

Femme négritude

Jane Nardal, *La Dépêche africaine*, and the Francophone New Negro

T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting

From henceforth there would be some interest, some originality, some pride in being Negro, to turn oneself towards Africa, the cradle of the Negro, to remember a common origin. From these new ideas, new words, have come the revealing terms: Afro-American, Afro-Latin.

—Jane Nardal, “Black Internationalism,” *La Dépêche africaine*

It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark boy, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

—W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folks*

Coined in 1936–1937 by the Martiniquan poet Aimé Césaire during the writing of his now-celebrated *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (*Notebook of a Return to My Native Land*), Negritude, as a poetics, a literary, cultural, and intellectual movement, signaled the

birth of a Pan-Africanist cultural nationalism among black Francophone writers, a “New Negro” from the Francophone world. Although the neologism is readily traceable to Césaire, mapping the concept of Negritude as the inauguration of black humanism, as a

"theory of black cultural importance and autonomy,"¹ remains the stuff of a panoply of critical works.

Before the 1935 publication of *L'Étudiant noir*, a one-issue journal sponsored by the Association des étudiants martiniquais en France that featured, according to Georges Ngala, at least, "les deux textes fondateurs du mouvement de la Négritude" ("the two founding texts of the Negritude movement"),² by Aimé Césaire and the Senegalese poet Léopold Sédar Senghor, there were a number of black Francophone novelistic and journalistic precursors that treated the themes of assimilation, colonialism, race consciousness, and identity. The most notable among those texts were René Maran's 1921 Prix Goncourt-winning *Batouala: véritable roman nègre*; Suzanne Lacascade's 1924 *Claire-Solange, âme africaine*; the journals *La Dépêche africaine*, *Le Cri des Nègres*, and *La Revue du monde noir*; and the 1932 Marxist-Surrealist pamphlet *Légitime défense*. Other race-related journals appeared and disappeared in the early to late 1920s. But it was not until September 1931 that Senghor made the acquaintance of Césaire and the Guyanese Léon-Gontran Damas, the third voice of this poetic trilogy, thus setting the stage for their collective exploration of their conflicting identities, the "tormenting question," in the words of Senghor, of "Who am I?" their experiences of being black, African and African-diasporic, and French. For Césaire and Damas, "in meeting Senghor, [they] met Africa." Through Damas and Césaire, Senghor's horizon was opened to the dynamism of the literary and cultural worlds of West Indians and African Americans living in Paris in the 1930s.



T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting. Photo by John Smock.

For their part, Césaire, Senghor, and Damas, the designated founders of this poetics in the French-speaking world, provide a conspicuously masculine genealogy of their critical consciousness. They credit the writers of the Harlem Renaissance, specifically Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, and Sterling Brown; and Du Bois's *Souls of Black Folk* and the philosopher Alain Locke's 1925 anthology *The New Negro: An Interpretation* as well as Carter G. Woodson's *Opportunity*, the popular organ for the Urban League, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) political vehicle *The Crisis* as primary influences on their consciousness about matters of race and identity. As Senghor revealed in an article in *Présence africaine* entitled "Problématique de la négritude": "The general meaning of the word [Negritude]—the discovery of black values and recognition

for the Negro of his situation—was born in the United States of America.”³

The masculinist genealogy constructed by the poets and shored up by literary historians, critics, and Africanist philosophers continues to elide and minimize the presence and contributions of black women, namely their Francophone counterparts, to the movement’s evolution. In effect, if African-American writers of the 1920s radicalized the consciousness of these young and aspiring Francophone black writers, if the race-conscious New Negro of the United States planted the seeds of Negritude in their collective imagination, then the three future Negritude poets also received inspiration from Mesdemoiselles Jane and Paulette Nardal.⁴ In a letter written in February 1960, Senghor revealed: “We were in contact with these black Americans during the years 1929–34, through Mademoiselle Paulette Nardal, who, with Dr. Sajous, a Haitian, had founded *La Revue du monde noir* (*Review of the Black World*). Mademoiselle Nardal kept a literary salon, where African Negroes, West Indians, and American Negroes used to get together.”⁵ In correspondence also dated in the year 1960 and sent to Senghor’s biographer Louis Jacques Hymans, Paulette Nardal “complained bitterly” of the erasure of her and Jane Nardal’s roles in the promulgation of the ideas that would later become the hallmarks of Césaire, Damas, and Senghor. They “took up the ideas tossed out by us and expressed them with flash and brio.” In effect, Nardal wrote, “we were but women, real pioneers—let’s say that we blazed the trail for them.”⁶

