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THE CRISIS OF DEMOCRACY IN A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY:
A GENEALOGY OF W.E.B.DU BOIS' DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS

By

Rieko Tomisawa

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of American Studies

2003

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ABSTRACT

THE CRISIS OF DEMOCRACY IN A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY: A GENEALOGY OF W.E.B. DU BOIS' DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS

By

Rieko Tomisawa

The present study considers the multi-layered meanings of W.E.B. Du Bois' concept of double consciousness. It establishes a genealogy of the concept by examining how the discourses of double consciousness are embedded in a wide variety of texts and how those function over time. Du Bois' concept involves observation of the past, prognosis for the future, and counter discourses to the oppressive discourses of his time. This dissertation traces threads of the genealogy from the early nineteenth-century to the early twenty first century. The dissertation argues that the concept emerges from African American experience generally and is inseparable from pragmatic tactics for overcoming oppression. His emphasis on having multiple perspectives as an advantage, the active stance of African Americans, and the problems and solutions illustrated in double consciousness, also exist in other social problems. Du Bois' education of both African American and non-African American readers about what the

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refusal of democracy means is significant for contemporary experience. This dissertation contributes to the scholarship on American Studies, cultural studies, Du Bois, African American Studies, American intellectual history, philosophy, literature, and film studies.

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RIEKO TOMISAWA
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To my family, friends, and all of
my important people

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altitude.

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my gratitude.

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INTRODUCTION. . .

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INTRODUCTION. . .

PHOTOGRAPHY . . .

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.	1
CHAPTER 1: DEFINITION OF DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS.	18
CHAPTER 2: DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS AS SOLUTION: AN AFRICAN AMERICAN PEOPLE'S PHILOSOPHY.	59
CHAPTER 3: DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS DISCOURSE BEFORE 1897.	86
Chapter 4: HISTORICAL CONTEXTS: CONDITION FOR A COUNTER DISCOURSE.	137
CHAPTER 5: INTELLECTUAL DISCOURSE OF DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS	162
CHAPTER 6: DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS DISCOURSE IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS ERA.	214
CHAPTER 7: DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS DISCOURSE IN FILM AND LITERATURE.	299
CONCLUSION.	333
BIBLIOGRAPHY	345

INTRODUCTION

W.E.B. Du Bois, African American sociologist, historian, philosopher, and commentator on race issues first introduced his signature concept, "Double Consciousness," in 1897. Double consciousness is popularly known as African Americans' unique psychological condition in the U.S. in which one grasps a self image partly through others' perspective toward him or her. Throughout most of the history of the United States the concept signifies a psychological condition in which one's consciousness belongs to two kinds of "races," African Americans and European Americans. Now at the beginning of the 21st century, more than one hundred years has passed and social conditions have changed. Although the society has changed, Du Bois' concept has survived and has been widely influential in studies of social relations and artistic representations.

Originally, Du Bois formulated this concept in a particular situation surrounding African-Americans from Reconstruction to the turn of the century, although the concept existed in fragmentary forms among African Americans much earlier. Du Bois argues that African Americans have had to cope with oppression and discrimination since before the creation of the nation,

leaving them with the problem of constructing a "truer self" than has been possible in the past.

Other scholars have noted the durability and significance of Du Bois' logic. Randall Kennan points out the "complexity" of Du Bois' concept (xxxii). Historians David W. Blight and Robert Gooding-Williams point out "a complex, tragic, and deeply compelling vision of the fate of black folk in America" in *Souls of Black Folks* where Du Bois elaborates the concept of double consciousness (1). Eric Sundquist identifies an "ambiguity" in Du Bois' concept of race, saying that "race is a concept of great ambiguity and power in Du Bois' thought—the power, one could say, deriving precisely from the ambiguity" (5). Keith E. Byerman argues that the concept is "richly ambiguous" (15). And, in *Souls*, Du Bois himself demonstrates these points as one of his own ways of writing: "I have sought here to sketch, in vague, uncertain outline, the spiritual world in which ten thousand thousand Americans live and strive" (1).

In fact, Du Bois seems to define double consciousness in several different ways in *Souls*. The multi-layered character of double consciousness not only expresses the complexity or difficulty of race issues, but also produces various implications, messages, and readers' interpretations. In other words, multiple layers have enabled this concept to be flexible and to transform itself in order to explain different historical

