009, p. 385), a "beauty culturist" such as Madam C.J. Walker who, in the words of Davarian,

believed that the black beauty culture had its own power and could 'alter the implied intensions of white firms and the uses of their beauty products' (Baldwin, 2007, p. 55). In addition, Walker claimed that her involvement in black beauty business also benefited other black women as evident in her remarks in NNBL's annual convention, "I am not merely satisfied in making money for myself, for I am endeavouring to employ hundreds of women of my race" (Baldwin, 2007, p. 74).

According to Robert L. Boyd, black beauty culture not only became a trend in Chicago but it also saw a significant rise among black women in New York between the years 1910 to 1920 or at the start of the Great Migration. The total number of black women in New York working in the category of black beauty increased from 272 individuals in 1910 to 862 ten years later. This increase, in fact, is greater than that of Chicago in the same period that the number of black women who were beauticians in the city only rose by 413 women.

3. White Resistance and Housing Problems

While it is true that New Negroes enjoyed the economic change in the North, nevertheless, they experienced 'ever-stiffening white resistance' to their presence (Philpott, 1978, p. 119). They also 'recognized the all too familiar limitations, proscriptions, and social norms that subordinated blacks to whites' (Makalani, 2011, p. 23). In addition, the two cities still also had a 'seemingly immutable commitment to white supremacy' (Berlin, 2010, p. 163). As Cayton and Drake put it, 'They were freer than in the South, but not completely free. They found equality, but not completely equality' (Drake & Cayton, 1970, p. 101).

In Harlem, one thing is sure 'white people did not want to see their neighborhoods turn black' (Lane, 1925, p. 694). The then-prominent real estate journal, the New York Indicator, opines this view:

> "Their presence is undesirable among us...They should not only be disenfranchised but also segregated in some colony in the outskirts of

> the city, where their transportation and other problems will not inflict injustice and disgust on worthy citizens" (Rhodes-Pitts, 2011).

Such a negative welcome was also evident in the language used by Whites, for example, they regarded the movement as "invasion", "captured", "black hordes", "invaders", and "enemy," which, according to Gilbert Ososfky this kind of language is 'the language of war' (Jackson, 1969, p. 105).

The growing number of Blacks presence in Harlem meant a growing opposition from Whites. To fight these black invaders, the latter group created ‘policies that attempted to restrict the residential movement of blacks’ (McGruder, 2015a, p. 34) which ‘centered in local associations of landlords’ (Jackson, 1969, p. 106) and ‘based upon RENT, INTEREST, and PROFIT’ (Moore et al., 1988, p. 8). For this reason, no matter where Blacks lived, be it in brownstones, houses, luxury apartments, or even tenements, they were charged with a higher price than Whites; 'the average three- or four-room flat in Harlem cost a black tenant up to $23 a month, while whites could get the same for $15 or less' (Gill, 2011, p. 175). During the 1920s the situation was even worse in which Blacks on average had to pay $56 per month for their rent which was about half of their salary. By contrast, Whites only needed to pay $32 for much better apartments, in spite of having higher wages (Gill, 2011, p. 231).

This irony seems to justify the opinion of Winthrop D. Lane, who in 1925 said that Blacks coming to Harlem were 'the great exploitable race of the Western World' that 'he is subject to being fleeced in rent' (Lane, 1925, p. 693). Sadly, some black realtors also became suspects of this practice that they involved in charging higher rent prices to their own black folks. Perhaps, the most infamous figure in this ‘blood-sucking’ practice was the ‘father of colored Harlem’ (Gill, 2011, p. 175), Philip Payton, although he denied the wrongdoing (Gill, 2011, p. 177).

Profiteering in housing was not the only repressive action taken by Whites. They also began a more extreme way to stop the invasion of New Negroes through eviction programs. The programs were introduced after property owners held meetings, some took place in Whites churches, which ‘proposed evicting all Negroes in Harlem and

outlawing future sale and rental of property to colored people' (Jackson, 1969, p. 107). A report of such eviction programs can be read in an article published by New York Herald on May 2, 1904: Negro Families Must 'Move On' (McGruder, 2015b).

