

The Fate of Emancipated African Americans in William du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) and in Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery* (1965)

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Résumé: Les relations entre Blancs et Noirs en Amérique ainsi que la lutte des derniers pour une réelle existence, surtout du début du XX^e siècle aux années 60, ont fait l'objet de maintes interprétations en littérature. Des idéologues et combattants comme Washington et Du Bois ont examiné à la loupe la manière dont les Noirs émancipés ont réclamé leurs droits civils pour améliorer leurs conditions de vie. Après la promulgation, par le Gouvernement Fédéral, de la loi sur les droits civils en 1968, les Blancs commencèrent à collaborer avec les Noirs et à faire montre de considération à leur endroit. Par le biais de l'éducation, de la formation, d'un puissant mouvement associatif et d'un système bancaire efficace, les anciens esclaves ont pu obtenir leur indépendance sociale et économique.

Mots-clés : relations raciales – ségrégation – servitude – droits civils – indépendance.

Abstract: The relationships between the Blacks and the Whites as well as the former's struggle for a real existence, above all from the early years of the Twentieth Century to the 60s, have been subject to various interpretations in literature. Ideological contenders like Washington and Du Bois scrutinized the way emancipated Blacks claimed their civil rights in an effort to improve their fate. After the Federal Government had passed the Civil Rights Act in 1968, the Whites began collaborating with the Blacks and treating them with consideration. Through education, training, strong associationism, and an efficient banking system, former slaves could achieve their social and economic independence.

Key words: Race relationships – segregation – servitude – civil rights – independence.

Introduction

The study of the history of colored people's lives in America between the Sixteenth century and the Nineteenth Century depicts slavery as an inhuman, revengeful, cruel and racial phenomenon, particularly in the literary and historical fields. Some American historians, writers, and abolitionists emphasized on important issues related to the events of the period, including Albion W. Tourgee in *A Fool's Errand* (1961) and William Lloyd Garrison in *Thoughts on American Colonization* (1882) who, though white men, contributed a great deal to the suppression of the Negro Slaves Trade.

The abolitionists' actions were followed by slaves' revolts on plantations and dissenting voices in churches. The most important Governmental Act of the period was known as the Emancipation Proclamation, an executive order issued by President Abraham Lincoln on January 1, 1863, when the American Civil War (1861-1865) was in its full swing. During that war of Secession, some black slaves, notably in the North, were recruited as Union Army lines while others, in the Confederate South, were still kept on plantations. The Thirteenth Amendment to the American Constitution passed in 1865 abolished slavery and authorized Congress to enforce abolition. The Fourteenth Amendment passed in 1868 guaranteed emancipated black Americans the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. As for the Fifteenth Amendment passed in 1870, it granted them the right to vote (Du Bois, 1903: IX).

However, the abolition of slavery did not mean the end of the ex-slaves' plight. Soon after, they started questioning the worth of leading a life in a country where they were denied the right to vote as well as equal opportunities in housing, real estate, education, jobs, and means of transportation because of the black color of their skin, an emblem of ignorance, illiteracy and barbarity. Additionally, white men reinforced their hegemony on them by developing strategies like the "separate but equal" principle, Jim Crow Laws, the fierce exploitation of poor black masses and setting up the Ku-Klux-Klan, anti- Black organization (Du Bois, 1903: IX).

Consequently, freed African Americans aspired to advancement, sophistication, upward mobility, access to land, and voting rights, not to mention farming tools, seeds, fertilizers, high quality of education, and full democracy in the public and private sectors. Du Bois and Washington address those issues in their works, respectively entitled *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) and *Up from Slavery*, and so do George M. Fredrickson in *The Black*

Image in the White Mind: The Declaration of the American Character and Destiny (1987), William E. Cross Jr. in *Shades of Black Diversity in African American Identity* (1991), Reynolds Farley in *Blacks and Whites: Narrowing the Gap?* (1984), and Richard Wright in *Native Son* (1940).

This article is an attempt to examine from different perspectives, notably the historical one, the relationships between emancipated African Americans and their ex-masters, the social and economic predicament of the former, and their quest for social and economic independence.