The soeurs Nardal, with their Sunday literary salon and review, did more than provide a cultured place (their apartment) and literary space (*La Revue du monde noir*) for the intellectual coming-of-age of the trio. In the words of the Guadeloupean woman writer Maryse Condé, “It is an accepted fact that French Caribbean literature was born with

Negritude.”⁷ But what is not such a widely accepted or acknowledged fact is that women writers and thinkers of the Negritude era, such as Jane Nardal, were at the movement’s literary and philosophical centers and, often, at the vanguard.

Pan-Noirisme and *La Dépêche africaine*, 1928–1932⁸

In February 1928, the journal of the Comité de défense des intérêts de la race noire (CDIRN), *La Dépêche africaine*, was published in Paris under the editorial direction of the Guadeloupean Maurice Satineau, secretary of the comité, with a prestigious multiracial board of collaborators. The newspaper’s motto, “Défendre nos colonies, c’est fortifier la France” (“To defend our colonies, is to fortify France”)—sums up the interesting patchwork of militant colonial reformism, assimilationism, and cultural Pan-Africanism found in its monthly columns. Serving as a means of correspondence “between Negroes of Africa, Madagascar, the Antilles and America,” *La Dépêche africaine* maintained, in the assimilationist and colonial reformist fashion of the era, that “the methods of colonization by civilized nations are far from perfect; but colonization itself is a humane and necessary project.”⁹ As the spiritual inheritor of the writer René Maran’s defunct bimonthly *Les Continents*, *La Dépêche africaine* consistently evoked the ideas of France 1789 and Schoelcherism, that is, the liberal principles of Victor Schoelcher, a French administrator responsible for abolishing slavery in the French colonies. In this *après-guerre* France, where unemployment emerged unchecked alongside of xenophobia, racism, and paternalism; where primitivism—the realm of Negro—became the rage in Paris in attempts to forget the war-ravaged and morally bankrupt Europe, and exotic literature amply filled in the spaces in between, black French-speaking intellectuals wanted to revivify France as a

paragon of liberty, fraternity, and equality; as a civilizing and civil nation.

With its global readership, *La Dépêche africaine* was quite popular during its four-year publication run. In the November 1928 issue, under the rubric "Une Bonne Nouvelle" (A Piece of Good News), the organ announced that by January 1929 the monthly would become a bimonthly periodical, appearing the first and the fifteenth of each month: "The increasingly favorable reception that the colonial and metropolitan public reserves for our organ obliges us to augment our frequency."¹⁰ According to a report filed by the police prefecture with the Ministry of Colonies in November 1928, *La Dépêche africaine* had nearly 10,000 copies in circulation.¹¹ But by January 1929, the journal apologized to its readership, explaining that it would "momentarily be unable to appear two times per month as previously announced due to administrative reorganization."¹² And by May 1929, the journal's management settled on publication on the thirtieth of every month.¹³ But, *La Dépêche africaine* continued to inconsistently publish on the first, fifteenth, or thirtieth of any given month. Such inconsistency would later be revealed in reconnaissance reports as financially tied. According to a report on the activities of the journal filed by government officials on May 30, 1930, the editors were in need of funds ("Les Dirigéants de *La Dépêche africaine* sont parvenu à rassembler les fonds nécessaire pour faire paraître leur feuille" ["The managers of *La Dépêche africaine* came up with the necessary funds to publish the newspaper"] and "Le numéro daté Fev-Mars est sorti des presses de l'imprimeur au début d'Avril" ["The issue scheduled for February-March left the printing presses at the beginning of April"]).¹⁴

The journal's mission was to address social, political, and economic issues: "*La Dépêche africaine* [is] . . . an independent journal of correspondence between blacks,

for the moral and material interests of the indigenous populations, through the objective study of the larger colonial questions considered from political, economic, and social points of view."¹⁵ In this diasporic vein, the periodical infrequently published a section in English, subtitled "United We Stand, Divided We Fall," under the editorship of Fritz Moutia.