All the bad housing situations turned Harlem's living conditions during the 1920s deplorable, dangerous, and 'unfit even for animals' (Gill, 2011, p. 243). Ira De Reid, the then industrial secretary for the New York Urban League, stated that housing that New Negroes rented 'had few improvements, no hot running water, and only 22 per cent of the apartments were in "good" condition' (King, 2015, p. 96). As cited by Osofsky, some tenants complained the poor living conditions they faced: "No improvement in ten years"; "Rats, rat holes, and roaches"; "Very very cold"; "Not fit to live in"; "Air shaft smells"; "Ceilings in two rooms have fallen"; "My apartment is overrun with rats" (Jackson, 1969, pp. 140–141). Consequently, the tuberculosis rates in neighbourhoods where Blacks lived doubled that of Whites areas (Gill, 2011, p. 243).

The struggle of New Negroes to find a place to live in Chicago was no better than those in Harlem. They too were discriminated against in renting a building to settle by white people with a legal agreement called 'restrictive covenants' as their 'search for homes in other parts of the city was eventually interpreted as a "mass invasion"' (Drake & Cayton, 1970, pp. 177–178). The rule of the covenants was to disallow New Negroes to live in their neighborhood even for "a decent, well-behaved, industrious, intelligent black man" (Philpott, 1978, p. 156).

By the definition, restrictive covenants is a 'legally binding agreements, usually between white real estate agents and owners, to prevent the renting or sale of housing to non-whites, with the threat of civil action' (Baldwin, 2007, p. 23). As part of this racial policy, white organizations like Hyde Park and Kenwood property owners association, to name a few, proposed employers to not give jobs to 'black invaders' who would want to live in Whites neighbourhood although some areas of the city such as Kenwood, Woodlawn, and Hyde Park had more cheap housing available (Baldwin, 2007, p. 23). In addition to this, according to Reed, the richest residents living in

Hyde Park and Kenwood in 1908 created the Hyde Park Improvement Protective Club to free the area from Blacks. Whether renters or homeowners, black residents who had lived there were asked to give up or sell leases (Reed, 2011, p. 29).

Restrictive covenants also allowed landlords to ‘extract the highest rents for the worst housing from the most economically disenfranchised population’ (Baldwin, 2007, p. 23). Similar to that in Harlem, the practice was aided not only by Whites but also by colored realtors since they could profit tremendously from this housing business by doubling the rents (Drake & Cayton, 1970, p. 62).

To make the matter worse, unlike in Harlem, resistance to New Negroes emerged in the form of racial violence that ‘young white “athletic clubs” patrolling neighborhood lines and anonymous firebombing of black homes”’ (Baldwin, 2007, p. 25). 'From July I, 1917, to march I, 1921, fifty-eight such bombs were hurled' (Drake & Cayton, 1970, p. 64). Yet, this racial violence, however, was not completely successful due to the fighting spirit of Blacks as described by a black Chicagoan banker named Jesse Binga (Reed, 2011, p. 30).

> Statements relative to my moving are all false . I will not run. The [honor of the] race is at stake and not myself. If they can make me move, they will have accomplished much of their aim because they can say, 'We made Jesse Binga move; certainly, you'll have to move' to all of the rest.

Restrictive covenants and racial violence pushed New Negroes to live in decently unliveable buildings just like that in Harlem. As reported by Alzada P. Comstock, a student of Miss Breckenridge, in her 1912's survey that buildings in the Black Belt and the West Side were overwhelmingly dilapidated. 'Everywhere she looked on the narrow "shoestring" lots she saw crumbling walls, broken railings, boardwalks that sagged, and porches and stairways that seemed to be "almost falling apart"' (Philpott, 1978, p. 156). Another study three years earlier in the South and West sides of Chicago reported the same dilapidation. 'There were leaks in the roofs, sinks, and windows of five-sixths of the dwellings (CCRR, 1923, p. 184).