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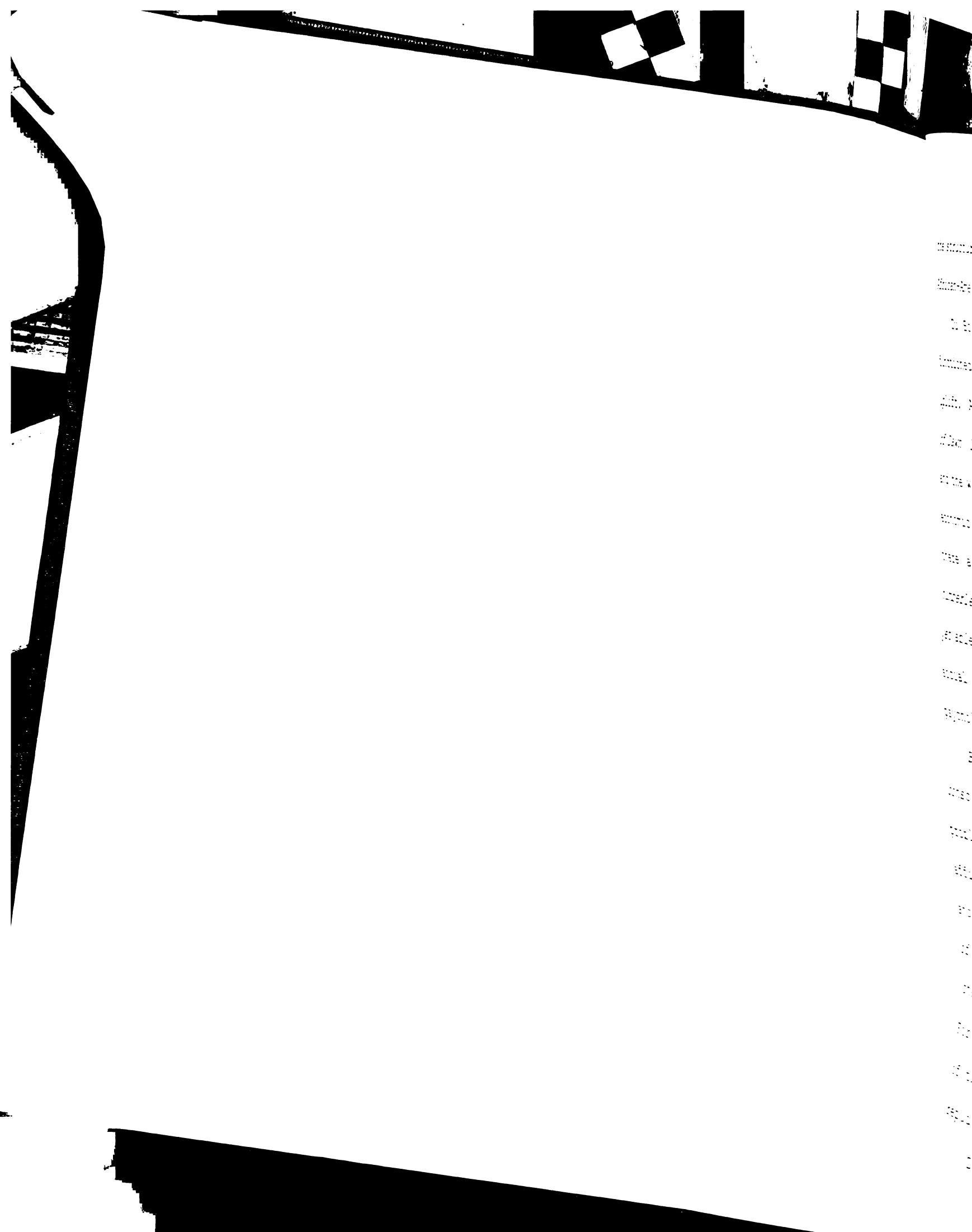
So we need to consider this concept in some detail in order to grasp all its implications. In a "Forethought" of *Souls*, Du Bois suggests that we "receive my little book in all charity, studying my words with me, forgiving mistake and foible for sake of the faith and passion that is in me, and seeking the grain of truth hidden there" (1). As Du Bois promotes the readers' consideration of the meaning of his words, we need to reconsider his sense of double consciousness in the hidden truth. The purpose of the present study is to explore the multifaceted definition of double consciousness, its fragmentary emergence in earlier and later discourses, and how it worked or functioned before, around and after 1897.

Many people have discussed the concept. Some have tried to find thinkers who presented similar concepts before Du Bois first introduced the concept. Hegel and Frederick Douglas have been taken up as two of these thinkers. Sandra Adell has explored how Hegel's philosophy influences the Du Bois' concept and David W. Blight points out the dilemma of having "twoness"—double identity—in a common link between Douglass and Du Bois. Dickson D. Bruce Jr. and others have pointed out precursors in literary and medical sources. Some scholars such

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as John Thomas Askew Cobb have regarded the concept as a solution (or prescription) for the problem that African Americans face in the United States. Finally, some have emphasized the dilemma of being an American and a black in Du Bois' sense as one of the universal themes of African American novels. Why has the concept continued to be significant? What implications does the concept have? Do we really understand the connotations of the concept in Du Bois' sense? Has the original meaning of the concept survived or changed over time? Can we apply this concept to the context of the contemporary multicultural situation and that of the 21st century, to the case of other "race" and ethnic groups, and to the case of other kinds of conflict? If the concept has been modified according to historical contexts, or functioned differently in each era, how does this occur ?

These conditions give rise to a number of questions discussed in the course of this study. I regard the concept not as one influenced or formulated by earlier or contemporary thinkers, but as an intersection of multiple discourses around 1897. Du Bois' concept engages those discourses and at the same time presents his counter discourses to the existing dominant discourses. Du Bois also introduces the concept as a slogan that would enable those who feel oppression to challenge several different kinds of dominant discourses. He weaves his messages for readers into the concept, providing the means to help explain



the structure of social relations surrounding the problems of African-Americans in the United States.

Du Bois' illustration of the psychological mechanism functioned in pragmatic ways, principally as a prescription for uplift. As Du Bois himself says in his autobiographical *Dusk of Dawn* (1940), "I wanted to explain the difficulties of race and the ways in which these difficulties caused political and economic troubles" (54), and in *Souls* that "We feel and know that there are many delicate differences in race psychology, numberless changes that our crude social measurements are not yet able to follow minutely, which explain much of history and social development" (134), he argues that the analysis of psychological conditions would provide keys for social change.

Because of the famous "twoness" argument of Du Bois' double consciousness, many scholars have argued that Du Bois' problematization of African-Americans' experience compelled affiliation with two racial identities--African and American--and of their separated selves. Many have regarded the "merging" of two identities as Du Bois' solution. But I argue that Du Bois' characteristic solution, synthesizing, means more than that. For example, Du Bois' "merging" relates both to his promotion of the simultaneous realization of several ideals and to his repudiation of gradualism as a means to democracy.

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psychological mechanism, "second sight," in which one sees oneself through others' gaze. Du Bois warned that this mechanism deprives African Americans of self-esteem and their loss of pride would result in a loss of their ability to acquire basic rights they deserve. This psychological mechanism is directly related to the creation of blacks' plight historically, and results in lowering blacks' ideals. At the same time, however, this seemingly metaphysical concept directly relates to the resolution of problems that African Americans have experienced in the United States.

Few scholars have explored the concept of double consciousness in terms of other kinds of conflict. I argue that the concept of double consciousness is not limited to "racial" issues, but includes ethnicity, class, and gender. Double consciousness discourse and Du Bois proposed solutions for race issues comprehend other kinds of conflict. In the famous first paragraphs of *the Souls of Black Folks*, Du Bois declared:

HEREIN LIE buried many things which if read with patience may show the strange meaning of being black here in the dawning of the Twentieth Century. This meaning is not without interest to you, Gentle Reader; for the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line (*Souls* 1).

