

AHMED DRAIA UNIVERSITY– ADRAR
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**The Reaction of African American Leaders
Towards Black Americans
Repression after Reconstruction (1890-1920)**

**Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for a Master's
Degree in Literature and Civilization.**

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مساعد رئيس القسم

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to:

My dear Father, My Hero.

My beloved Mother, who for months past, has encouraged me attentively with her fullest and truest attention to accomplish my work with truthful self-confidence.

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Abstract

Africans in the land of freedom, of life, and pursuit of happiness had struggled for ages to be considered Americans. They were cruelly discriminated against and segregated for one reason that is their “dark color of skin” by the southerners. Thus, this study aims at presenting the different racial obstacles and kinds of discrimination that the black Americans had suffered from in the late nineteenth century, starting with the different racial segregation laws that separated blacks and whites, and how African American leaders challenged hurdles to improve black Americans’ life conditions. Among those great leaders, were: Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. They were known for their different strategies but shared one goal of equality and full rights. They proved that the color of one's skin has no bearing on one's level of superiority or inferiority.

Keywords: African Americans, Discrimination, leaders, B.T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois.

ملخص

كافح الأفارقة في أرض الحرية والحياة والسعي وراء السعادة على مر العصور لكي يُعتبروا أمريكيين. كانوا يتعرضون للتمييز الوحشي والعزل لسبب واحد وهو "لون بشرتهم الداكن" من قبل الجنوبيين. وبالتالي، تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى عرض مختلف العقبات العرقية وأنواع التمييز التي عانى منها الأمريكيون السود في أواخر القرن التاسع عشر، بدءًا بقوانين الفصل العنصري المختلفة التي تفصل بين السود والبيض، وكيف تحدى القادة الأمريكيون من أصل أفريقي عقبات تحسينها. ظروف حياة الأمريكيين السود. من بين هؤلاء القادة العظماء: بوكرت و دو بويز. كانوا معروفين باستراتيجياتهم المختلفة ولكنهم يشتركون في هدف واحد وهو المساواة والحقوق الكاملة. لقد أثبتوا أن لون البشرة ليس له تأثير على مستوى التفوق أو الدونية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الأمريكيون الأفارقة، القادة، المساواة، ب.تي. واشنطن، و.اب. دو بويز

Résumé

Les Africains au pays de la liberté, de la vie et de la recherche du bonheur avaient lutté pendant des siècles pour être considérés comme des Américains. Ils ont été cruellement discriminés et séparés pour une raison qui est leur « couleur foncée de peau » par les sudistes. Ainsi, cette étude vise à présenter les différents obstacles raciaux et types de discrimination dont les Noirs américains ont souffert à la fin du XIXe siècle, à commencer par les différentes lois de ségrégation raciale qui séparaient les Noirs et les Blancs, et comment les dirigeants afro-américains ont défié les obstacles pour améliorer les conditions de vie des Noirs américains. Parmi ces grands leaders, il y avait : Booker T. Washington et W.E.B. Du Bois. Ils étaient connus pour leurs différentes stratégies mais partageaient un objectif d'égalité et de plein droit. Ils ont prouvé que la couleur de la peau n'a aucune incidence sur son niveau de supériorité ou d'infériorité.

Les Mots Clés : Afro-Américains, Discrimination, Dirigeants, B.T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois.

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List of Acronyms

US: United States

KKK : Ku Klux Klan

NNBL: The National Negro Business League

NAACP : National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

General Introduction

The United States of America is regarded as the world's most powerful country. It is a symbol of freedom, liberty, and democracy; however, the truth may reveal otherwise, particularly when considering issues pertaining to the injustice experienced by Black people. For a long time, Black people ached and grappled with various forms of segregation and racial prejudice that ruled their lives. Through directed efforts, they attempted to integrate in the society as American citizens enjoying the same rights as White people. Black Americans battled for their freedom, justice, and equality, hoping to prove that conceptions of racial superiority were unfounded and did not determine intelligence. They wanted to eliminate the oppressive beliefs of white supremacists and worked toward improving the condition of African Americans through the pursuit of civil rights.

At the end of the Reconstruction Era in 1877, the Southerners promoted the idea of a New South, modern and industrialized, albeit with limited success. By the time African Americans were set free, racial discrimination in the South had taken a new form, with Southerners constantly attempting to dominate African Americans. Thus, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, two famous leaders, Booker T. Washington and W.E. B. Du Bois strove to safeguard African American rights and raised slogans to combat racial discrimination by forming organizations to achieve equality.

This research aims to provide answers to the following questions:

- ✓ What were the racial obstacles that Black Americans faced during, and after the Reconstruction Era?
- ✓ How was the reaction of Black leaders towards segregation and discrimination?

- ✓ What were the philosophies of the two African American leaders', Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, against racial discrimination?

This work is divided into two chapters in order to answer the questions above. In this respect, the first chapter traces back the origins of the Reconstruction Era, and how the African Americans lives were during that period. In addition, the chapter looks at how black Americans were brutally abused by the whites. Then, the second chapter sheds light on the reaction of two great leaders Washington and Du Bois political movements, achievements, and how they used their different philosophies and beliefs to fight back against black discrimination.

This study has two purposes, the first one is to show the racial oppression faced by African Americans even after the abolition of slavery by the white Americans. The second purpose of this research is to recount the history of two African American leaders and their contradictory ways to improve black Americans' lives.

Chapter One

1.1. Introduction

In the United States, life has been and continues to be difficult for African Americans. Since their arrival in the new world as slaves in 1776, African Americans have faced bigotry, prejudice, and violence from white Americans. By the mid-eighteenth century, the Reconstruction brought the dream of freedom to reality, but it failed to change the violent behavior of the whites towards the black Americans.

1.2. The Emergence of the Reconstruction and the Reason Behind it

The amount of literature on reconstruction era is tremendous, for a great number of scholars have scrutinized it since its embryonic stages. The reconstruction period continues to pique the attention of students and academics, and research into it appears to be ongoing. Eric Foner wrote that “This idea of Reconstruction as really the lowest point in the history of American democracy, because African-Americans were suddenly given a civil and political right, that is a total myth. That's what we might call ‘fake history’ today...” (“Historian Eric Foner Disputes”) Actually, so many definitions of this movement had been given that one might have the impression that there had been two Reconstructions and not just one. A number of scholars and historians from different continents tried to provide definitions of the reconstruction, definitions that reflect their different attitudes and conceptions of this era.