Delving into anglophone pan-black politics, the organ took on the Scottsboro case in the United States. The Scottsboro case involved nine black men who allegedly raped two white women. Coerced by authorities into giving false statements, the women later retracted the allegations. Seven of the men were nonetheless facing execution. In the April 1, 1932, issue, *La Dépêche africaine* ran a front-page article and letter to President Herbert Hoover. Under the headline "Un suprême appel au Président Hoover: L'exécution des sept Nègres serait un crime contre l'Humanité" ("A Supreme Appeal to President Hoover: The Execution of the Seven Negroes Would Be a Crime Against Humanity"), Maurice Satineau and Georges Forgues, president of the CDIRN, appealed thus: "Profoundly moved by the sentence that the Supreme Court of Alabama is about to hand down against the seven Negroes accused of rape, we are making an appeal to your greater conscience, to your sense of justice, humanity and equity in order to prevent such an execution which would be considered, by all races and notably, the black race . . . as an crime of which one cannot predict the repercussions."¹⁶

The official French government response to *La Dépêche africaine* was dogged monitoring of its editor, Satineau, and the newspaper's contents. With its Pan-Africanist politics, *La Dépêche africaine* was linked, according to officials, in spirit, politics, and content to René Maran's reformist journal *Les Continents* and Garveyism—thus a potential threat to the colonial powers that be.

According to one agent's report, "The address and telephone number are presently those of the management of the journal *La Dépêche africaine*. It is thus no longer possible to deny the relations that unite this paper and the pan-black organization [United Negro Improvement Association, UNIA]. This explains as well why we remarked in the note of last February, page 10: '*La Dépêche africaine* reminds one of the defunct pan-black organ *les Continents*.'"¹⁷

The fact that after his expulsion from the United States, Marcus Garvey set up offices in the seventh *arrondissement* in Paris at 5 rue Paul Louis Courieur, the same address as *La Dépêche africaine* with the same telephone number, certainly gave the administration canon fodder. It was also more than pure coincidence for the government that *La Dépêche africaine* announced that it would augment publication following Garvey's October 1928 visit: "le journal annonce qu'il va devenir bientôt bi-mensuel: serait-ce une conséquence du passage de Marcus Garvey à Paris?"¹⁸ Internal divisions also plagued *La Dépêche africaine*. Although some of the collaborators "energetically conformed to Garveyist ideas," others, like Satineau, wanted to strike a balance between Garvey's pan-black agenda—to maintain UNIA financial support—and curry favor from the colonial administration.¹⁹ In response to being targeted as Garveyists, the management shifted the organ's focus to Guadeloupean politics and began to feature sympathetic articles on colonial administrators, which government agents regarded as mere "camouflage."²⁰ After 1930, the political content was viewed less cynically and as nonsubversive to French colonial interests. Garveyism, with its glorification of the black race and the recognition of ancient African civilizations, W.E.B. Du Bois's racially imbued Pan-Africanism, and the cultural emphasis of Alain Locke's New Negro Movement, would nonetheless continue to be

filtered through a Francophone lens and appropriated in *La Dépêche africaine*'s cultural and literary criticism.