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The methodology of this study is a multidisciplinary one. In terms of self/other or the construction of identity, I draw on Michel Foucault's concept of discourse and genealogy as well as other works on discourse and subjectivity. In his definition, genealogy suggests continuity and discontinuity of the discourses that make up evidences of the past. I investigate various representations and concepts relevant to Du Bois' concept not only in philosophical or academic writings, but also in those found in various sources such as novels and films. I also work with earlier discourses that were part of the African American community of expression. The dissertation focuses on the ways in which Du Bois' concept enters into narrative structures, images, concepts and the construction of subjectivity. This means that I will not necessarily do a thorough analysis of each text, but that I will be interested in how elements of certain kinds of texts are drawn into conflicts that Du Bois recognized as double consciousness. The examples, then, are meant to illustrate selected discourses over time rather than to assume that the discourses are stable in particular texts.

Since the purpose of this study is to establish genealogy

of double consciousness and its fragmentary implications or messages, the first two chapters explore the definitions of Du Bois' concept around 1897 as a culminating stage. Chapters 3 to 5 identify elements of the discourse prior to Du Bois and at the time he was working out the concept.

Some researchers have pointed out that Du Bois defined double consciousness in several different ways in *The Souls of Black Folks*. In order to find various implication of this concept, in Chapter 1 I look into the definition of double consciousness in *the Souls of Black Folks*, in other books and writings around the turn of the century and in his later writings in order to find how the concept changed or was modified in relation to change in the historical context. I draw on *Darkwater* (1920), *Dusk of Dawn* (1940), *ABC of Color* (1963), *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois* (1968), and selected essays. I also consider double consciousness in terms of other conflicts such as gender and class.

Du Bois' core definitions of double consciousness are blacks' double identity and the existence of a white gaze as an element in people's psychological makeup. The polar construction of identity in African American psychology always functions to tear at his/her identity. The white gaze is defined as an oppressive power that sees blacks as "others," and deprives them of self-respect, opportunity (of self-development and

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employment), and even basic political rights. Through the illustration of these mechanisms, Du Bois turns seemingly disadvantageous possession of blacks' "second-sight"—internalization of others' views toward him/her—into blacks' advantage of having multiple perspectives. He advocates the retention of these two identities and perspectives as distinct conditions in creating a better identity by "merging" the two. Du Bois argues that one of the two identities—Africanness—reveals blacks' active stance at uplifting, and emphasizes that its "message for the world" plays a significant political role. Also, Du Bois emphasizes how the complexity of race consciousness produces difficulty in such practical aspects of the lives of African Americans as economy and politics.

Chapter 1 considers how thinkers developed Du Bois' concept in later times. I explore African American philosopher, Cornel West's *"Race and Modernity"* (1982), a French philosopher, Jean-Paul Sartre's *Being and Nothingness* (1965), a French philosopher, Gilles Deleuze's concepts, "in-between-ness," "becomings" in *Dialogue* (1977), and an Algerian theorist of the African struggle for liberation, Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967). Fanon's illustration of "comparison"—blacks' view of themselves through others' views toward them is close to Du Bois' illustration of second-sight. Sartre's notion of "my being-for-others" also signifies that our existences are

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the "slave" of others' gaze toward us. This is related to Du Bois' "the eyes of others" discourse. Sartre's emphasis on the importance of "choice"—having an active stance—and Du Bois' idea of escape from passive existence and of having eyes to see ourselves are similar.

Chapter 2 focuses on double consciousness as means to a solution for problems that African Americans had experienced in the U.S. He formulated and introduced the solution to both whites and blacks. What whites should do, Du Bois argues, is to modify their perspective. What Du Bois criticizes primarily is their becoming bystanders or onlookers of blacks' plight. Based on his belief that what African Americans suffer is not their problem but an American problem, Du Bois urged white Americans to grapple with the common theme between them and to promote equality among human beings. He also explains how disadvantageous conditions imposed historically on blacks helped construct a lie—the myth of alleged inferiority—and how its effect on blacks' psychology and lives is damaging. On the other hand, Du Bois argues that possible solutions involve understanding oneself, trust in self-value, understanding the mechanism of self-degradation that white hegemony imposes, establishing "true self-consciousness," and standing up to oppressive power. As counter measures to oppressive power, Du Bois advocates the importance of education, but recognizes that

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blacks' efforts do not fully solve problems. Whites' cooperation, understanding, and respect of blacks enable Americans to realize democracy.

In chapter 3 I discuss ideas relevant to the concept prior to the time Du Bois was writing in order to deepen the significance and implications of the concept and to find what earlier discourses contributed to it. This chapter also explores the double consciousness discourse in terms of class, gender, and cross-cultural identity. In terms of African American/race discourse, I will examine such works as those of an American black abolitionist, David Walker's (1785-1830) *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* (1829), an African American leader and intellectual of the 19th century, Frederick Douglass' (1818-1895) *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845) and *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855), and other discourses. As a complement to these texts I consider comparatively "anonymous" slave narratives, written by several women. In terms of cross-cultural subjectivity formation, I will include William Apess' (1798-1838) writings such as *The Increase of the Kingdom of Christ: A Sermon and the Indians: The Ten Lost Tribes* (1831). Some scholars have discussed the relationship between several of these narratives and Du Bois' concept. For example, David W. Blight points out that the dilemma of having double aims is the common theme for both Du

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Bois and Douglass. Patricia Felisa Barbeito regards the compelling symbiosis of different natures (personalities) of Linda Brent, the protagonist of Harriet Jacob's slave narrative—a devoted mother and sexual victim of her slave master—as an example of Du Bois' concept. But I argue that in power relations between slave masters and slaves, slaves actively made use of the power of the gaze in Du Bois's sense in order to escape from slavery or from their masters' violation of them. This is what Du Bois advocated and fits his "message for the world" which is the notification of injustice to the broader world. Du Bois' double selves or theories of fluid identity were also found in these narratives. For example, Frederic Douglass is aware of his self under slavery and discusses it after he has escaped. He uses the multiple perspective (past one and present one) as crucial data to come up with a solution. This fits Du Bois' emphasis on the advantage of having multiple identities and perspectives. These narratives show that the relation between oppressive power and the oppressed in double consciousness occurs in terms of gender, class, and cross-cultural aspects.

In Chapter 4, I examine the historical context of the Reconstruction era and the turn of the 20th century conditions of the U.S. and the South. I analyze the dominant discourses that led Du Bois to present counter discourses found in his work.