1.2.1. The Historical Origins of the First Reconstruction

There is a general agreement among historians that the term ‘reconstruction’ appeared by the beginning of the American Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln launched the Ten Percent Plan, the first ambitious Reconstruction initiative, in December 1863, less than a year after issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. In this regard, Eric

Foner wrote that Lincoln's Ten-Percent Plan "might be better viewed as a device to shorten the war and solidify white support for emancipation" rather than a genuine effort to reconstruct the south (cited by Evans). Under this plan, a new state government could be formed if one-tenth of a state's prewar voters took an oath of allegiance. The scheme, according to Lincoln, was intended to undermine the Confederacy rather than serve as a model for the postwar South. It was implemented in parts of the Union-occupied Confederacy, but none of the new governments received widespread support on the ground (Evans).

The Wade-Davis Bill, which proposed delaying the establishment of new Southern governments until a majority of voters had taken a loyalty oath, was passed by Congress in 1864 (and Lincoln pocket vetoed it). Co-sponsored by Senator Benjamin Wade of Ohio and Congressman Henry Davis of Maryland, the bill also called for the government to grant African American men the right to vote and that "anyone who has voluntarily borne arms against the United States," should be denied the right to vote ("The Wade-Davis Bill"). Regarding Reconstruction in Louisiana, Lincoln said in his final speech on April 11, 1865, that some Blacks—the "very intellectual" and those who had served in the Union army—ought to have the right to vote (Worth 33-45).

1.2.2. Presidential Reconstruction

The purpose of this part is not to trace back the history of the presidents during reconstruction, because this subject has been extensively covered in innumerable historical works. It is only an attempt to refer back to the main events in this long history which had given birth to ideas that later materialized into the reconstruction phenomenon. It is then necessary to go back to the beginning of the president's plan of reconstruction, in order to understand the reaction of both black and white Americans.

Following Lincoln's assassination in April 1865, Andrew Johnson was elected president, ushering in the period known as the Presidential Reconstruction (1865–67). With the exception of Confederate officials, who would later obtain individual pardons, President Lyndon B. Johnson's Reconstruction proposal gave general amnesty to southern whites who vowed future allegiance to the US government. "Virtually from the moment the Civil War ended", writes Eric Foner, "the search began for the legal means of subordinating a volatile Black population that regarded economic independence as a corollary of freedom and the old labor discipline as a badge of slavery" (Rubinfeld 182).

Therefore, governments enacted the Black codes, which required African Americans to sign yearly labor contracts and aimed to limit freedmen's economic options while also restored plantation discipline in other ways. African Americans were outraged by these tactics, which seriously damaged Northern support for Johnson's initiatives. When Congress convened in December 1865, radical Republicans like Pennsylvania Representative Thaddeus Stevens and Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner entailed the creation of modern Southern governments that supported equality before the law and universal male suffrage. On the opposite hand, moderate republicans hoped to cooperate with Johnson after he changed his policy. The Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights Bills were enacted in early 1866 after Congress declined to give seats to representatives and senators elected from Southern states.

However, Johnson rejected these bills because of a mix of private stubbornness, fervent belief in states' rights, and racial views. Hence, that led to an endured rift between himself and Congress. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 was the primary major legislation to override a presidential veto. Shortly at that time, Congress passed the Fourteenth

Amendment, enshrining the principle of birthright citizenship within the constitution and prohibiting states from denying any citizen “equal protection” under the law. Citizens' rights has traditionally been defined and got by governments. Following that, the federal government was obliged to ensure that all Americans were treated equally, before the law and were protected from state violations.

1.2.3 Radical Reconstruction

Following a landslide victory within the 1866 elections, the radical Republicans gained virtually complete control of policymaking in Congress. Thanks to their more moderate Republican allies, they gained the control of the House of Representatives and the Senate. Also, they gained enough power to override any potential vetoes by President Johnson.

Commencement of Radical Reconstruction was in early 1867 (also known as Congressional Reconstruction). Throughout that year, the First Reconstruction Act was passed by Congress, kicking off the Reconstruction process. Moreover, the secessionist states were reduced to conquered territories under the Military Reconstruction Act. They were divided into five Military Districts, each with its own Union general in charge.

Congress declared law within the colonies and sent troops to keep the peace and protect former slaves. In order to be readmitted to the Union, southern states had to reform their constitutions, ratify the Fourteenth Amendment and afford the blacks the right to vote. The voting rights of former slaves should be strengthened even further. In this regard, Eric Foner wrote:

Black suffrage, of course, was the most radical element of Congressional Reconstruction, but this too derived from a variety of motives and calculations. For Radicals, it represented the culmination of a lifetime of reform. For others, it seemed less the

fulfillment of an idealistic creed than an alternative to prolonged federal intervention in the South, a means of enabling blacks to defend themselves against abuse, while relieving the nation of that responsibility (356).

The Second Reconstruction Act of 1867 had made Union troops responsible for voter registration. After overriding two presidential vetoes, Congress passed the bills. The 1866 violent race riots in New Orleans and Memphis had persuaded Congress that Reconstruction measures needed to be implemented¹. The Radical Republicans hoped to promote their Radical Reconstruction strategy by establishing "radical governments" and imposing martial law in the South. Despite the fact that most Southern Whites despised the "regimes" and were supervised by Union forces, Radical Reconstruction policies ended with the admission of all Southern states to the Union by the end of 1870 (Worth 69).

1.2.4 Radical Reconstruction in the South

During Reconstruction, blacks in the South participated in the democratic process for the first time. African Americans not only attended state conventions but also served in state legislatures and were elected to Congress.

Fourteen black representatives and two black senators served in Congress; however, no black governor of a southern state was elected, and only in South Carolina did the number of black officeholders reflect their voting power.

¹ The Memphis Massacre of 1866 was a sequence of violent incidents that took place in Memphis, Tennessee from May 1 to 3, 1866 ("Memphis Riots of 1866").

Men who had been free before the Civil War, landowners, and clergy were among those who were chosen. African-American voters were instrumental in keeping Republicans in power in the former Confederacy, and they continued to vote for the "party of Lincoln" in national elections well into the twentieth century ("Reconstruction").An article from a website.