The sections "La Dépêche politique," "La Dépêche économique et sociale" and "La Dépêche littéraire" owed their cultural and literary *pan-noirisme* to the global literacy of Mademoiselles Jane and Paulette Nardal. *La Dépêche africaine*'s first issue in February 1928 presented its prestigious collaborators. A photograph of Jane Nardal listed her qualifications as "Licenciée-ès-lettres." Paulette Nardal joined the magazine's roster in June 1928. She was duly titled "Professeur d'Anglais," and her contribution to the journal would be to "write a series of articles on the economic and literary evolution of Black Americans."²¹ Paulette Nardal's specialties were, however, more literary and artistic than socioeconomic. Both sisters were Sorbonne-educated, bilingual Martiniquans. Their race-conscious transnational finishing school was at the salon of René Maran, where they met various African-American artists and writers, such as Alain Locke, Claude McKay, Augusta Savage, and Langston Hughes. Paulette, the elder of the two, wrote seven pieces for the journal, including two short stories; a comparative essay on Antillean and Black American music entitled "Musique nègre: Antilles et AfroAmérique"; and an extensive article, with photographs, of the Harlem Renaissance sculptor Augusta Savage's work.²² Jane, on the other hand, wrote two provocative essays on literary exoticism and black cultural internationalism and coined the neologism "Afro-Latin." Although their work has been often referred to as "proto-négritude," and hence as setting the stage for the veritable movement, such an assessment is primarily tied to the fact that the word itself would not come into being for at least another eight years. But Jane Nardal's "Internationalisme noir," an essay that discusses race consciousness among the African

diaspora and cultural *métissage*, would provide an essential kernel of the philosophical foundation for the literary and cultural movement later celebrated the world over as Negritude.

Black Internationalism and the Francophone New Negro

In the "Dépêche économique et sociale" section of the first issue of *La Dépêche africaine*, Jane Nardal's article appeared. Her name and an appraisal of her essay as politically "modest" in tone also appeared in a March 1928 agent's resumé of activities of "Blacks from the colonies in the Metropole."²³ Her article outlines in broad brush strokes several concepts that would become pivotal in early Negritude parlance: *après-guerre nègre*, global community, Black Internationalism, Afro-Latin, *conscience de race*, New French-speaking Negro, *esprit de race*. In an *après-guerre* commentary, Nardal begins by suggesting that one of the aftereffects of the first European world war had been an attempt to break down barriers between countries. The peace conference at Versailles, as well as the meeting of "four unobtrusive gentlemen" in Paris in 1919 to settle the "destinies of mankind," as Du Bois remarked, underscore Nardal's observation.²⁴ Like Du Bois, Nardal links the broader implications of the formation of a Euro-American community after the war to that of the global black community in formation. If the war led European and American world powers to envision themselves as a human community with common interests, the war also gave rise to "a vague sentiment" among blacks that they too were part of that human community who "in spite of everything belong to one and the same race."²⁵ The renewed spirit of humanism,

which weighed heavily in the post-1918 air that by turns attempted to exclude and marginalize blacks, had actualized among black elites "un esprit de race" (a spirit of race). Although the concept of a unified "black race"—not a necessarily novel idea among those who helped to construct and shore up the idea from Buffon to Jefferson to Gobineau—the subjects, "blacks," of their philosophies of race did not, in fact, at least according to Nardal, accept in principle such a notion: "Previously the more assimilated blacks looked arrogantly upon their brothers of color, believing themselves to be clearly from another species; on the other hand, those blacks who had never left African soil, who had never experienced slavery, looked upon those who had at the whim of whites been enslaved, then freed, then modeled into the imago of the white as vile cattle."²⁶ This Nardalian vista of ethnic schisms between

Africa was no longer the European stereotyped and promulgated land of savages but a cultural mecca, henceforth to be proudly claimed by its diaspora. From the rubble of enslavement, bestowed freedom in the French West Indies, and the tangle of French assimilation, a new consciousness about Africa and race inspired the invention of a new identity: the Afro-Latin.

the Francophone African diaspora is a shocking one, one that underscores conflict rather than identification.

World War I and its attendant hardships, the unfulfilled promises of citizenship and dashed hopes of equal rights, the presence of black soldiers of various ethnic backgrounds in Eu-

rope, the discovery of *l'art nègre* by European votaries of the "primitive," of African literature, civilizations, religions, and sculpture; Negro spirituals; and the publication of the philosopher Alain Locke's "New Afro-American Poetry" in *Les Continents* and *The New Negro* combined to evoke sentiments of diasporic connectedness and sentimental glances toward the ancestral homeland of Africa.