4. Seeking Solutions

All the conflicts and problems faced by New Negroes in Harlem and Chicago inspired them to fight actively by organizing themselves in order to find all possible solutions. As Cayton and Drake noted in their book:

> The Negro can do no less; he shares all of the glorious hopes of the West, all of its anxieties, its corruptions, its psychological maladies. But, too, above all, like a warning, he shares those tendencies toward surrendering all hope of seeking solutions within the frame of a "free enterprise" society. To the extent that he realizes that his hopes are hopeless, he will embrace Communism or Fascism, or whatever other ideological rejection is offered (Drake & Cayton, 1970, pp. 25–26).

In Harlem, West Indian New Negroes were 'obsessed with politics' (Gill, 2011, p. 209) and subsequently active in 'radical political activity' (James, 2020, p. 50) to defend themselves against racism in America. For this reason, combined with their intention to 'demarcate themselves from African Americans' (Makalani, 2011, pp. 26–27), it is explainable if the New Negroes began to gather around the Socialist Party (Makalani, 2011, p. 29) such as Socialist Party of America because they believed that 'Marxism best explained social inequality and racial and national oppression' (Makalani, 2011, p. 24).

The reason why New Negroes from the Caribbean Islands became proactive in radical politics and not African Americans is because, as Domingo explained, the islanders were not bound to a certain party thus making them more independent in choosing a political ideology (Domingo, 1925, p. 650). Moreover, their past backgrounds were also important to their political awareness. As Winston A. James suggests, Caribbean migrants had, among others, experience in politics and organization, and better educational attainments (James, 2020, p. 50).

Black radicals were also active in black nationalist associations with the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which was led by a charismatic black figure, Marcus Garvey, its prominent movement. This largest black organization the world had ever known (James, 2020, p. 122), as described by Garvey in his speech entitled

“If You Believe the Negro Has a Soul”: “Back to Africa”, is established ‘to unite, into one solid body, the four hundred million Negroes in the world’ (Garvey, 1921) and ‘building an autonomous, black-led nation in Africa’ (Garvey, 1920). According to Garvey, the serious problem of Blacks for the last five centuries is their disunity and the absence of a figure and organizations willing to unite them (Garvey, 1921). As a result, this contributes to 'the wrongs and injustices they are suffering at the hands of their white brethren' (Garvey, 1920).

Although not as popular as the two previously described movements, New Negroes in Harlem also fought for their housing rights. A black communist Richard B. Moore, the leader of Harlem Tenants League (HTL), for example, in 1928 urged Blacks to take part in 'rent strikes' and 'protest marches' (King, 2015, p. 94). In addition, a black woman, Mrs. Winnie Jones, on 2 October 1916 formed Neighborhood Association (NA) with a purpose to raise money "to finance a campaign against the extortionate rentals which are being forced upon them by both colored and white agents" (King, 2015, p. 96).

New Negroes in Chicago also fought for their rights just like those in Harlem. Chicagoan Negroes organized themselves through campaigns that various organizations supported. The major issues of these campaigns are related to housing and employment. There were 9 movements made by Blacks relating to their employment opportunities ranging from 1929 to 1944 (Cayton, p. 743). Six out of these campaigns were successful while only 3 were considered failed. The most victorious one was 'Spend Your Money Where You Can Work' campaign in 1929 which positively created 2000 jobs for New Negroes in Black Belt Stores (Arnesen, 2006, p. 380).

The embryo of 'Spend Your Money Where You Can Work' boycott was created in 1927 when black college students called the "talented tenth" conducted an employment survey backed and supported by Chicago Urban League in the South Side neighborhoods of Chicago to determine the dependency of stores on black labors (Reed, p. 56). The boycott then captured national attention after an African American newspaper, Chicago Whip, 'publicized the efforts

of a small group picket a small grocery store' which later inspired many other groups to do the same throughout the United States.