Despite the fact that Reconstruction resulted in a (short-lived) revolution in black political power, African Americans did not have a voting majority in the South, so the Republicans wanted white support as well. Diehard Confederates referred to white Republicans, mostly yeoman farmers who had supported the Union during the Civil War, as scalawags; these southern Republicans supported federal initiatives such as public education, road construction, and economic recovery. The so-called carpetbaggers—northerners who moved south after the war in search of lucrative government work—were another political force during Reconstruction. The “coalition” of black Republicans, white Republicans, and northerners was shaky, to say the least. During the 1870s, Democrats were able to retake control of state governments throughout the South by focusing mainly on the race issue (Worth 83).

1.3. The white Southerners response to Black Emancipation

Life for freed slaves did not improve after slavery was abolished in 1863. Whites opposed the idea that African Americans should be treated equally; therefore they formed laws to limit the right and control the Afro- Americans. The Black codes and Jim Crow laws were among them, but Segregation laws were not the only threat that the blacks faced; the white Americans even founded a supremacy organization called the Ku Klux Klan to attack the freedslaves shortly after the whites introduced police brutality as a new way of oppressing blacks.

1.3.1. The Black Codes

After slavery and the Civil War ended, and the Freedmen's Bureau was established, the South feared losing control of the freedmen, so the black codes were developed to maintain control.

The black codes were a series of laws passed by the legislatures of the Southern states of America like Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, between 1865 and 1866 during the presidency of Andrew Johnson(1808- 1875). They included laws of segregation, regulation, owning property and criminal punishment (Alchin).

Each state in America had its own set of rules, and some of them were shared by all of them. The freedmen were unable to gather without the involvement of a white person, which meant that if a free black American wanted to meet in any location, including churches, a white person had to be present. Another law defined “Race by blood”; where the presence of any amount of black blood made one black i.e. Racially mixed persons are assigned the status of the subordinate group and they must obey the rules of the Black Codes. Another law segregated public facilities, where blacks were widely prohibited from entering hotels, restaurants, parks, and they were excluded from other public spaces. Reading and writing also were not allowed for free blacks.

Freedmen were considered to be farm laborers, and their responsibilities and working hours were strictly enforced. And the violators of these laws were subjected to whipping or branding, and every person who infringed these laws got punished (Kelley and Lewis 218).

1.3.2. Jim Crow laws

The origin of the name “Jim Crow” goes back to the 1800s when a white actor named Thomas Dartmouth “Daddy” Rice mocked the African Americans by playing the role of an old black man by blackening his face using burnt cork and dressed up in tattered cloth and started singing and dancing in a foolish way to an old African song called “jump, Jim crow”. His act soon became known among the whites who started using the term “Jim Crow” to insult the blacks, soon after the Jim Crow laws spread (Tischauer 1-2).

The Jim Crow Laws were a series of segregation laws and customs that were practiced mostly in Southern America between the end of the Reconstruction Era and the mid-1950s; they were formulated to enforce racial segregation and required the separation of the whites from the blacks in public places such as schools, restaurants, buses, and waiting rooms, and it was completely forbidden for the blacks to go to beaches, swimming pools, parks and nearly all hospitals (Tischauer 01).

1.3.3 Plessy v. Ferguson

Under the "separate but equal" doctrine, Ferguson affirmed the constitutionality of racial discrimination². The case resulted from an incident in which Homer Plessy, an African American train passenger, refused to sit in a car reserved for Black people in 1892. The Supreme Court rejected Plessy's claim that his civil rights had been violated, ruling that a statute that "implies merely a legal distinction" between white and black people is not unconstitutional. As a result, Jim Crow laws and separate public accommodations for people of different races became widespread (“ Plessy v. Ferguson”).

² John Howard Ferguson (June 10, 1838 – November 12, 1915) was a Louisiana lawyer and judge best known for being the defendant in the Plessy v. Ferguson case (Wikipedia).

As historian C. Vann Woodward, pointed out in a 1964 article about *Plessy v. Ferguson* that White and Black Southerners merged relatively openly until the 1880s when state legislatures passed the first legislation requiring railroads to have separate cars for “Negro” or “colored” passenger (03). In 1887, Florida became the first state to require segregated train cars, and by the end of the century, Mississippi, Texas, Louisiana, and other states had followed suit.

Regardless of how much the laws seemed to accommodate blacks, one fundamental fact could not be overlooked for long as these laws were being written, redefining the relationship between the races, these laws were enacted for one reason: to give the appearance of civility while enforcing segregation and reminding blacks that they were inferior and that whites did not want to share a public transit system with them (“*Plessy v. Ferguson*”).

1.3.4. The knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Slavery was formally abolished after the Civil War, and many freedmen were granted the same rights as white people. This sparked resentment among white Southerners who believed in white supremacy, leading to the formation of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK).

The KKK was founded in Pulaski, Tennessee in December 1865, by six Civil War Veterans including, Nathan Bedford Forrest, Richard R. Reed, and John B. Kennedy. The latter started the white supremacy group and called it the Ku Klux Klan. The first Klansman started wearing masks and went on night rides to scare citizens by pretending to be the ghosts of dead Confederate soldiers. Soon after, the group grew in members and soon spread to almost every Southern state. The activities of the new members went beyond scaring people mostly African Americans; they started using violence against them (Heinrichs 8-9).

The KKK soon became the African Americans' new nightmare and started threatening the safety of the blacks outside and even inside their home. They used also different types of violence against the blacks, such as beating, whipping and torture; and worse of it was lynching; hence, they hanged the dead body in the town as a warning for the others. Furthermore, the Klansmen used to burn and bomb the black churches and property. The bloody organization committed many massacres ;for example on Sept. 15, 1963, a bomb caused the death of four black girls in Birmingham, and also on June 21, 1964, the white knight murdered one black man and two civil right workers in Philadelphia, Mississippi (Heinrichs08).

The Ku Klux Klan is one of America's most well-known and feared gangs, motivated by the dream of a future in which there is only one race. They have been for over 130 years and they still exist in American society today.

1.3.5. The Knights of the White Camellia

The Knights of the White Camellia were a secret organization of White men formed during Reconstruction in the lower Southern states. Its members vowed to defend white supremacy, oppose race amalgamation, resist the social and political encroachment of the so-called carpetbaggers, and restore white control of the government. Alcibiade DeBlanc founded the order in New Orleans in May 1867, and it quickly spread across the lower South, reaching as far west as Central Texas and as far east as the Carolinas³ (Long).