Africa was no longer the European stereotyped and promulgated land of savages but a cultural mecca, henceforth to be proudly claimed by its diaspora. From the rubble of enslavement, bestowed freedom in the French West Indies, and the tangle of French assimilation, a new consciousness about Africa and race inspired the invention of a new identity: the Afro-Latin. Nardal imagines a symbiosis between her Frenchness/Latinness and her Africanness/Blackness into a new identity, a new self-consciousness. She would not renounce her *latinité* or her *africanité*. This symbiosis was to bring into existence an authentic self-consciousness. The Afro-Latin shares the experience of the Afro-American, of the Du Boisian double consciousness, of *double-appartenance* ("double belonging") in which

one merge[s] his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American.²⁷

Similarly, in its use of the masculinist language of the time as well as in its philosophic content, "Black Internationalism" is not merely about the formation of a global black community or emergent race consciousness but the synergy of the "Afro," or African, and

the Latin world, an embracing of cultural *métissage*, of *double-appartenance*, in order to return "en soi" ("to the self"):

From these new ideas, new words, have come the revealing terms: Afro-American, Afro-Latin. They confirm our thesis all in casting a new meaning on the nature of this Black Internationalism. If the Negro wants to be himself, to affirm his personality, not be the copy of such and such type of another race (which often earns him contempt and mockery) it does not follow however that he becomes resolutely hostile to all contributions of another race. He must to the contrary profit from the acquired experience, from the intellectual richness, through others, but in order to better know himself and affirm his personality. To be Afro-American, Afro-Latin, that means to be an encouragement, a comfort, an example, for the blacks of Africa in showing them that certain benefits of white civilization do not necessarily lead to a denial of their race. . . . Africans on the other hand can profit from this example by reconciling these teachings with their ancient traditions of which they are rightly proud.²⁸

Nardal's cultural mixing does not dismiss African traditions or reserve for Africa the gift of emotion versus reason—a racist distortion of her theorizing that would later crop up in Léopold Senghor's "Humanisme et nous" and *Liberté I: Négritude et Humanisme*. Her fatalism, if you will, emerges around the French colonial project. In turn, however, she calls for symbiosis as a path of cultural and racial resistance to passive assimilation. The Afro-Latin will assimilate the Latin rather than be wholly assimilated by it. And yet hostility to "une autre race," an allusion to the more strident interpretations of Garveyist thinking, clearly undermines the new humanist spirit that she attempts to outline. The return to the self, the excavation of

the glories of the black race with European critical tools of engagement, allows for a better understanding of who one is as "black" and "French," "Afro" and "Latin." In keeping with the "benefits of colonialism" ideological paradigm of *La Dépêche africaine*, she shifts the concept of Afro-Latinité from the West Indian context to the Franco-African terrain where mass indigenous resistance to the colonial project had proven most formidable. Versed in the ethnological and sociological literature of the day on Africa—Maurice Delafosse, Leo Frobenius, and Jean Price-Mars's *Ainsi parla l'oncle*—Nardal writes that "the cultivated man" would not treat the Africans en masse as savages since "sociological works have made known to the white world the centers of African civilizations, their religious system, their forms of government, their artistic riches."²⁹ Although sympathetic to the "bitterness" (*amertume*) that the Africans express in seeing the effects of colonization on these "millénaire" traditions, she argues conversely that colonial policy in Africa could be a source of "racial solidarity," race consciousness among the "different African tribes."³⁰

She further offers up "Afro-Americans" as pioneers of cultural resistance, innovation, preservation, and race consciousness blended with their fierce Americanism, suggesting to her Francophone readers that they immerse themselves in Locke's *The New Negro*. The combined socioeconomic, political, and historical realities of black life under the yoke of American racism contributed to the formation of a unique Afro-American culture and productions that speak to such experiences, that chronicle the coming-into-being of the "New Negro." For Nardal, without the one—the hardships of those experiences as marginalized Americans—there would not have been the creation of the other—a race-conscious new American Negro. The French-speaking black, the "Afro-Latins," reasons