1. Race-based Relationships between the Blacks and the Whites

While the American Constitution and the Emancipation Proclamation ruled in favor of the establishment of an equalitarian society, regardless of race, color, social status, as theorized nationwide, white supremacists did not abide by them. Racial segregation and discrimination spread and reinforced the total separation between the Blacks and the Whites. Between 1863 and 1968, the Jim Crow Laws which were prominent local and state laws based on the principle of superiority of the Whites over the Blacks. The former argued that a black man was but a savage, an oddity, with a day-to-day degenerating morality. And not only did he have a pre-logic mentality, but also a bestial behavior which urged him to be interested in nothing but feeding himself, wearing clothes, and showing his sexual strength with no possibility for him to explore the field of spirituality and academic knowledge. That preconceived idea makes Washington posit that “no White American ever thinks that any other race is wholly civilized until he wears the White man’s clothes, eats the White man’s food, speaks the White man’s language, and professes the White man’s religion” (Washington, 1965: 70).

To preserve their domination, the Whites thought it advisable to be separate from the Blacks. Obviously, “Separate but equal” was a principle established to counteract black folks’ emancipation which was one of the measures taken to enhance Reconstruction. As a result, public places like churches, schools, restaurants, cars, graveyards, and residential homes were all segregated. America became a biracial society with a division of the country in two territorial entities: the White Belt and the Black Belt. Du Bois captures that bitter reality as follows: “There stand in the South two separate worlds and separate not simply in the higher realms of social intercourse, but also in church and school, on rail and street cars, hotels and

theaters, in streets and city sections, in books and newspapers, in asylums and jails, in hospitals and graveyards” (Dubois, 1903: 70).

Richard Wright pinpoints the paradox in these terms:

There are two worlds, the white world and the black world, and they are physically separated. There are white schools and Black schools, White churches and Black churches, white businesses and black businesses, white graveyards and black graveyards, and for all I know, a white God and a black God (Wright, 1940: XV).

Giving his opinion about the supposed inferiority of the black race, Washington insightfully explains:

In many cases, it seemed to me that the ignorance was being used as a tool with which to help White men into office and that there was an element in that North which wanted to punish Southern White men by forcing the Negro into positions over the hands of Southern Whites. I think that the Negro would be the one to suffer for this in the end (Washington, 1965: 60).

Washington refers to the way the Blacks were treated despite the suppression of the Negro Slaves Trade, insisting on heir being condemned to a hopeless state of inferiority and degradation by their black color seen as an indelible mark of their origin and former conditions. Racism regulated the relationships between white and black people. George M. Fredrickson provides the following comprehensive definition of the term racism:

[It is] a rationalized scientific theory positing the innate and permanent inferiority of non-White. Racism found its roots in the biological thinking of the Eighteenth century but did not come to fruition or exert great influence until well long in the Nineteenth (Frederickson 1987: 37).

The belief that the Negro is destined by providence for slavery, not only by the color of his skin, but also by the intellectual inferiority and national improvidence of his race is rooted in the false Darwinian theory of natural selection¹. The antipathy for the idea of equality between races in America was intensified by negrophobia. That was the reason why emancipated black folks were the victims of the American penal system, being condemned by laws and public opinion to a hereditary state of misery and degradation.

The Blacks also faced another ordeal because they were believed to be a weak and broken down race which could neither lead an equalitarian life with the white one nor compete with it. The Whites regarded the Negro as nothing but a fiend, a wild beast seeking a prey to devour. They stressed that he deserved to be segregated and to live in filth because he was docile and amiable when enslaved, but ferocious and murderous when free. The separation between the Whites and the Blacks was made all the easier since the latter suffered from a complex of inferiority. On account of countless prejudices, the Blacks kept on experiencing the bitterness that they served substantially a nation for centuries in which, one entity, that is to say, their ex-masters did not serve them in return. In addition to the re-enslavement of black people, anti-black movements spread through the nation, specially in the South, to impose white people's supremacy and domineering status. The most popular one was the Ku-Klux-Klan, the first branch of which was established in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1866 (Du Bois, 1903: X) The date rings a bell for it coincided with the Reconstruction period when the Jim Crow Laws were prevailing. Albion Tourgee mentions another place where the terrorist movement established itself:

The Ku-Klux-Klan also arrived in Verdenton at night which was supposed to be the place where they performed their first actions, those, referring to Black people who were awake then rushed from house to house with chattering and trembling limbs, only to find that they were all safe (Tourgee, 1961: 38).