Though the White Camellias were similar in some ways to the Ku Klux Klan and were frequently confused by the public, they denied any affiliation with that organization. Their activities were almost entirely confined to the southern states, a region further south

³ Jean Maximilien Alcibiades Derneville DeBlanc was a Louisiana lawyer and state representative from September 16, 1821 until November 8, 1883. During the American Civil War, he was a colonel in the Confederate army. In 1867, he established the Knights of the White Camellia(Wikipedia).

in general than that occupied by the Klan. Although they did not use such violent methods, the White Camellias operated with less publicity but perhaps even more effectively than the Klansmen. They were thought to have been even more numerous than Klansmen, and their secrets were more closely guarded. They were typically better organized than the Klan, and their membership included newspaper editors, physicians, lawyers, law-enforcement officials, public figures, and even a few former Union army officers living in the region (Dauphine 173-174).

Many of the members freely admitted their membership, and officers occasionally identified themselves as members in front of congressional or legislative committees, detailing their organization and some of their activities. Despite the fact that some renegade members committed atrocities, many others left the order due to its lack of militancy. Like the Klan, the Knights had elaborated secret ceremonies and rituals, including signs, grips, and passwords. The name of the society was inspired by the snow-white bloom of a Southern flowering shrub, which was meant to represent the purity of the White race (Rowland).

In addition, the order's constitution, adopted at a convention in New Orleans in June 1868, called for an organizational structure similar to the Klan's, but with more conventional nomenclature. Individual members were organized into councils, the size of which could range between five and several hundred people. For one year, each council chose a commander, lieutenant commander, guard, secretary, and treasurer.

Following that, the Knights of Columbus concentrated in East Texas, notably around the Louisiana border, though councils were located as far west as Waco. As in other parts of the South, the order drew its members from more respectable parts of society, which

generally avoided the activities of outlaw gangs like Ben Bickerstaff and Cullen M. Baker (Dauphine 175).

In late 1868, after a Republican newspaper revealed the Knights' rituals, passwords, and signals, there was some talk of reorganizing the order. Thus, the Knights of the White Camellia were in decline by 1869. In January 1869, a convention was held in New Orleans, but many of the councils had already disbanded by then. Some of the more outspoken members joined the Klan or the White Leagues, and by 1870, the Knights had effectively ceased to exist as an organization (Long).

1.3.5. The Red Shirts

In the state elections of 1898 and 1900, the Red Shirts were armed gangs of white males who acted as a terrorist and intimidation wing of the Democratic Party. The scarlet Shirts got their name from their clothes, which were loose red tunics. The costumes were inspired by the South Carolina Red Shirts, a white supremacist outfit that attempted to put an end to Republican Reconstruction in that state in the 1870s (Budiansky 1-2).

The North Carolina Democratic Party's electoral plan in 1898, after losing power to Populist and Republican Fusionists in 1894, was to reclaim control of the General Assembly by emphasizing the dangers of African Americans holding office and voting (Prather 174). Democratic leaders realized that to win in the campaign they needed more than logical persuasion. Therefore, they utilized Red Shirts to intimidate and threaten both black and white Populists and Republicans.

The Red Shirts were heavily involved in the 1898 election, which resulted in the first Democratic General Assembly since 1893. Red Shirts were mounted men who carried pistols, rifles, shotguns, and they were often masked. They threatened political opponents

with death and physical or economic harm from their base in the state's eastern region. Anti-Democratic events were disrupted by Red Shirts, who also stopped fusionist candidates from speaking. They also used physical violence against African Americans, such as beatings and whippings, as well as assaults on candidates and murder. They shot into opponents' homes while wandering through rural areas.

On Election Day in 1898, Red Shirts blocked non-Democrats from voting. One gang surrounded Republican governor Daniel L. Russell Jr.'s train in Hamlet, while others paraded in front of his residence. The Red Shirts seemed to have attracted men from all walks of life; for example, well-known preachers led processions. Both Claude Kitchin, who would later become a congressman, and Cameron Morrison, who would later become governor, were prominent Red Shirts (Budiansky 04).

Thus, Democratic legislators planned to formally disfranchise the party's opponents in 1899 in order to ensure the party's continuing dominance. A constitutional amendment limiting the ability to vote, for which an election was to be held in August 1900, was the instrument for this grip on state authority (Budiansky 05).

The Red Shirts were once again called upon to use violence and intimidation. They stormed the platform of a Populist speaker in Smithfield. Populists were beaten and threatened, African Americans were hauled from their homes and thrashed, and opposition voters were threatened with death if they went to the polls. They amassed vast stockpiles of guns in 1900, harassed opposition speakers, and seized Fusionist mail. Marion Butler, a populist US senator, was beaten by Red Shirts as he attempted to exit a train in eastern North Carolina. Red Shirts, on the other hand, escorted Democratic heroes such as future governor Charles B. Aycock. They routinely appeared at Aycock's rallies in the state's eastern region, displaying the muscle of white supremacy (Prather 175-176). Red Shirt

violence was planned by Democratic officials, rather than being an unintentional byproduct of white supremacy fervor. For instance, campaign funds raised by the state party were likely used to hire Red Shirts and purchase alcohol for them.

The bloody intimidation campaigns were successful. Voting results showed widespread fraud and a significant drop in black turnout. Democrats such as Josephus Daniels, Furnifold M. Simmons, and Aycock justified the admittedly criminal acts of 1898 and 1900 as necessary in light of the "evil" of black political participation (Prather 183-184). The activities of the Red Shirts demonstrated the utility of white supremacy politics, the limited appeal of universal democracy among North Carolina's early twentieth-century leaders, and the persistence of violence as a political tactic.

1.3. Conclusion

The African Americans faced hard conditions from the days of slavery till after the abolishment. Blacks faced a new type of racism, as evidenced by racial segregation laws and some terrorist groups. It was clear that the white racists would not accept the blacks as Americans which gave the African Americans strength to fight and revolt to build their own identity as American citizens.

Chapter Two

2.1. Introduction

The Black Americans had limited freedom even after slavery was abolished; because, white Americans believed that black people were useless and should not be free. Few blacks had jobs, and if a job opportunity arose, they were the last on the list. In addition, many blacks were homeless, poor, and had no learning opportunities. They also received less aid than whites, and were excluded from some charities.

Thus, the Black-Americans could not live under this racial condition and they saw the need to change their fate. Therefore, many African American leaders fought to make equality between the two races such as Booker T. Washington, and Du Bois. Those leaders were very influential on account of the role which they played in encouraging the blacks and even the whites to refuse the racial situation and look for a new life with equality, justice and without racism (Stanford).