Nardal, "in contact with a race less hostile to the man of color than the Anglo-Saxon race, has been retarded in this path" of race consciousness, of "authentic" cultural development, and race solidarity.³¹ The Afro-American will, for Nardal, serve as a model for the Afro-Latin, for Afro-Latin literature, art—culture—as such is nonexistent. Nardal encourages the Afro-Latin to recognize that Africa and "le pays latin" are not "incompatibles."³² She then prophesies the emergence of New Francophone Negroes, who "helped, encouraged by the example of black American intellectuals, will distinguish themselves from the preceding generation . . . [and], schooled in European methods, will make use of them to study the spirit of their race, the past of their race, with the necessary critical verve."³³

As Promethean around issues of identity and race in the black Francophone context as Nardal's concepts of Afro-Latinité and cultural *métissage* were in 1928, they were also importantly subversive, indeed went philosophically counter to the universalism supposedly inherent in French humanism, culture, and colonial policies on "nos colonies et nos indigènes" ("our colonies and our natives"). Nardal suggests a decentering of Frenchness. Yet, for France, the essence of the words culture and civilization are French, France. With sword or gun in hand, France believes it is imparting the "souveraineté de ses lois et la marque de son génie" ("the sovereignty of its laws and the mark of its genius") to the conquered.³⁴ They will "do them [the natives] good in spite of themselves" through the gift of Frenchness, as Frantz Fanon noted in his critique of the French colonialism in Algeria.³⁵ Indeed, Jules Michelet wrote in his *L'Introduction à l'histoire universelle*:

The Frenchmen wants above all to imprint his personality on the vanquished, not be-

cause it is his, but because it is the quintessence of the good and the beautiful; this is his naïve belief. He believes that he could do nothing that would benefit the world more than to give it his ideas, customs, ways of doing things. He will convert other peoples to these ways, sword in hand, and after the battle, in part smugly and in part sympathetically, he will reveal to them all that they gain by becoming French.³⁶

Ideas of difference, integration, symbiosis, synergy, syncretization, hyphenations were threatening to *l'esprit français national*, to the body politic, the belief in the "plus grande France."³⁷ And although Nardal advocated a racial identity politics for specifically cultural and literary purposes, politically such race-conscious politics would prove to be the bane of French colonialism in Africa in the coming decades, for it would set in motion the historical processes of decolonization. Was Nardal aware at the time of the insurgent subtext of her black humanism and cultural pan-blackness? Years later, she and her sister Paulette would insist on their unique intentions to create a cultural, not political, movement similar to that of Locke's New Negro in America. Jane Nardal's "Black Internationalism," however, with its somewhat embellished resumé of a nascent race consciousness among Francophone blacks, which would lead to a cultural explosion à la mode American, that is, to Negritude, interestingly mapped out the first stage in the dialectics of liberation for the colonized. Such a politically charged stand would arouse government suspicions and shadow the two sisters in their future race-consciousness—raising cultural collaboration, the bilingual *La Revue du monde noir*.

Notes

1. Janet Vaillant, *Black, French, African: A Life of Léopold Sédar Senghor* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 1.

2. Georges Ngal, "Lire," *Le Discours sur le colonialisme* (Paris and Dakar: Présence Africaine, 1994), p. 13.

3. Léopold Sédar Senghor, "Problématique de la négritude," *Présence africaine*, Vol. 78 (1971), pp. 12–14.

4. The three future Negritude poets also received inspiration from the Cuban writer Nicolás Guillén and the Haitian writers Jacques Roumain and Jean Price-Mars and employed as tools of critical engagement the ethnology of Frobenius and Delafosse.

5. A 1960 letter written by Senghor cited in Lilian Kesteloot, *Black Writers in French: A Literary History of Negritude*, Ellen Conroy Kennedy, trans. (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1991), p. 56.