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In the time of prosperity of materialism and industrialization of the nation, the freed blacks confronted a new kind of plight which Du Bois calls "the second slavery." Southern whites tried to prevent blacks from voting, blocked their first class citizenship as Americans, and deprived them of political rights. Lynching and the rise of Ku Klux Klan were outrages suffered by blacks. The principles of Booker T. Washington reflect dominant white discourse that attempted to induce blacks to give up various rights. Du Bois resisted Washington's policy, and advocated the need to demand full rights, opportunities to develop talents fully, and to pursue jobs in the areas of culture.

Chapter 5 examines academic and other intellectual discourses around the turn of the 20th century such as Social Darwinism and Pragmatism. I argue that the rise of new academic disciplines such as anthropology and psychology characterized the era's intellectual production, and trends incorporating Social Darwinism formed discourses which help to justify white supremacy, absolutism, Americanism, and oppression of blacks and immigrants. One of the counter discourses to those discourses was pluralism, and Du Bois' affirmation of democracy, of the equality of all human beings, of blacks' capacity for complex identity and perspective, and of blacks' acquisition of full citizenship, were among the discourses. Du Bois made use

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of the rise of science as a tool to prove that the various negative myths about blacks are lies, and this was the basis of his formulation of double consciousness. The rise of empirical psychology paved the way for the exploration of the complexity of human minds and informed Du Bois' theory of the psychological mechanism of African Americans. The problem of having double selves was considered by William James and his solution—combining split selves—provides a significant background for aspects of Du Bois' formulation of double consciousness. The importance of choice advocated by James and Du Bois' promotion of active and independent black perspectives are complementary discourses. But above all pragmatist discourse in the era is consistent with Du Bois' promotion of solutions through double consciousness.

In Chapter 6, I explore if or how the double consciousness discourse existed or functioned in black leaders' political discourses. I focus mainly on the Civil Rights era, and examine speeches, autobiographies and essays of Martin Luther King, jr. and Malcolm X. Although King and Malcolm have been regarded as representatives of different political perspectives (integrationist and separatist), I found that as black leaders of a crucial time in African American history both confronted the themes which Du Bois had illustrated in the concept of double consciousness around the turn of the century. Also, their ideas,

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views of white Americans, definitions of blacks' selfhood and solutions show several common points and agree on Du Bois' sense of double consciousness. Among those, Du Bois' emphasis on the importance of blacks' having self-respect as the practical solution for acquiring civil rights was emphasized by both King and Malcolm X. Du Bois' sense of "the veil"—the division between black and white worlds which tears at blacks' psychology and selfhood—was expressed as such in King's perception of segregation in the South and in Malcolm's perception of his teacher's disregard of the fair merit system. Under the existence of the veil, King proposed the blacks and whites' side-by-side society model, and Malcolm proposed blacks' separation from the white society. Both emphasized that these solutions are not forced by whites, but result from active choice. For example, King argues that blacks should be at the head of the march of blacks and whites—a metaphor of an integrated society. This solution fits Du Bois' promotion of active choice or leadership in overcoming the negative influence of the white gaze on their inner psychology and the conduct of their actual lives in society. Also, they emphasized Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of others" discourse—whites' oppression, ignorance, pity, and contempt of blacks in various ways and forms. But the times in which they lived also offered them the possibility of manipulating the white gaze. The expansion of media in the

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1950's and 1960's became the significant tool for King, Malcolm, and ordinary blacks to transmit Du Bois' sense of "the message for the world"—blacks' notification of injustice in the U.S. and voice to demand justice, freedom, and pride. Herman Gray and David J. Garrow discuss the relationship between media development and the Civil Rights Movement, but the present study examines the relationship between black leaders' and black people's uses of media and Du Bois' double consciousness. This use of media also expresses Du Bois' sense of blacks' active participation in efforts to overcome oppression.

In Chapter 7, I show how the concept as well as discourses and images relevant to the concept have survived in literary and film texts after 1903 and how double consciousness is embedded in texts. In doing this, I discuss double consciousness discourse not only in terms of race, but also in terms of other kinds of conflict such as class, gender, and cross-cultural conflicts. In the analysis of visual images, I do not focus on analysis of the directors' intention of constructing themes. Rather, I focus on how the construction of images and discourses frame and limit audience perceptions. Many studies have explored race consciousness in visual images. Michael Harris analyzes stereotypical images of blacks in paintings. Donald Bogle and others discuss stereotypes in film and television. Some have explored double consciousness in film texts by

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analysis of plot. For example, James C. McKelly takes up "two-ness" in Spike Lee's film *Do the Right Thing*. But there is still much to be done in the analysis of double consciousness discourse in terms of its visual construction. I have found that Deleuze's concepts of sensory-motor-circuits and other aspects of movement-images are helpful in examining the functions of discourse.

As for African-American discourse, I examine black independent movie director, Oscar Micheaux's *Within Our Gates* (1919), Clarence Muse's *Broken Strings* (1940), Toni Morrison's *BeLoved* (1988), Spike Lee's films, *Jungle Fever* (1991) and *Bamboozled* (2000), and John Singleton's *Boyz N' the Hood* (1991). In the discourse of mixed race (mainly the "passing" issue), I discuss Nella Larsen's novels, *Passing* (1929) and *Quicksands* (1924), James Weldon Johnson's *The Autobiography of An Ex-Colored Man* (1927), and two versions of a film, *Imitation of Life* (1934) and (1959). I consider how the concept has survived in forms of other kinds of conflict such as class conflict in various literary and film texts, including *The Great Gatsby* (1924), *The Jazz Singer* (1927), and Korean American, Chang-Rae Lee's novel on the assimilation issue, *Native Speaker* (1995). This discussion allows me to explore the ways in which the discourses of double consciousness clarify situations of social conflict.

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Chapter 1 Definition of Double Consciousness

In this chapter I will explore the possible definitions of the concept, its implications, and messages in his autobiographical writing, *The Souls of Black Folks* in which Du Bois originally presented this concept and elsewhere in order to grasp its layered design.¹ The chapter will also address the ambiguity and complexity of the concept found in Du Bois' writings such as his later autobiographies, *Darkwater* (1920), *Dusk of Dawn* (1940), and *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois* (1968) and essays such as "The Conservation of Races" (1897), "Credo" (1904), and "The Frank Truth" (1905). The notion of "double consciousness" is discussed throughout *The Souls of Black Folks*, especially in chapter 1, "Of Our Spiritual Strivings," where the notion is introduced for the first time in the book. Du Bois notes that African Americans are:

born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world.

