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election in 1948 with a massive political rally, but he resigned as county party leader in 1949 and as Democratic national committeeman and national vice chairman in 1952. His attempted comeback in 1953 was futile, and the death of Eggers in 1954 ended his long career. Boss Frank Hague died in his Manhattan apartment on January 1, 1956, at age 79, largely forgotten as a Democratic Party leader and master machine boss. He is buried in an impressive mausoleum at Holy Name Cemetery in Jersey City. His name remains synonymous with the 20th-century urban American political phenomenon known as bossism.

—Peter C. Holloran

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HARLEM, NEW YORK

Harlem, New York, is probably best known for being the center of black cultural and intellectual life in the United States since the 1920s. But over the course of the last two centuries, members of numerous racial and ethnic groups have called this section of upper Manhattan home. Harlem's physical boundaries have been perpetually shifting and expanding, but Harlem has been—and continues to be—much more than a location to its inhabitants. Harlem has, at different points in its history, represented gentility, opportunity, hope, the exotic, the erotic, urban decay, and most recently, urban renewal.

The Dutch town of New Harlaem was founded in 1658. It was during the early decades of the 19th century, however, that Harlem took much of its modern shape. Today, the area north of 96th Street to 116th Street and east of Fifth Avenue is generally considered Spanish Harlem. Central Harlem, as the rest of the neighborhood is known, spreads northward from 110th Street to 155th Street west of Fifth Avenue and east from Morningside Avenue to the Harlem River.

From its creation through most of the 19th century, Harlem remained quite isolated from the rest of Manhattan. Harlem was home to Dutch, English, and French families of wealth and standing who desired that Harlem remain an exclusive community where only “the best” families lived. Alexander Hamilton, for example, built an estate in Harlem that was completed in 1802.

By the 1840s and 1850s, a large wave of immigrants, including significant numbers of Irish, moved into Harlem, either buying land at inexpensive prices or simply occupying abandoned lots and establishing the first poor immigrant communities in the affluent rural village.

After the Civil War, the Irish were joined by other European immigrants. Although Harlem is known as a predominantly black community today, this was not always the case. Between 1870 and 1920 Harlem's black residents were outnumbered by its German, Italian, and Jewish inhabitants. The Jews and Italians who came to Harlem between 1880 and 1910 moved to northern Manhattan from older downtown ethnic enclaves in search of economic opportunities. A Harlem address was a sign of social mobility for members of these groups, as it was considered one of the most attractive residential areas in Manhattan. By 1910, Harlem was home to more than 100,000 Jews.

Harlem's population growth during the late 19th century was spurred by the construction, between the 1870s and 1890s, of transportation lines—particularly elevated train lines—that spanned the length of Manhattan. After Harlem was annexed by Manhattan in 1873, the building of a transportation infrastructure continued to connect Harlem to the rest of the island. As it became easier to commute to other areas of Manhattan, Harlem became much more densely populated.

By the turn of the 20th century, those African Americans who could afford the higher costs were also trying to move out of the downtown Tenderloin district to Harlem. Although blacks who attempted to rent in Harlem faced resistance from white residents, moving to Harlem was still desirable. It was considered a sign of social mobility just as it had been for the Europeans who had come a generation earlier. The African Americans who moved to Harlem paid higher rents than elsewhere in the city, but during the early years of black migration, they also lived in better quarters than they had anywhere else. A housing slump in 1904 and 1905 caused by overbuilding in Harlem, as well as the efforts of prominent African

Americans such as Phillip Payton, who established the Afro-American Realty Company, meant many more blacks began owning and renting property in Harlem.

The composition of Harlem's population was changing rapidly by the 1910s. World War I increased the number of economic opportunities available for workers but cut off the European immigration that would have filled the labor gap. During and after World War I, thousands of southern blacks migrated to Harlem, just as physical deterioration of buildings in Harlem and the construction of better, more affordable housing elsewhere was pushing Harlem's white population into the more suburban outer boroughs. By 1914, 50,000 blacks resided in Harlem.

During the 1920s, Harlem became a predominantly African American community in terms of population and earned its designation as the mecca of black cultural and intellectual life, not only in the United States but around the world. Harlem was a magnet for peoples of African descent, including the Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey, who preached his message of black nationalism and economic self-sufficiency to tens of thousands of blacks in Harlem and elsewhere. Headquartered in Harlem, chapters of Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association would be established throughout the United States, the Caribbean, South America, and West Africa during the 1920s.

Besides the Garvey movement, a cultural renaissance would come to define Harlem during the 1920s. The Harlem Renaissance embraced such luminous literary figures as Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, Claude McKay, and Jean Toomer. It was also the literary expression of an even broader shift in attitudes among educated blacks, in which they once again defiantly proclaimed their racial pride and demanded equal treatment within American society.