2.2. Booker T. Washington

An influential black leader emerged in nineteenth-century America; one who had a lasting influence on post-bellum generations of blacks and earned the respect of many white Americans, this brilliant figure was Booker Taliaferro Washington. Washington was born in 1856 on a plantation in Franklin, Virginia, and grew up seeing the social world of the US slavery system and its eventual demise. After the Civil War, his family relocated to Malden, West Virginia, where his stepfather enlisted him as a salt-furnace worker.

Washington became interested in learning to read and write and was able to arrange time off from work at the furnaces to attend the town's newly established black school.

Washington's desire to better his life, to transcend some of the racial and economic obstacles he encountered, and his hard work offered the inspiration and funds he needed to

attend Hampton Institute and ultimately receive a degree. Many of the practical life skills and utilitarian concepts that Washington would later use as a black educator, institution-builder, community leader, and racial diplomat were created at Hampton.

After graduating from Hampton Institute with honors in 1875, Washington taught in West Virginia and then returned to Hampton (where he founded a good night school) before being recommended and chosen to organize and lead a black educational institution in Tuskegee, Alabama. On July 4, 1881, Washington opened the doors of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute with modest buildings (“a stable and a hen-house”), a few students, and little income. Washington, his friends, and backers, ranging from local black and white families to well-off philanthropists in the North, established an impressive school/learning community in the Alabama “Black Belt” at the end of the nineteenth century, offering industrial educational training for black Americans, as well as services and goods, such as brick-making and agriculture/food, to the local community. Tuskegee became Washington's home base, where he built a powerful social network to foster black socioeconomic self-sufficiency and coordinate the construction of black schools in the South (Jones 252).

2.2.1. Tuskegee Institute and Black Society Development Plan

Washington advocated an industrial and vocational kind of education for the black people which, he believed, was the solution to the racial problem in the United States. His educational philosophy was based on the importance of relating education to economic needs and achievements. “Along with the idea of the dignity of labor,” wrote Monroe N. Work, “Booker T. Washington also advocated that education should be made common, that is not only should it be placed within reach of all; but it should also have as subject matter the common things of life” (311).

Besides, Washington considered that the former slaves had not been prepared for freedom, for they had not been shown how to achieve economic and social improvement and independence through labor, thrift, and hard work. He, therefore, sought to inculcate such American middle-class values in the African Americans. In other words, he aimed at making the Blacks self-supporting, useful, reliable, and competent citizens and hence win the respect of the Whites. Accordingly, "... prejudice [against the black race] would diminish and the barriers of discrimination would fall" (Gardner 510).

Tuskegee Institute was founded at a time when racial problems were increasingly intensifying in the United States, especially in the South. African Americans were constantly faced with racist acts. Lynching was a widespread practice, especially by members of the famous Ku Klux Klan; disfranchisement became commonplace, and discrimination was a glaring phenomenon. The greatest part of the Southern black population was still living in poverty. Although agriculture was the dominant activity among the Blacks, they remained largely unskilled laborers. For this reason, Tuskegee Institute aimed, in the beginning, to train the students to be skilled agricultural laborers, encouraged Blacks to own homes and lands and to develop farms (Moton 152).

Washington advocated that black Americans should combine manual labor with book learning, suggesting that the black community should focus on producing "trained hands" (industrial education) as well as "trained hearts and minds" (classical education). While Washington primarily emphasized industrial education, he appreciated certain elements of classical education and realized the need for black-trained doctors, dentists, veterinarians, engineers, lawyers, and other positions that required higher education outside the training of industrial education. Yet, at the time he set up Tuskegee Institute,

Washington realized that the majority of blacks living in the South benefited more from industrial education to meet immediate social and economic conditions.

Tuskegee's creator envisioned a program that would prepare female students to deal with real-life circumstances. The curriculum included dressmaking, laundry, cooking, soap-making, mattress-making, dairying, poultry raising, and flower and vegetable growing, in addition to literary and academic courses. Furthermore, the assessment of the female students took into account personal cleanliness, neatness, well-kept offices, work and study habits and courtesy (Moton 185-186).

The women's actual accomplishments were emphasized rather than the amount of hours researched. This meant that a woman's worth was determined by her ability to perform a specific task. The goal was to teach black women not only how to truly master the accomplishment, but also how to teach and disseminate their experience in their communities.

Increased property ownership among blacks and the growth of black-owned businesses were also central components of Washington's plan for the betterment of the black community. One of Washington's accomplishments in strengthening black businesses and arranging social networks among black business leaders across the US was his role (and other black leaders, like T. Thomas Fortune) in establishing the National Negro Business League in 1900.

2.2.2. The National Negro Business League

NNBL was another achievement of Booker T Washington which he used in order to reach prosperity through education and establishing businesses. Unlike William Monroe Trotter, who believed that militant tactics such as using the media to

expose racism and public protests. Booker T. Washington sought another approach. He believed in accommodation--that the way to end racism was through economic development; not through politics or civil unrest.

The National Negro Business League was founded in Boston in 1900 by Booker T. Washington. The organization's goal was to “promote the Negro's commercial and financial growth” (Bernardo). Washington founded the organization because he felt that economic growth was the path to ending segregation in the United States. He also believed that economic growth would allow African-Americans to rise through the ranks. Thus, Washington claimed that if African-Americans gained economic freedom, they would be able to effectively lobby for voting rights and the end of segregation (Boston 91).

In this regard, Washington said in his last speech of league: “At the bottom of education, at the bottom of politics, even at the bottom of religion itself, there must be for our race, as for all races, an economic base, economic stability, economic independence” (“Annual Address to the National Negro Business League”). African- American businessmen and businesswomen in agriculture, craftsmanship, and insurance, as well as practitioners such as physicians, attorneys, and educators, were members of the League. Men and women from the middle class who wanted to start a company were also welcome to enter.

One of the league's main goals was to include the minority business sector in national economic priorities, not only for its own sake but also for the national economy's development and stability. As the country's oldest industry and trade organization, the NBL represented a diverse range of businesses, from multinational trading firms and high-tech manufacturers to small retail and service businesses and sole proprietorships (Boston 92).