To impose their supremacy and instill permanent fear over the black mobs, terrorist organizations set up a series of strategies, the commonest of which was to show up at night and destroy any place where they might meet. Even churches where they often gathered to pray were not spared. Terrorist organizations destroyed Christian symbols like crosses, burned black people's houses, and hung, flogged, and lynched all the dissenters. Du Bois conceives of the Ku-Klux-Klan as a monstrous and overwhelming force whose aim was to increase racial prejudices and perpetuate slavery under another name. Washington adds weight to that argument as follows: "The Patrollers were bands of men who had joined themselves together for the purpose of regulating the conduct of Black people especially with the object of preventing the members of the race from exercising any influence in politics" (Washington, 1965: 55- 56).

The hardships of black people were all the more unbearable as their social and economic situation was deplorable.

2. The Social and Economic Plight of the Ex-slaves

The years following the American Civil War - from the Reconstruction period to the 1960s - were regarded as years of torment, toil, oppression, extermination, and unuttered starvation regarding black people. Confinement, injustice, and separation proved to be the first operative strategies ex-masters set forth to exert their domination on freedmen. In the agricultural field, for instance, the white man owned the land, the means of production, and the money needed to run any business. The Blacks were laborers forced to sign contracts aiming to reinforce their subservience, bankruptcy, and malnutrition. For Du Bois, black laborers turned to sharecropping, but the most important part of their crops was returned to pitiless ex-masters. The various leases signed by tenant farmers had it that, whatever the amount of your harvest, you either gave money to the landowner or merely pay him back the equivalence of the sum borrowed from your crops. Such exploitation drives Du Bois to argue that “the white man kept on seizing the fruit of their toil” (Du Bois, 1903- 172). As for Washington, he strongly believes that ignorance and illiteracy resulting from a lack of educational opportunities are the root causes of black people’s predicament: “It could not be expected that a people who had spent generations in slavery, and before that, generations in the darkest heathenism, could at first form any proper conception of what education meant” (Washington, 1965: 57).

What made black people’s condition worse was that they could not suddenly break off with their ex-masters because being constantly confronted with food shortage, they were compelled to accept indentured servitude to survive. Equating dependence with a perpetuation of slavery Du Bois asserts: “The merchants are in debt to the wholesalers, the planters are in debt to the merchants, the tenants owe the planters, and the laborers bend and bow beneath the burden of it all” (Du Bois, 1903: 92). Du Bois also makes notice that black people were at the mercy of landlords because they were defenseless: “In the judiciary, the regular civil courts tended to become solely institutions for perpetuating the slavery of Blacks, and the racial motivation kept on reducing the black ex-slave to a state of serfdom” (Du Bois, 1903- 34).

Concerning black women, they were abandoned to their fate, working as servants, washerwomen, seamstresses, and very few of them as teachers. They worked like slaves for they were subjected to the debt peonage system which required that a person be forced to work for weeks or months without compensation until his/her efforts equate the amount of the money he/she borrowed from the white man. Though education was consecrated by the

Constitution of the United States of America, it had been denied to the Negro for more than three centuries, particularly in the South under the false pretext that “an educated Negro is a dangerous Negro” (Du Bois, 1903: 29). For the White, a Negro doesn’t need a certain level of education, but only practical knowledge in farming, sewing, brickmaking, etc. Which contrasts with Washington’s viewpoint in his *Up from Slavery* where he stresses the thirst for knowledge on the part of people long denied educational opportunities. As Fredrickson puts it, “the laws and customs put black sharecroppers at the mercy of white landlords or convict-lease arrangements making cheap black labor easily available to white capitalists and planters under a system more brutal than slavery.They failed to push white supremacy to its logical extreme” (Fredrickson, 1987: 204).

Similarly, J. I. M. Curry, an Alabama Congressman in the 1880s, complains about the lack of education among the Blacks asserting that “such a mass of illiteracy as we have is worse than a foreign invasion, incites domestic violence, gives supremacy to bad appetites and is a perpetual menace to the life and well-being of the Republican Institution” (Fredrickson, 1987: 214).