There were three campaigns made by New Negroes from 1925 to 1942 which all three attempts were successful (Cayton, p. 744). The first campaign was 'Fight against Restrictive Covenants' in 1925 which was spearheaded by NAACP and sponsored by Urban League & Council of Negro Organizations. The second campaign was 'Agitation for Federal Housing Projects' which occurred from 1935 to 1938 and led by Urban League & Council of Negro Organizations. The last campaign was 'Fights against High Rents' from 1929 to 1942. The groups involved in this campaign were the National Negro Congress and Consolidated Tenants League.

Like in Harlem, radicalism also emerged in Chicago. Richard Wright has his own opinion about the extreme ideology in this city. Although his remark is fairly subjective and the fact that radicalism in Chicago was not as radical as that in Harlem in terms of international coverage and goals, his statement is not false either:

> Chicago is the city from which the most intelligent and radical Negro thought has come; there is an open and raw beauty about that city that seems either to kill or endow one with the spirit of life. I felt those extremes of possibility, death and hope while I lived half hungry and afraid in a city to which I had fled with the dumb yearning to write, to tell my story (Cayton, p. 17).

If in Harlem radicalism was aimed to unite all black people in the world, the movement in Chicago was for 'complete unity of Negro and white workers in a joint struggle to build a new society' (Cayton, p. 734), a society under the umbrella of communism. Such an ambitious goal was clearly uttered by the main speaker of the American Communist Party in a gathering attended by 6000 Chicagoans and arranged for remembering Lenin in January 1934. At the Chicago's Coliseum Hall the speaker declared, "I say that the one program which will bring unity to the American people is the program of Lenin" (Storch, 2007, p. 1). Communists or "the reds" appeared to be 'the only white people who seemed to really care what happened to the Negro'. The reason for this is that, among others, "the reds" 'emerged as leaders' in, for example, helping New

Negroes fight against evictions. In addition, the reds also allowed New Negroes to join parades, marching side by side with white men to voice their demand for better places to live in. For these reasons, it is reasonable if hundreds of New Negroes joined "the party" and several of them turned out to be prominent members of the American Communist movement. Despite this fact, however, the Communists Party only had a handful 'lasting converts' (Cayton, p. 735-736). Nevertheless, this party did 'had a pervasive influence on the increasingly radical attitudes of blacks in general and on organizations such as the NAACP in particular' (Ellison, p. 139).

D. Conclusion

Harlem and Chicago, in spite of their different locations, shared a number of similarities in relation to motivations and experiences of New Negroes coming to the cities during the early twentieth century. It is noticeable that the two cities became very important 'termini' for Blacks during the Great Migration. Obviously, for millions of Blacks, the opportunity to move to more industrialized New York and Chicago, together with all the good things they offered, was too good to miss, and to keep staying in the dreadful Jim Crow's South was a-too-bad decision to take. Such a phenomenon is undeniable proof that humans, regardless of their ethnicities, not only naturally aspire for a better life but also instinctively wish to escape from all kinds of discrimination.

Clearly, the mass migration of black migrants changed the demography of Harlem and Chicago. The cities became assembly points of millions of black migrants from various places of origin that their increased presence worried both Whites and Blacks which subsequently triggered inter and intra-racial conflicts. While the inter-racial conflict could be considered as a translation of Du Bois's 'color line' - due to the reluctance of Whites living side by side with New Negroes -, the intra-racial one is the manifestation of 'double-consciousness' . It is because the difficult life had by New Negroes was not fully caused by external factors but also internal ones, or in other words Blacks themselves. If only what Du Bois stated had been realized and implemented well by New Negroes, there would not

have been black realtors sucking their own people's blood and all the conflicts could have been avoided. All these things happened because New Negroes saw themselves through the eyes of others, Whites' eyes. The absence of research on comparing Harlem and Chicago should be put to an end because this essay has demonstrated that both Harlem and Chicago are indeed an interesting topic. It is highly recommended that further research on the topic has to be conducted as to understand better black's America it is almost impossible without deeply studying Harlem and Chicago.

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