In 1967, the league founded “The Booker T. Washington Foundation” as a public, non-profit operating foundation to act as the organization's research and development arm. Furthermore, the National Business League continued to encourage African American economic enterprise and financial literacy across the United States, as well as international trade with Africa and the African Diaspora. (Femi).

2.2.3. Washington Literature

Unlike other black leaders, Washington did not advocate for racial equality or recognize the civil rights of African-Americans. According to Gregory Mixon, “Washington believed that African Americans should be prohibited from exercising their right to vote, run for public office, or seek equality in the field of civil rights”(369).

In fact, Washington allayed Southern whites' fears of the black freedmen by embracing segregation as a structure that would enable black and white people to coexist peacefully in the same society. On September 18, 1895, at the opening of the Atlanta Cotton Exposition in Georgia, he delivered a historic speech (dubbed the "*Atlanta Compromise*" by historians). Washington said, among other things “In all things that are merely social, we can be as separate as the fingertips, and one as the hand in all things important to mutual progress” (Harlan 583-587).

These theories enthralled white Northerners, who saw Washington's educational program as a sound solution to African Americans' issues and the country's racial problems. White Southerners, on the other hand, endorsed Washington's support of racial segregation and disinterest in politics. Washington's policy was to "... take advantage of black people's forced apartheid in order to foster black hegemony by economic interdependence"(Young 232).

In fact, 'Oz of Tuskegee' did not follow the tactics of his nineteenth-century forefathers in protesting the Blacks' plight. He avoided conflict with white America in favor of a more accommodating approach to their dominance. He was well aware that second-class citizenship and subordination were a permanent reality for African-Americans in the post-Civil War era. Thus, Washington claimed that an economically prosperous African American class required collaboration rather than rivalry with the White race in order to determine its position and potential status in the United States.

In spite of that, Washington garnered the respect and affection of both Blacks and Whites for his achievements as a black leader, his part in his brothers' education, and his continued efforts to raise the black race in the United States and worldwide. Yet, some African American leaders strongly opposed Washington's philosophy of industrial education which they considered as obsolete. They argued that besides the fact that it maintained the Blacks in the inferior status assigned by the Whites, it advocated the teaching of skills which were being smothered by industry and mechanization.

Washington's critics were displeased with his priority of industrial education over classical or higher education, believing that he was supplying whites with the manual laborers of past and not promoting the higher aims and talents potential of black Americans (Zeringue 4-5).

Probably most disconcerting to his critics was Washington's insistence that civil rights were not a priority for blacks. According to Washington, "[b]rains, property, and character for the Negro will settle the question of civil rights" (Rogers 75). Despite this, for many black Americans he represented a source of inspiration and a model to be emulated.

While his critics paint a picture of the man who failed to address white racism and challenge white supremacy, in fact, Washington was not silent about racism and did present guidelines to battle whites' misuse of power. Throughout his autobiography, *Up from Slavery* (1901), and in later writings, Washington critically recounts injustices and inequalities of white racism, from his early observations of white privilege to his later condemnations of whites' suppression of the black vote, gutting black education, and the high imprisonment of black men to supply "*Negro convict labor*" (Washington 79). He trod a fine line in his criticisms of white abuses and the ways he delivered his critique, mainly because of the importance of white funding for Tuskegee and schools across the South, and because he wished to lessen the atmosphere of racial conflict. Nevertheless, Washington employed a subtle tactic for combating white racism, stating that injustices and oppression aimed at blacks also detrimentally affected whites who committed racial injustices and oppression. Washington observes that, "whenever and wherever the white man, acting as a court officer, feels that he cannot render absolute justice because of public sentiment, that white man is not free. Injustice in the courts makes slaves of two races in the South, the white and the black" (Harlan and Smock 79).

Washington's later writings, like *Is the Negro Having a Fair Chance*, and *My View of Segregation Laws*, appeared in magazines/journals just before his death were more reminiscent of straightforward race-critical observations of Frederick Douglass, who Washington held as a role model. Many of his critics were probably unaware that, behind the scenes, Washington helped fund court cases against voter disenfranchisement and segregation (Harlan 1582). Moreover, his critics were probably also unaware that Washington's "compromise" accommodation with whites was strategic, contextual, and with the best interest of the black community in mind.

Washington was one of the Nineteenth-century black leaders, who were the precursor of an ideology that would mark particularly the history of the black race forever. He inculcated in his brothers the sense of self-pride, the love of freedom, and the importance of unity.

2.3. W.E .B. Du Bois

The twentieth century saw the rise of a large number of black leaders who had attempted to improve the black race's conditions by various methods. Their goal was the same whether they were named moderates (like Washington) or liberals (like Du Bois). They were both striving to improve the Black people's situation and regain their integrity as human beings with full rights. In this view, the historian Kelly Miller wrote that "Radical and conservative Negroes, agree as to the end in view, but differ as to the most effective means of attaining it. The difference is not essentially one of principle or purpose, but point in view" (Jones 13).

On February 23, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was born Great Barrington, Massachusetts, 1868. And though he was only in high school, Du Bois had a strong interest in the black race and a strong desire to improve its circumstances. "At age fifteen he became the local correspondent for the New York Globe. And in this position he conceived it his duty to push his race forward by lectures and editorials reflecting upon the need of Black people to politicized [sic] themselves"(Hynes).

Du Bois earned a scholarship to Fisk College in Nashville, Tennessee, after graduating from Great Barrington High School. He spent three years there (from 1885 to 1888). This was his first encounter with the American South, where he witnessed segregation and learned about the poverty, illiteracy, and bigotry faced by African-

Americans. As a result, his years at Fisk College shaped his personality and strengthened his resolve to work for the betterment of African Americans' lot.

When he graduated from Fisk College, Du Bois joined Harvard, where he graduated to become the first African American who earned a doctorate. His doctoral thesis, entitled '*The Suppression of the African Slave Trade in America*,' is still considered as an important work on this subject (Hynes).

2.3.1. The Niagara Movement

The 1900s were a time of social, economic, and intellectual injustice for Black people. W.E.B. Dubois, a Harvard graduate, and the journalist William Monroe Trotter founded the Niagara Movement as a civil rights movement. Its goals were to aspire for something other than what they were given, which was dominated by white society. On the other hand, the Niagara movement was to strive for a more aggressive approach to combating the injustices of the time. The social movement was intended to be made up of 50 members, but it was reduced to thirty after some did not respond to the invitation (Jones). C. E. Bentley, Fredrick McGhee, Henry L. Bailey, Clement G. Morgan, Robert Bonner, and many other influential African-American businessmen of the time were among the company's founders. The group was named after the Niagara waterfall which served as a meeting place and metaphor for the powerful change that it was formed to bring about in comparison to the power of the Niagara waterfall (Gavins 212-213).