In Du Bois’s opinion, the persistence of illiteracy among the Blacks will obviously be a hindrance to their upward mobility as long as they do not achieve their civil rights. Establishing a dialectal link between the lack of education and economic and social conditions, Washington said that he found on the plantation district illiterate members of a whole family that slept in one room, and in addition to the immediate family, there sometimes were relatives or others not related to the family who slept in the same room.

Also worth emphasizing, the economic delay which black people experienced was due to the fact that though they were disfranchised, they were not involved in the decision-making process. To make Blacks collapse economically, the white man’s other strategy was to maintain them as menial labor servants, with a system of belt-work farming that couldn’t enable them to meet and discuss ways and means to fight the American oppressive system.

The social and economic predicament of the emancipated Blacks brought about frustration and revenge. This is what Richard Wright explains in *Native Son* by using the metaphor of the rat killed by Bigger Thomas, his protagonist, and which symbolizes the white man. Wright means that the fate of black people is sealed for they live in filthy, promiscuous sharks, crippled by extreme poverty and kept like caged birds (Wright, 1940: 23).

The Blacks' social status could not enable them to manage appropriately state affairs and to have a fine lifestyle. For many decades, the economy of the Black Belt was crippled by the rise of obscurantism, social instability, economic collapse, and financial bankruptcy. Probing into the social recession hitting black folks on the American soil, Ruth Horowitz sheds light on the tight relationships between instruction and self-development, social attitude, and personality:

While interests in attitudes of various kinds seem widespread in the field of psychology, there is yet very little in the literature to shed light on the dynamic of attitude formation. Even attitudes focused on relationships between attitudes and various environmental factors rarely concern themselves under scrutiny as an aspect of the personality which finds partial expression through it (Cross, 1991: 10).

Nevertheless, the ex-slaves' predicament began to change because the industrial North needed black workers to boost the industrial sector, which caused massive migration. The Blacks understood that ignorance, depravity as well as the inability to rise from degradation to civilization and respectability were the most usual allegations leveled against them. As a result, they set up associations and institutes to eradicate ignorance, achieve civil rights, and secure good living standards and upward mobility as well.

3. The Quest for a Worthy Existence

Because of the fierce exploitation, oppression, ignorance, and extreme wretchedness they suffered from, emancipated African Americans believed that establishing legal associations in the Black Belt would be one of the paths that could lead them to social and economic independence. Being race-conscious and yearning for personal development or self-actualization, they unanimously deemed it necessary to organize themselves to fight the Whites and eliminate the segregationist system. But no sooner had they reached a consensus than they raised the question of the black leader to trust with their goals. It was in that context that Du Bois, a member of the African American high elite, a small group of black intellectuals referred to as the trained few, proved to be the right man.

Du Bois set forward three outstanding strategies to make an end to white supremacists' exploitive and penal contacts. His primary strategy was to sarcastically denounce nationwide the outcomes of the new form of slavery established by white folks right after the Emancipation Proclamation and the Reconstruction period. He committed himself to reveal

what it meant to be black in America in the dawn of the Twentieth Century. According to him, the consequences were persistent exploitation, unrewarded toil, unequal educational and occupational opportunities, gender inequities, the denial of rights and responsibilities as well as white men's endless unpunished crimes. The second strategy Du Bois used was to sensitize his race about the fact that the American penal system, which was supposed to regulate and organize their lives, was illegal, anti-constitutional, despotic, and outdated in the context of emancipation. As for his third strategy, it consisted in putting forward a Civil Rights Movement to put an end to the American unbalanced civil, social, and economic system ruling in favor of white supremacy. Du Bois believed that black people's well-shaped and operating strategies in mob-leading as well as their convincing attitudes would help his community reach its goals.

Du Bois argues that instead of following Washington's program of industrial education, the Blacks had better unite and claim their civil rights. His plea was for the establishment of an equalitarian and raceless society. In his *modus operandi*, he added a series of speeches or addresses for the restoration of justice, dignity, and balanced civil responsibility.

White folks feared Du Bois because of his charisma, his capacity of high mass mobilization, his eloquence, and his strong persuasive arguments, notably during the Niagara Movement in 1905. He served as its General Secretary and ruled in favor of the promotion of racial equality. The ideology he foresaw won great success in the Black Belt. Du Bois, the black popular leader, had then succeeded in being one of the pioneers of the most powerful black association known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) founded in 1909 (Du Bois, 1903- XI). The association was created after the 1908 lynching of two Blacks in Springfield. It developed and became successful for the Blacks started having access to property and to education. Another precious thing black people reconquered was the African American identity, i. e., what Du Bois calls "Double Consciousness" or "Afro-Americanity"¹. The latter maintained that no Negro on the American soil could deny the fact that their perpetual servitude and serfdom was partly due to their lack of social organization, harmony, and unity.