6. Louis Jacques Hymans, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: An Intellectual Biography* (Edinburgh: University Press of Edinburgh, 1971), p. 36.

7. Maryse Condé, "Language and Power," *CLA Journal*, Vol. 3, no. 1 (1995), p. 19.

8. *La Dépêche africaine* stopped publication in 1932, then resumed in 1938 for one year before it eventually folded for good.

9. "Notre But—Notre Programme," *La Dépêche africaine*, Février 15, 1928, p. 1. All translations provided by the author.

10. "Une Bonne Nouvelle" *La Dépêche africaine*, Novembre 15, 1928, p. 2.

11. Archives d'Outre Mer in Aix-en-Provence (ADO), Slotfom V, 2 *La Dépêche africaine*, Novembre 29, 1928.

12. *La Dépêche africaine*, Janvier 15, 1929, publicity page.

13. *La Dépêche africaine*, Mai 30, 1929, p. 3.

14. See ADO, Slotfom V, 2 "La Dépêche Africaine et reports policiers."

15. "Notre But—Notre Programme," *La Dépêche africaine*, Février 15, 1928, p. 1.

16. "Un suprême appel," *La Dépêche africaine*, Avril 1, 1932, p. 1.

17. ADO, Slotfom III, 81, no. 595. The original French report notes: "C'est adresse et ce numéro de téléphone sont presentement ceux de la direction du journal 'La Dépêche africaine.' Il n'est donc plus possible de nier les relations qui unissent cette feuille et l'organisation pan-noire. Ceci explique pourquoi, ainsi qui nous le signalions dans la note du Fevrier dernier page 10, 'La Dépêche africaine' a évoqué le souvenir du defunt organ pan-noir 'les Continents.'"

18. ADO, Slotfom III, 81, no. 678, Décembre 18, 1928.

19. ADO, Slotfom III, 81, no. 595, Novembre 9, 1928.

20. ADO, Slotfom III, 81, no. 678, Décembre 18, 1928: "Le numéro 9 de la 'Dépêche africaine' a paru le 15 Novembre. Le camouflage persiste: le portrait du nouveau ministre des colonies est publié en premier page avec de commentaire sympathique." ("Issue number 9 of 'La Dépêche africaine' appeared on November 15th. The

Femme négritude

camouflage persists: the portrait of the new Minister of Colonies is published on the front page with sympathetic commentary").

21. "La Dépêche littéraire," *La Dépêche africaine*, Juin 15, 1928, p. 4.

22. Paulette Nardal, "Musique nègre: Antilles et AfroAmérique," *La Dépêche africaine*, Juin 15, 1930, p. 5; "Une femme sculpteur noire," *La Dépêche africaine*, Août-Septembre 15, 1930, p. 5.

23. ADO, Slotfom III, 81, no. 132, Mars 13, 1928.

24. W.E.B. Du Bois, "Negro at Paris," in *Writings by W. E. B. Du Bois in Periodicals Edited by Others*, vol. 2, 1910-1934, ed., Herbert Aptheker (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus-Thomson Ltd., 1982), p. 127.

25. Jane Nardal, "Internationalisme noir," *La Dépêche africaine*, Février 15, 1928, p. 5.

26. Ibid.

27. W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches* (New York: Fawcett, 1961), p. 17.

28. Nardal, "Internationalisme noir," p. 5.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid. The original French reads: "jeunes Afro-Latins" ("young Afro-Latins") who, "aidés, encouragés par les intellectuels noir américains, se séparant de la génération précédente . . . [et] formés aux méthodes européennes, ils s'en servront pour étudier l'esprit de leur race, le passé de leur race, avec tout l'esprit critique nécessaire."

34. Raoul Girardet, *Le Nationalisme français: Anthologie, 1871-1914* (Paris: Seuil, 1983), p. 86.

35. Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism* (New York: Grove Press, 1965), p. 63.

36. Jules Michelet, *L'Introduction à l'histoire universelle* (Paris, 1834), pp. 78-79.

37. Girardet, *Le Nationalisme*, p. 86.