On July 11, 1905, the community held a meeting to highlight Negro advancement in America, including educational institutions, land ownership, and significant religious progress. The group's goal was to protest the rights that were being denied to them, especially in the political realm. The Niagara Movement released a statement of principles

outlining their grievances, which was met with retorts to their mistreatment and demands for rights (Gavins 212-213).

The Niagara movement was well-established, and with 30 chapters throughout the country, its ability to spread was undeniable. The company, on the other hand, was not producing enough revenue or membership. The Niagara Movement had only gathered 170 participants by the end of the first year. The movement met every year until 1908, when a riot erupted in Springfield, Illinois. Eight African Americans were killed, and 2000 were forced to flee the area. The riot was the first northern race riot in Lincoln's hometown in forty years (Jones 63-83).

The Niagara Movement spawned a much more powerful and successful group. In response to the riot and the need for a stronger force to combat racism, the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) was established. The Niagara Movement disbanded in 1910, but the NAACP was established in 1909 with the same reigning leadership of W.E.B. Du Bois with the assistance of some prominent white people. One of the most significant distinctions between the Niagara Movement and the NAACP was the latter's less progressive approach to achieving the same objectives as the Niagara Movement ("The Niagara Movement").

2.3.2. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

After the Niagara Movement stalled for a few years, a new organization, the National Negro Committee (N.N.C.), was established in June 1909. In reality, after the publication of an appeal for unity with African Americans signed by Du Bois and some white liberals, a meeting was held in New York from May 30 to June 1, 1909, which resulted in the formation of this organization the N.N.C.P (Franklin 445)

The earlier Niagara Movement embodied all of the NAACP's values, but it collapsed due to a lack of white members and the inability to form substantive links with other radical social movements. The five capital letters NAACP stood for millions of African Americans' willingness not to be happy with "second-class citizenship" (Berg 01).

In the early NAACP, whites and blacks were far from agreeing on policies, plans, and methods for reversing the troubling pattern of re-enslavement of blacks. However, there was a clear consensus that racial segregation should be challenged openly and consistently, and that the NAACP should vigorously pursue this goal. The key attack came through the courts, as it was important to eliminate a large network of legal sanctions before affirmative economic, political, and social inclusion for Negroes could proceed. The second line of action, which was closely similar to the first, focused on the study and public awareness of American Negro oppression. Du Bois was especially well-equipped for this program, and he deserves much of the credit for bringing the worsening condition of the black one-tenth of the population to the attention of both the American and international public (Pak).

The NAACP released its official mission statement in 1911:

To promote equality of rights and to eradicate caste or race prejudice among the citizens of the United States; to advance the interest of colored citizens; to secure for them impartial suffrage; and to increase their opportunities for securing justice in the courts, education for the children, employment according to their ability and complete equality before law.
(Hasday 09)

Despite the fact that Du Bois was the only African American on the executive board at the time (he was named Director of Publicity and Research in 1910), his involvement had a significant influence on the company. Indeed, Du Bois edited *The Crisis*, the official

journal of the NAACP, to provide news stories on race issues as well as innovative writing by African Americans (Berg 01).

Eventually, the NAACP had no fundamental disagreements with the American economic and political system. It used the values of equality and individualism to justify its demands for the removal of racially restrictive barriers and for people to be judged on their merits rather than their skin color. It required white people to follow the constitution and the Bill of Rights. The principles of due process and equal protection of the laws were upheld by court rulings in its favor, however small, piecemeal, and intermittent they were (Berg 01).

2.3.3. Du Bois Literature

Du Bois' principal aim in his polemics was to oppose racism, and he spoke out against lynching and discrimination in education and employment. His cause included coloured people from all over the world, especially Africans and Asians in colonial settings. Du Bois' seminal work, *The Souls of Black Folk*, a compilation of 14 articles, was released in 1903. That book was a work of sociology rather than fiction; because, He gave a description of the consciousness of black people who struggled to be both American and Negroes (Oakes 114).

Moreover, he wrote three novels of his *Black Flame* which had a relationship with the study of America (High 212). Du Bois claims in his book *Dusk of Dawn* (1903) that he was born with “a torrent of Negro blood, a strain of French, a smidgeon of Dutch but, thank God, no Anglo-Saxon” (114). He believed that the race problem was a result of ignorance and he was determined to get as much knowledge as he could.

2.4. The W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington Contradiction

Despite the efforts of Booker T. Washington and other black leaders to improve the lives of their brothers, brutality against African Americans remained common, lynching increased, bigotry was prevalent, and African Americans remained overwhelmingly disenfranchised and excluded from white-dominated American society. Despite their official liberation, African-Americans were not completely recognized as citizens of the United States. This, according to Du Bois, demonstrated the ineffectiveness of black leaders' dreams for improving their race's conditions, as well as the failure of their protest tactics. Du Bois was skeptical of Washington's industrial education doctrine, recognition of segregation, the Blacks' temporary renunciation of their civil rights, and their lack of participation in politics. In reality, Washington's skepticism quickly developed into a strong opposition to him, as he was the most powerful black leader up until the turn of the twentieth century (Richardson 06).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the two black leaders, Booker T Washington and WE.B Du Bois and his colleagues were arguing vehemently about the best path for the growth of the Negro race. In spite of this, they both agreed that the way African Americans were integrated into legislative and social life would have an irreversible impact on America in the twentieth century. Their strategies differed in some important respects for obtaining greater political power and social equality.

In his “accommodation hypothesis”, Booker T. Washington played up vocation and self-help rather than political power. Institutions were used as weapons by the “whites”, African-Americans would always be reliant on “the white majority” to protect them against attacks by “the white majority”. Meanwhile, the white majority would be more prosperous. It’s like paying the Mafia to keep you safe from the Mafia (Zeringue 10).

Self-Help philosophy was more in accordance with individualism. Washington believed in the proverb that a rising tide raises all ships. This implies, the economic power would be increased because of the practice of individualism and that would lead to benefits for African-Americans inside the American system.

Washington is frequently said to be the more 'practical' of the two thinkers, owing to his notable public statements and leadership roles (Bilal). Consider his speech at the Atlanta Exposition, in which he said, "In all things social, we can be as different as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things important to mutual growth"(Moore 01-03).