The Harlem Renaissance, however, did not feed people, and as the 1920s ended, the economic circumstances of most Harlem blacks did not reflect the prosperity that had characterized the decade elsewhere. The Great Depression ravaged Harlem's economy and increased racial tensions in New York City. Blacks were still streaming into Harlem from the South during the late 1930s and 1940s to escape racial persecution and take advantage of job opportunities resulting from war mobilization. With few other residential areas within the city open to African Americans and with job opportunities much more scarce than newcomers had imagined, racial violence exploded

in Harlem on two separate occasions during the 1930s and 1940s. In 1935 and again in 1943, riots in Harlem caused millions of dollars of physical damage; recovery took decades.

Harlem residents, like African Americans in other parts of the country, were expressing their frustrations with racial discrimination, deteriorating economic conditions, and unresponsive politicians. A modern struggle for civil rights was emerging in Harlem and in other urban centers, to which these two riots were connected.

During the Depression era, formal civil rights organizations opened headquarters in Harlem. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters all had offices there. These groups protested unequal conditions. In 1934, Harlem blacks coordinated the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaign. An attempt to secure more jobs for local blacks in white-owned businesses in Harlem, it was mostly unsuccessful, but in subsequent decades, similar tactics would be employed with more success to obtain civil rights gains for Harlem blacks.

Harlemites were very active in local civil rights campaigns during the post-World War II period. Housing, job discrimination, and public school integration were the primary causes for mobilization. The 1950s and 1960s were decades of great demographic change for all of New York City. Southern Blacks—and increasingly, Puerto Ricans—continued to migrate to New York City, particularly Harlem and the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, by the tens of thousands during what is known as the Second Great Migration. At the same time, whites were leaving the city for the suburbs in similar numbers.

By the late 1960s and 1970s, what came to be called white flight, the departure of middle-class blacks from Harlem, and the economic crises of the early 1970s combined to create the scenes of urban decay that plagued other inner city black communities. Harlem came to epitomize blight; the neighborhood was characterized by dilapidated buildings, rising crime rates, drug infestation, poor educational facilities, and poverty.

Since the late 1980s, Harlem has begun to rebound. Private investment and municipal and federal funds have stimulated new residential and commercial construction in Harlem. African American professionals as well as others who seek affordable real estate have bought homes in Harlem. New businesses have come

to the community along Harlem's major thoroughfares, especially 125th Street, which has long been the physical and cultural pulse of the neighborhood. The second renaissance currently under way in Harlem took hold during the 1990s and sparked renewed interest in Harlem's architectural and cultural attractions, including the Apollo Theater, the Studio Museum of Harlem, the Arthur A. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, and the Aaron Davis Hall for the Performing Arts. The changes that Harlem has been undergoing have not proceeded without reservations or opposition, but Harlem is definitely now, as at many times in its history, a neighborhood in transition.

—*Kristopher Burrell*

See also Harlem Renaissance; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; National Urban League; New York, New York; Urban Renewal and Revitalization

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HARLEM RENAISSANCE

The Harlem Renaissance was a culmination of African American cultural expression and is usually associated with the "jazz age" of the 1920s. In comparison to preceding decades, the period was characterized by an increased intensity and concentration on two levels. Demographically, Harlem had benefitted from a large number of immigrants as a result of national and international immigration, turning it into an area in which black people constituted the majority. Culturally, New York City was at its height as the publishing and entertainment center of the United States, thereby increasing the chances of finding outlets and publics for African American writers and artists.

The renaissance was the result of a complex interplay of social, economic, and intellectual forces in the preceding decades. Although migration by African Americans from the South to the North had been taking place as early as the Civil War, this stream turned into the "Great Migration" in the 1910s. Encouraged by black newspapers such as the *New York Age* and the *Chicago Defender* and by the increased demand for labor as a result of World War I, nearly half a million African Americans left rural areas of the South for the cities in the North. The black population of New York alone increased from about 100,000 in 1910 to about 210,000 in 1920. Following a collapse in real-estate speculation, Harlem landlords decided to rent apartments to blacks, which resulted in many newcomers moving straight into Harlem. Finally, at the turn of the century, African Americans who were committed to a modernist view and integrationist perspective in relation to American culture proved highly influential to most intellectuals of the Harlem Renaissance.

These intellectual influences go a long way toward explaining some of the tensions active during the era of the renaissance. Writers such as James Weldon Johnson, Alain Locke, and the older W. E. B. Du Bois were the most visible and eloquent spokesmen of the Harlem Renaissance, and as a result, many debates in the 1920s were structured by a belief in art as indicator of a flourishing civilization as well as a possible mediator between black and white Americans. In general, it was argued that African Americans could achieve full freedom only if they succeeded in developing an autonomous aesthetic that was not merely a copy of European forms. Although the popular cultural nationalism of the time clearly resonated in these statements, none of these authors was willing to contemplate the more radical view of full political independence. In contrast to Irish and Czech nationalists, for example, the aim of these spokesmen of the Harlem Renaissance was not territorial separation but instead integration into mainstream U.S. culture based on a liberal view of differential equality and full participation. George Hutchinson has shown that this position was to an important extent the result of a nationalization of social relations and institutions during the 20 or 30 years before the 1920s. The sophisticated, urban, and American image of the "new Negro" would have been vastly different without this increasing embedding of social and cultural relations in national structures of communication and transportation. This also