It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's

¹ *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) is a collection of Du Bois' writings that had been published before 1903. The original draft of the chapter 1 of *Soul*, "Strivings of the Negro People," was published as an article of *Atlantic Monthly* in 1897 and revised as chapter 1 of *Souls*. As Eric Sundquist explains, Du Bois had kept revising *The Souls of Black Folk* through 1953 (97).

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self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder (*Souls* 5).

Many researchers quote this section as the definitive statement that directly explains the concept for the first time. But in order to find Du Bois' messages contained in the concept, we should pay attention to the succeeding part as well:

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro souls in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face (*Souls* 5).

In these two quotations, Du Bois explains the psychological dilemma of African Americans and hints at the promise, at what they have hoped and needed so far historically. On the other hand, the following part explains what needs to be done. In

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other words, after explaining basic notions of double consciousness in the former two paragraphs, Du Bois puts up a concrete motto for the improving blacks' conditions: "to be a coworker in the kingdom of culture, to escape both death and isolation, to husband and use his best powers and his latent genius" (*Souls* 5). From these accounts, we can see that his description of the concept of double consciousness focusing on blacks' identity and psychological mechanism was a preliminary move to provide a practical prescription for uplifting blacks, and for improving economic and political conditions. In this sense, Du Bois' use of psychological and philosophical illustrations in the concept of double consciousness is a pragmatic tactic for presenting solutions to ongoing political and economic problems. Although Chapter 1 of *Souls* explains the concept of double consciousness in various ways, these passages are the core parts that explain implications and messages contained in the concept of double consciousness.

As Du Bois recollected the time from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century in his autobiographical writing, *Dusk of Dawn* (1940), "I wanted to explain the difficulties of race and the ways in which these difficulties caused political and economic troubles" (54). In his teaching years (from 1894 to 1910), the cause and effect relationship between race and these troubles was one of the main

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themes (54). Also, he confronts the need for presenting the complexity of race for non-blacks. In this senses, the psychological mechanism as an example of "the difficulties of race" and "the end of strivings" are discussed together in the introduction of double consciousness.

In Du Bois' observation, one of the reasons for "the difficulties of race" is "twoness"—a double identities structure, of African-Americans. One pattern of the double identities problems is the "second-sight" function of the concept. Among several definitions, what Du Bois primarily mentions and directly calls "double consciousness" is the psychological mechanism in which an African American has "no true self-consciousness" and sees himself "through the revelation of the other world." Du Bois calls this reverse sight "second-sight" and repeatedly explains its mechanism by paraphrasing. In this definition, the "double self" signifies the existence of "the eyes of others" in one person's mind. The subjectivity is defined as the object of the white gaze—"the eyes of others."

Second-sight, "the eyes of others" functions in various ways. One of the functions concerns the social milieu. Du Bois considered that blacks have a sense of being outsiders in American society. In his double consciousness model, his self is always excluded by the other self—the white gaze toward him.

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In Chapter 1 of *Souls*, Du Bois laments the inequality of opportunity after he received the devastating impact from his discovery of difference in his childhood:

Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger
in mine own house? The shades of the prison-house
closed round about us all: walls strait and stubborn
to the whitest, but relentlessly narrow, tall, and
unscalable to sons of night who must plod darkly on in
resignation, or beat unavailing palms against the
stone, or steadily, half hopelessly, watch the streak
of blue above (*Souls* 5).

Double consciousness is the internalization of the view of the black and white relationship in American society shown in this passage. As he is determined to be an outsider in his own house (America), his self as a black is regarded as an outsider from "the eyes of others"—white gaze in his own psychology. This example shows that the double consciousness concept is not just an abstract metaphor or psychological trait, but portrays the social structure. The "American world" that "yields him no true self-consciousness" signifies black alienation in America where he or she resides. Later in *Dusk of Dawn* (1940), Du Bois argued:

In the folds of this European civilization I was born
and shall die, imprisoned, conditioned, depressed,
exalted and inspired. Integrally a part of it and yet,
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who expressed in life and action and made vocal to many, a single whirlpool of social entanglement and inner psychological paradox, which always seem to me more significant for the meaning of the world today than other similar and related problems (*Dusk* 301).

Cornel West interprets this black identity model in "Race and Modernity" (1982) as follows: "For Du Bois, the dialectic of black self-recognition oscillated between being in America but not of it, from being black natives to black aliens" (*The Cornel West Reader* 58).

The Souls of Black Folks was published about forty years after Emancipation. Freed blacks became Americans literally, but they did not receive political rights as white Americans did. For example, they received suffrage and civil rights once, but those rights were restricted immediately. Also, new kinds of prejudice against blacks emerged.² In this sense, blacks did not become substantial Americans, but were marginalized in the society. The concept signifies conditions that still marginalized them while they bridged two kinds of communities. David B. Blight and Robert Gooding-Williams note that "For Du Bois, the refusal of whites to recognize black Americans' humanity and culture has resulted, first, in whites seeing blacks as strangers and, second, in the tendency of blacks to

² I will discuss in detail in Chapter 4 and 5.

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As his declaration of the "end of striving" also shows, blacks confront the possibility in which they would be isolated from both white and black society. In Du Bois' view, as far as the alternative to choose—either blacks or whites—exists, blacks are outsiders. In other words, gaze also signifies whites' stance as bystander or onlooker of all conditions surrounding blacks and their plight. Du Bois' definition of "the eyes of others" which "look on" blacks signifies this spectatorship. Du Bois problematizes whites' bystander perspective, as when a white man asks him, "How do you feel to be a problem?" (3) This signifies that whites have constructed blacks as "others." Although blacks and whites live in the same land, whites do not see blacks as their own folks.