Washington urged blacks to accept discrimination for the time being and focus on evolving themselves through business and technical education. He saw that blacks should build up to where they were, they might not be in the best place, but if they worked hard with whatever they were doing, they all could be successful. He thought that this process would win the respect of the whites and would lead blacks to be accepted as citizens.

W.E.B. Du Bois, on the other hand, knew that African-Americans could not secure their economic achievements without the support of the state; if the state tolerated (or even promoted) racist theft of the Black community, then economic power could not be built. According to W. E. B. Du Bois, agitation was an important aspect of a correct response to racism and white supremacy (Green 106). Du Bois was the opposite of what Washington wanted; he wanted justice for African Americans. He supported political actions and civil rights rather than peace.

The "Agitation Hypothesis" of Du Bois was effective, but it was limited. Indeed, his strategy differed from Washington's in the following ways:

On all fronts, there was a constant and open fight against the Jim Crow rule (political, economic, propaganda, art & culture, etc.) (Bauerlein107).

The only realistic approach seemed to be the development and harnessing of the “Talented Tenth”, it appeared to be revolutionary ⁴. Moreover Du Bois declared, “It is industrialism drunk with its own vision of success, to imagine that its own work can be accomplished without providing for the training of broadly cultured men and ladies to show its own teachers and to show the teachers of the general public schools”(Washington, et al 15-27). He accused Washington of not understanding that these black elite were the key to Tuskegee’s success.

The concept of the Talented Tenth was misunderstood. In an exceedingly nutshell, W. E. B. Du Bois desired African-American leadership that might provide general guidance on issues affecting African-American (and more widely African) interests (i.e., education, economic, social) (Bauerlein107).

In other words, Du Bois argued that social change in the black community would be accomplished by the protest and development of a group of college-educated blacks called "Talented Tenth". However, it was revolutionary in nature and would work to dismantle the inequity system.

Du Bois benefited greatly from the changing circumstances in the country; for example, the decline of European imperialism, the nice Migration, a much educated Black population (due in large part to Booker T. Washington) .In addition to the Communist threat from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (among other factors) began to mix, weakening the Jim Crow government and making it easier for Du Bois to implement his strategies (Ramgotra and Choat 05).

Du Bois claimed that Washington was "the leader of not one race, but two" because he helped "the South, the North, and also the Negro" (Heintze 8-9) reach an agreement. He

⁴ The talented tenth is a term that was created by white Northern philanthropists which specified the leadership class of African descendant Americans at the beginning of the 20th century .Then, W.E.B.Du Bois published an essay by the same name in 1903("The Talented Tenth").

was correct in remarking that blacks benefited the smallest amount from the agreement (the Atlanta Compromise 1895). Still, Du Bois said that “Mr. Washington has experienced the sharpest and most sustained hostility, reaching from time to time to bitterness” among blacks, he exaggerated his case (Du Bois 515-516).

As previously reported, Washington saw the hard work as a key to achieve the balance between the two races in the American society. “Economic growth is that the foremost vital consider moving a race forward” (Bassett 119-120). On the other hand, Du Bois was against accumulating money. He objected to attention on material growth, which he believed would degrade the soul. In *Dusk of Dawn*, Du Bois wrote, “my own panacea of earlier days was the event of a Talented Tenth; but the power of this aristocracy of talent was to consist its intellect and character, not in its wealth” (271).

Du Bois emphasized the importance of race consciousness and pride and encouraged his brothers to believe in their own abilities to advance their race. He believed that the Negro race issue was a problem that affected all black people, not only African Americans. He wrote: “The problems of the American Negro must be thought of and settled only with continual relevance the problems of the American Negroes, the problems of the French Negroes and also English Negroes, and particularly of the African Negroes”(Rogers 156).

Despite that, lots of historians believe that Du Bois had superior ideas, may be because he simply grew up in an exceedingly far more favorable atmosphere than Washington. Du Bois was mostly active within the North, while Washington was mostly active within the southern area and right after slavery. Although it was evident that these two major African-American leaders shared a customary goal of assisting African-Americans in gaining their independence and civil freedoms, their techniques differed. Washington believed in white supremacy’s submission, while Du Bois chose to fight with

his political method. Therefore, many black business owners and entrepreneurs were more inclined to consider Washington's ideas (Zeringue 155).

On the opposite hand, the Liberal blacks, Pan Africanists, numerous members of the black intelligentsia, and socialists were all ideological successors of W. E. B. Du Bois. Washington had entirely fallen out of favor by 1913 when Woodrow Wilson's presidency began. Thus, he stayed at the Tuskegee Institute until his death on November 14, 1915, from congestive failure. As for Du Bois, who traveled to Ghana, after a presidential invitation where he died on August 27, 1963 (Zeringue 156).

2.5. Conclusion

After Reconstruction Era, African Americans merged in American society and wanted a brand new life under justice and equivalence to the whites. Their revolt against racism to get their full right and equality in American society started with a series of non-violent movements led by great leaders. Whether they were called conservatives (like Washington), radicals (like Du Bois), they were known for their different methods but their purpose was identical. Both of them wanted to ameliorate the position of the Blacks and restore their dignity.

General Conclusion

Despite the abolishment of slavery in 1865, Afro-Americans were not considered human beings in the white Americans' view; they saw them as a work machine. Black Americans suffered from bad treatment and indirect slavery exemplified in segregation laws that separated them from the whites and kept them isolated with no rights. That was what pushed the black American leaders to struggle against various obstacles with the aim to get their civil rights and freedom as any other white citizen.

During the same era of post-reconstruction, America knew two black American leaders, who were Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. The fact that their literary works were documented the type of relationship among them, made these two leaders more attractive. It is rare when we have the ability to follow a relationship between two historical figures by reading about the said relationship from the figures themselves. Despite their different backgrounds, both had the same dream: to free African Americans from economic slavery and social deprivation. They wanted rights and prosperity for the Negroes; they offered interesting perspectives on the Negro issue. If they were met in different circumstances (as sharing the same philosophy), they probably would have continued working together and perhaps they could have achieved greater things compared to what they have done on their own.

As a result of the different repairs from both leaders, the problem of racism toward black people has decreased. Black Americans had a better chance of living with whites in a regular setting. However, racism is still a problem that manifests itself in the attitudes, values, and morals of many white residents.

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