Other associations like the Universal Negro Improvement Association created by Marcus Garvey emerged against the exploitation of poor black masses through the system of

indentured servility. It ruled for the improvement of Blacks' living and working conditions. As for the National Freedman's Union, it was set up to make black people get rid of menial servitude, but also to perform menial services, sending clothes, money, school books, and teachers southward to eradicate illiteracy and poverty (Dubois, 1903: 18- 19). Civil rights activists like Rosa Park, Martin Luther King Junior, Malcolm X, to name but a few, had put forward a series of actions like marches, sit-ins, demonstrations, boycotts, rallies, civil disobedience to claim their rights and the reconstruction of the whole American society on a new basis.

The Freedman's Bureau succeeded in securing educational opportunities in the black community. In the long run, it produced surgeons, teachers, bank employers, and employees. With the Bureau, "The laborers were now free to choose their employers, now fixed rate wages were prescribed and there was to be no peonage of force labor" (Dubois, 1903: 28). Equally worth stressing, the Freedman's Bank contributed to the Blacks' financial autonomy as it became a big financial and training center for re-orienting, informing, saving as well as borrowing money. It helped black people fructify their capitals and invest in various sectors. Du Bois argues that "with its ninety thousand black subjects, its fifty thousand guided laborers and its annual budget of one hundred thousand pay rolls a year, registered all freedmen, inquired into grievances and reduced them, laid and collected taxes and established a system of public school" (19).

Also noteworthy, Washington contributed a lot to the awakening and positive shaping of the minds of many ex-slaves through the educational path. His program of industrial education meant to reconcile the black American South with itself and the North with the South was very successful. It eventually participated in the improvement of the living standards of the black race. Washington realized that for the emancipation of ex-slaves, the first thing to do was to secure food self-sufficiency and then primary care because the situation was not favorable, as Du Bois believed, for them to benefit from higher education. What was more urgent, according to Washington, was basic education to achieve quick self-promotion. The Tuskegee Institute was thus founded in 1881 at Alabama to train black folks in brick-making, harness-making, sewing, arithmetic, banking, Latin, Greek, etc. Brick-making developed so much so that the white men in the South appreciated the product and bought some of the well-made bricks from the institution (Washington, 1965: 110).

Washington was also known for being a talented orator. The memorable “*Atlanta Exposition*” was an example which enabled him to be among those who succeeded in weeding out antipathy and negrophobia and proposing mutual cooperation between the Blacks and the Whites. He equally managed to make many of the members of his community able to read and write. Washington set the example because before becoming a teacher, he could “read common books and newspapers as well as the Holy Bible before he passed away” (Washington, 1965: 30).

In Washington’s eyes, education should concern itself with three targets: books, men, and things, associated with the aspiration for self-respect, the promotion of human virtues and values. He stresses that education in the Tuskegee Institute would provide the Blacks with the following advantages:

First, the student shall be so educated that he shall be enabled to meet conditions as they exist now, that is to say to do the things the world wants done. Second, every student who graduates from the school shall have enough skill, coupled with intelligence and moral character ... Third, to send every graduate out feeling and knowing that labor is dignified and beautiful (Washington, 1965: 30).

Whenever he was asked what the functions of the Negro College were, Du Bois would answer invariably that “it is to maintain the standards of popular education to seek the social regeneration of the Negro” (Du Bois, 1903: 80). He believed that the purpose of the training was to provide the black world with adequate standards of human culture and lofty ideals of life. As for a university, its function is not simply to teach breadwinning; it is above all an efficient organ for the harmonious adjustment between real life and the growing knowledge of life.