Chapter 3 of *Souls* starts with epigraph written by Byron:

From birth till death enslaved; in word, in deed,
unmanned! Hereditary bondsmen! Know ye not
Who would be free themselves must strike the blow?
(*Souls* 36)

In this chapter on the accommodationist discourses of "Booker T. Washington and Others," Du Bois explains that "the eyes of others" "enslave" and "unman" blacks. Du Bois points out "the emasculating effects of caste distinctions" (*Souls* 50). The

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need for blacks to "strike the blow" represents a reason for Du Bois to present his counter discourse to the contemporary dominant discourse, and his advocacy of resistance against accommodationist discourses. Du Bois shows how this white gaze causes blacks to distrust themselves. He also argues that "Seeing himself from the white world's perspective, Du Bois' American Negro views himself in a dark and false light, as if 'born with veil'" (*Souls* 11). In *the Souls of Black Folks*, Du Bois analyzes the kinds of discourses that circulate race issues. He finds white discourses that do not regard blacks as human beings. In the antebellum South,

the sincere and passionate belief that somewhere between men and cattle, God created a tertium quid, and called it a Negro,—a clownish, simple creature, at times even lovable within its limitations, but straitly foreordained to walk within the Veil. To be sure, behind the thought lurks the afterthought,—some of them with favoring chance might become men, but in sheer self defence was dare not let them, and we build about them walls so high, and hang between them and the light a veil so thick, that they shall not even think of breaking through (75).

On the other hand, the black side may not be able to resist this oppressive discourse and learns to accept white discourses.

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thought,—the thought of the things themselves, the confused, half-conscious matter of men who are black and whitened, crying "Liberty, Freedom, Opportunity—vouchsafe to us, O boastful World, the chance of living men!" To be sure, behind the thought lurks the afterthought,—suppose, after all, the World is right and we are less than men? Suppose this mad impulse within is all wrong, some mock mirage from the untrue? (*Souls* 75)

Du Bois does not mention directly the need to think about the meaning of the other's gaze on blacks, but, the nature of the gaze—"pity," "contempt"—reveals his concern about the negative effect on blacks' psychology.³

Not only as a psychological metaphor, but as a key to finding the discourse embedded in the reality surrounding African Americans, Du Bois' concept contained various implications of defining "the eyes of others." In 1968 Du Bois explains that the reason "he did not seek white acquaintances" was that "I wanted to meet my fellows as an equal; they offered or seemed to offer only a status of inferiority and submission" (*Autobiography* 283). In terms of a practical slogan, Du Bois wants to avoid "having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face" (*Souls* 5), and in "Credo" (1904) he defines a Devil as someone "who wantonly works to narrow the opportunity of

³ Dickson D. Bruce Jr., emphasizes Du Bois' metaphor as a practical one, arguing that Du Bois refers to "the real power of white stereotypes in black life and thought" and "the double consciousness created by the practical racism that excluded every black American from the mainstream of

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struggling human beings" (*Du Bois: A Reader* 105). This signifies a white gaze that attacks blacks' psychology and physical well-being. In its extreme form this gaze is associated with actual assaults and lynchings. Du Bois perceives that white discourse meticulously justifies discrimination of blacks as rational, and he urged opposition to this discourse.

In his view, the problem created for blacks is that "the eyes of others" is constructed with their psychology. In other words, in his model, blacks coexist with the perspective of other people toward them. Du Bois defines "the eyes of others" as an assessment device that hinders "true-self consciousness." Blacks are encouraged to regard the judgment of "the eyes of others" toward them as their own views.⁴ Since he defined "no true self-consciousness" as the condition in which America "only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world," the term "true-self consciousness" suggests that the condition in which people who can see or assess themselves without being influenced by others' views or assessment toward them results in "self-conscious manhood."

Du Bois' definition of gaze is complex. He presents not

the society" (301).

⁴ Many researchers reveal this interpretation of the concept. For example, Keith E. Bryerman argues an extreme position that blacks "are compelled to accept white definitions of their being" (15). Furthermore, "this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others" signifies "a lack of self-definition, a dependence on others for one's image," so that he problematizes the function of "the eyes of others" (15).

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only his direct accounts of double consciousness, but various definitions are scattered throughout his writings. Deprivation of blacks' knowledge is also a function of the gaze. *Souls* begins with reference to an "unasked question" between Du Bois and the other world. This "unasked question" is an effect of the gaze in double consciousness. In the beginning of *Souls*, white people ask various questions of Du Bois. The questions include silence. In this dialogue, Du Bois problematizes the structure that presents whites as questioner and blacks as questioned. Question/answer dialogue in this case signifies whites' unconscious contempt for and humiliation of blacks. Although Du Bois does not name this structure itself as humiliating, the fact that he brings this episode at the beginning of *Souls* signifies his problematization of this dialogue.

One of Du Bois' assertions in introducing the double consciousness concept is the necessity for blacks to escape from being assessed by whites. He thinks that establishing "true-self-consciousness" or having the ability to assess themselves would bring them liberation. This was important because prejudice was being rationalized as natural.

Men call the shadow prejudice, and learnedly explain it as the natural defense of culture against barbarism, learning against ignorance, purity against crime, the "higher" against the "lower" races (*Souls* 9-10).

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In "Frank Truth" Du Bois notes that the existence of prejudice in the society is dangerous for human minds:

It is wrong to introduce the child to race consciousness prematurely. It is dangerous to let that consciousness grow without intelligent guidance (*ABC of Color* 45).

Among several versions of whites' negative gaze toward blacks, Du Bois problematized whites' "pity" of blacks. Du Bois regards "pity," "compassion," or curiosity as problematic in the white gaze toward blacks because these values signify the whites' sense of supremacy. In terms of the effect of whites' views toward blacks, Du Bois thinks that "ignorance" has the worst effect on blacks, concluding that a significant problem African Americans confront is the problem of ignorance. True, African Americans suffered from "ignorance—not simply of illiteracy, but a deeper ignorance of the world and its ways, of the thought and experience of men; an ignorance of self and possibilities of human souls," but it was whites' ignorance that brought blacks' plight (*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 355).⁵ In "the Niagara Movement" (1906), he wrote, "Either the United States will destroy ignorance or ignorance will destroy the

⁵ Although Du Bois did not directly refer to the "ignorance" as "white gaze" in his introduction of the concept of double consciousness, "ignorance" is one of the main features which he takes up during the same period.

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United States" (*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 33).

As a result of degradation by the white gaze, a "Being black is shameful" discourse emerges. Du Bois warned of the possibility in which the effect of the second-sight on the inner psychology of African-Americans relates to their giving up acquisition of the full rights they deserve. This inner discourse takes the form of:

self-questioning, self-disparagement,
and lowering of ideals which ever accompany repression
and breed in an atmosphere of contempt and hate.
Whisperings and portents came borne upon the four winds:
Lo! We are diseased and dying, cried the dark hosts; we
cannot write, our voting is vain; what need of education,
since we must always cook and serve? (*Souls* 10).

This is Du Bois' concrete illustration of the relationship between the inner psychology of African-Americans and the external reality that they confront. By degrading African American education, promoting a servant class and preventing voting. America also produced "something of good,—the more careful adjustment of education to real life, the clearer perception of the Negroes' social responsibilities, and the sobering realization of the meaning of progress" (*Souls* 10). Du Bois observed the atmosphere of his time that made blacks self critical. He also observed the relationship between these psychological mechanisms in the minds of African-Americans and

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the tendency to give up demanding their political rights. In short, "the eyes of others" deprives one of "true-self consciousness," self-esteem, and one's own grasp of self-image. The others' assessment of oneself becomes one's assessment of him/herself in Du Bois' model is not just an effect on the subject. The self manipulated by the "the eyes of others" is made passive.

American society and the white gaze toward blacks deprive blacks of power and reproduce blacks who are victims of this structure. The resulting self-contempt hinders blacks' development of their talent and ability, resulting in further contempt for Blacks. Blacks must become aware of the vicious circle of this hidden psychological mechanism. Although "the eyes of others" signifies the gaze or idea of others, it is also a part of one's self. The relation between self and "the eyes of others" is one's relationship to oneself. Du Bois' emphasis on an "I" to "I" relationship is part of his logic. In his autobiography in 1968, he notes that "I was in fact rather desperately hanging on to my self-respect. I was not fighting to dominate others; I was fighting against my own degradation" (283).⁶ He also points out the importance of "self-examination" (277). This formulation of second-sight signifies blacks' fight against the mechanism of degradation occurring in their own

⁶ This passages come from Du Bois's explaining the reason why he "did not seek white acquaintances" (*Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois* 283).

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Du Bois' definitions of the eyes of others are various. His thoughts cannot be defined as monochromatic consciousness. He describes that "At these [questions], I smile, or am interested, or reduce the boiling to a simmer, as the occasion may require" (*Souls* 4). Du Bois observes the dialogue between whites and himself signifies whites as questioners, and blacks as "to be questioned." In this dialogue, Du Bois observes what feeling the whites' questions and "unasked question" embed.⁷ As he writes that he is "interested" in the whites' questions, Du Bois does not completely reject the whites' view. On the other hand, he states, "I answer seldom a word" when he is asked "How does it feel to be a problem?" (*Souls* 4). Whites' view of blacks as "a problem" shocks him most. Du Bois' feeling is the swing of the pendulum between the possibility that whites understand blacks and that they regard blacks as cause of "a problem."⁸

Double consciousness illustrates another kind of problem derived from "twoness"—African-Americans' double identity. In the case of the second-sight argument, "merging" was the solution. Then, what is the solution for another "twoness" argument? The primary characteristic of the double

⁷ This relationship is related to Du Bois' definition that "America has too much to teach the world and Africa" (*Souls* 5). As for the interrelation of "twoness," I will discuss later.

⁸ Du Bois problematizes whites' tendency to regard blacks as cause of the social problem. He argues that blacks are victims of American society.

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consciousness concept which Du Bois signifies is "one ever feels his twoness." Du Bois describes "an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body," as the content of the "twoness." Among these several forms of "twoness," the first indication is that a black is "an American, a Negro." That means that one has two citizenships (identities) or a single double identity.⁹

Keith Byerman argues that Du Bois' accounts of "twoness" implies "a cultural and political situation of marginality in which the problem is not lack but excess of self" (15). Byerman further argues that "Blacks in this case are not nothing, but two things, both of which are coherent and meaningful" (15). His interpretation is that Du Bois problematizes the "excess of self," at the same time affirming the advantage of having this excess. In 1897, Du Bois revealed blacks' dilemma in defining their own identities in his article "Conservation of Races" (1897):

Here, then is the dilemma, and it is a puzzling one, I admit. No Negro who has given earnest thought to the situation of his people in America has failed, at some time in life, to find himself at these crossroads; has

⁹ Keith E. Byerman interprets that Du Bois "places blacks in the context of cultures, not races or nations, and gives them equal status in this context" and that it is vague if Du Bois intends the term, double consciousness "metaphorically as a cultural conditions" or not (15). The present study regards the concept as a political slogan, and includes the concept in the context of races.

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failed to ask himself at some time: What, after all, am I? Am I an American or am I a Negro? Can I be both? Or is it my duty to cease to be a Negro as soon as possible and be an American? (*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 23).

Some researchers agree that this question has been a traditional question among black writers.¹⁰

As several researchers point out, Du Bois did not determine which is the "truer and better" self.¹¹ Furthermore, this twoness argument results in some of "the end of strivings"—"to be a co-worker in the kingdom of culture, to escape both death and isolation. . ." (*Souls* 5).

Du Bois lamented the difficulty of having twoness saying that there were "two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder."¹² In thinking about Du Bois' twoness concept, we should pay attention to his view on black and white relations. Du Bois emphasizes the polar nature of blacks and whites. In his essay, "Conservation of Races," he categorized the two races as "the

¹⁰ For example, William Cosgrove argues that modern writers such as Imamu Baraka, Ralph Ellison, and Malcolm X have tried "to answer the same question: What is the place of the black writer, and black man, in American society? The two alternatives open to the black artists are clear: he can be either an "invisible man" because he is black, or a "native son" because he is American" (*Modern Black Writers* 120).

¹¹ For example, William Cosgrove argues that "A divided self—and no clear indication which is the better and truer self" in Du Bois' defining double consciousness (*Modern Black Writers* 120).

¹² Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., argues that "Du Bois referred most importantly to an internal conflict in the African America individual between what was "African" and what was "American" (301).