Washington’s strategy was to explore and exploit education as the best alternative to Blacks’ serfdom and servitude. As a forerunner of basic education for the emancipated Negro, he advocated Blacks to give up at least three things, namely political power, insistence on civil rights, and higher education of the Negro. Du Bois did not share Washington’s standpoint, accusing him of adopting a silent attitude regarding the fight for civil and political rights². His ultimate aim was to progressively eradicate “the disfranchisement of the Negro, the legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority of the Negro, the steady withdrawal of

aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro” (1903: 42). Du Bois contends that through education, black folks become “men of skill, of light, mob leaders, missionaries of culture, men who thoroughly comprehend and know modern civilization and take hold of Negro communities and raise and train them by force of precepts and example of deep sympathy and inspiration of common blood ideals” (Du Bois, 1903: 123).

For Washington, a former student at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia, securing education is worth touring the world. He made many efforts to travel up to Hampton, walking and working in a house to earn additional coins to meet vital needs. When he got there, he was “hungry and dirty” (1965: 34). To show that education is a source of hope, he adds:

The thing that touched and pleased me most in connection with my starting for Hampton was the interest that many of the older colored people took in the matter. They had spent the best days of their lives in slavery and hardly expected to live to see the time when they see a member of their race leave to attend a boarding school (Washington, 1965: 34).

Commenting on Walter Mosley’s opinion about the challenges black people should meet on account of their horrible past and present, Manthia Diawara states:

Value is measured by the possibility in future returns, power is a question of placement and influence, and sadly, yesterday is gone. Working harder and working together are the challenger’s best chances to make it in a hostile territory. Finally, love, real love is often the most painful touch that a modern- day human being can feel (Diawara, 1999: 45).

In the same vein, Reynolds Farley reinforces as follows:

If racial change occurring rapidly and if barriers limiting the achievement of Blacks have been eliminated, Blacks and Whites should be more alike now, than in the past on indicators of social and economic status such as educational attainment, employment and occupation (Farley, 1984: 16).

The education of the Negro contributed a great deal in the Negro’s self-love, self-actualization, autonomy, and self-determination. It helped him crush down the despair that the door was closed to total black freedom in America.

Conclusion

In terms of race relations, the main issue of the Nineteenth Century and the Twentieth Century was the problem of the color with the devastating effects of racism in bipolarized American society. Racial disparities and prejudices brought about frustrations, pessimism, mass agitation as well as an unprecedented downfall in the social and economic sectors. That situation urged black leaders like Washington and Du Bois to commit themselves to a plea for a whole triumph of racial egalitarianism. The latter's self-consciousness or Afro-centricity as a path toward race awareness, attainment in a continent of unequal opportunities was the strategy that led to the re-conquest and assertion of the Afro American cultural identity, an achievement made possible thanks to protests led by some leaders from the black elite.

As far as Washington's program of industrial education was concerned, it enabled black folks to improve their living conditions and to gain the sympathy of various people in the white South. Du Bois, Washington, and many other writers during the Twentieth Century and beyond attempted consciously and successfully to create a black literature as an outcome of their upward spirituality and as a means to denounce the awful situation black folks went through for more than three centuries on the American territory. In so doing, they hugely contributed to the total emancipation of ex-slaves. Eventually, the dream of race interactive relationships became a reality. The healing of the vast sore became effective and both races accepted to live side by side from the 1960s up to now, united in economic and social effort, obeying a common government, sensitive to mutual thoughts and feelings.

Notes

1-The evolution of African Americans from slavery, indentured servility, to social and economic independence can be linked to the Darwinian Theory that all the living species have undergone an evolution in time and space. In America, all the ex-slaves had shared the ancestral past of slavery and the same ancestors- heredity- . Darwin (1809- 1882) also calls this natural selection (5). For him, races differ from one another but they can eventually converge. Human species can be classified according to the skin, the skeleton, and the head. From the Sixteenth Century to the second half of the Nineteenth Century, the black skin was a symbol of inferiority.

2-Double Consciousness defines a psychological sense experienced by African Americans whereby they possess a national identity. The emancipated Blacks were conscious of the fact that they were Africans and American citizens at the same time. Du Bois uses the term Afro-Americanity to refer to double consciousness in his *The Souls of Black Folk* (Introduction, XVI).

3-Du Bois accused Washington of insisting on the thrift and self-respect and counseling a silent submission to civil inferiority. He also accused him of depreciating institutions of higher learning.

4-Further references to the novels appear as Du Bois, or Washington, followed by the year of publication and page numbers.

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