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two most extreme types of the world's races," whose encounter is "not only of intense and living interest to us, but forms an epoch in the history of mankind" (*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 20).¹³ In this passage, the polarity is the cause that tears two races or two kinds of selves in blacks. In other ways, Du Bois shows the twoness as "the two worlds within and without the Veil" and stress environmental differences (*Souls* 1). David W. Blight and Robert Gooding-Williams argue that "double consciousness" and "the veil" are the metaphors which portray "a two-dimensional pattern of estrangement that shaped the lives of black Americans in the age of Jim Crow" (11).

In signifying this two world-ness, Du Bois situates himself as someone who can go back and forth between white and black worlds. And, in writing *Souls*, he declares that he situates himself inside the veil, "raising it that you may view faintly its deeper recesses,—the meaning of its religion, the passion of its human sorrow, and the struggle of its greater souls" (*Souls* 1).

Du Bois' emphasis on the vast difference between inside and outside the veil still continues, not only in regard to aim, but also in relation to duty, class, and words. He calls this dichotomy "double lives":

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The worlds within and without the Veil of Color are changing, and changing rapidly, but not at the same rate, not in the same way; and this must produce a peculiar wrenching of the soul, a peculiar sense of doubt and bewilderment. Such a double life, with double thoughts, double duties, and double social classes, must give rise to double words and double ideals, and tempt the mind to pretence or to revolt, to hypocrisy or to radicalism (*Souls* 164).

In this sense, Du Bois had two selves: one in the neighborhood in Great Barrington and the other in the South, the white supremacist society. Also, two selves signify Du Bois and white racism in his neighborhood. Fanon also had two selves: one in a neighborhood in Martinique and the other in France, the white world. Du Bois defined blacks' lives inside and outside of the veil as "double lives" each changing at a "different speed" and "time period" (*Souls* 256).

This model emphasizes the vast difference of the environment between the inside and the outside of the veil. The difficulty for blacks and whites to go back and forth between these two sites supports Du Bois' theory that in American society blacks and whites are extremes. Two citizenships contradict each other, creating the difficulty of being both blacks and Americans (or citizens in white society). In this sense, the double selves of Du Bois and Fanon exemplify this model, illustrating the discourse of double consciousness in which

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The disadvantage of the polarity of whiteness and blackness tears black consciousness apart. Du Bois emphasis on the contradictory or opposite character of this dichotomy is shown in his defining double consciousness as "two unreconciled strivings," or "two warring ideals" (*Souls* 6).¹⁴ He argues that the doubleness of the black aims weakens the power of blacks. Du Bois referred to this negative effect of having twoness as the "waste of double aims," "the contradiction of double aims," and "the double-aimed struggle of the black artisans" (*Souls* 6).

This "waste of double aims" argument derives from the America/Black twoness issue. Du Bois brings up this issue to deny the discourses of the black inferiority myth. He deconstructs the structure in which the public image of blacks as "absence of power" were created (*Souls* 6). In doing this, he emphasizes how large the blacks' disadvantage of having this twoness was.

As noted above, at the beginning of the introduction of the concept of double consciousness Du Bois emphasizes the

¹⁴ Manning Marable interprets the "twoness" as "opposite" (*Black Leadership* 43). Dickson D. Bruce Jr., argues that Du Bois' formulated the concept of double consciousness draws from European Romanticism, American Transcendentalism, and psychology. Bruce refers to historian Arnold Rampersad's interpretation that the term "double consciousness" was originally a medical term, especially used to cases of "split personality" (301). Bruce argues that "In the classic cases of double consciousness, the dual personalities were not just different from each other but were inevitably in opposition" (301).

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disadvantage of having double identities because these two have different ideals and aims. Blacks have a difficult time in fulfilling these contradictory needs. If blacks choose to remain within the black community, they will lose both job and money, and if they try to be in the white society, and "to be a co-worker in the kingdom of culture," they are isolated from both white and black society. That he calls black and white "the extremes" (*ABC of Color* 45) or "the opposites" also shows the difficulty of fulfilling "the double aims" (*Souls* 28). Geneva Smitherman calls this "ambivalence among blacks" in Du Bois' double consciousness "the 'push-pull' syndrome in Black America"—"pushing toward White American culture while simultaneously pulling away from it" (*Talkin and Testifyin* 10-11).

As researchers on Du Bois' race concept, Shamoan Zamir and David W. Blight argue that the double consciousness concept as a symbol of plight derives from blacks' contradictory ideals, and is the focus of Du Bois' term "double aims" (Zamir 34; Blight 45). Du Bois brings up the "waste of double aims" argument to deny the discourse of the black inferiority myth.

Here in America, in the few days since Emancipation, the black man's turning hither and thither in hesitant and doubtful striving has often made his very strength to lose effectiveness, to seem like absence of power, like

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weakness. And yet it is not weakness,—it is the contradiction of double aims (*Souls* 6).

A key passage follows in which Du Bois identifies the depth of the chasm between whites and blacks:

The would-be black savant was confronted by the paradox that the knowledge his people needed was a twice-told tale to his white neighbors, while the knowledge which would teach the white world was Greek to his own flesh and blood (*Souls* 6).

The passage outlines the core message in Du Bois' concept of double consciousness: that each had knowledge the other needed but neither was willing or able to communicate. The passage signifies Du Bois' rejection of the inferiority myth by attributing knowledge to blacks as well as whites. "The paradox" that "the would-be black savant" experience is knowledge without the ability to communicate it.

As a negative aspect of blacks' twoness or double consciousness, Du Bois explains the dilemma of those who confront their difficulties of fulfilling ideals as both blacks and American citizens. Since the ideals of blacks and whites do not match, blacks cannot pour their power into one important purpose and this tendency weakens blacks. Du Bois calls this dilemma a "waste of double aims," showing an example of a black

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artists' dilemma:

The innate love of harmony and beauty that set the ruder souls of his people a-dancing and a-singing raised but confusion and doubt in the soul of the black artist; for the beauty revealed to him was the soul-beauty of a race which his larger audience despised, and he could not articulate the message of another people (*Souls* 6).

He regards this dilemma as an effect of black self-esteem and the seeming impossibilities for people to accomplish their dreams.

Thus, knowing the difficulty of fulfilling ideals as both blacks and as American citizens, Du Bois searches for the way that enables blacks to have two kinds of citizenship, and some discourses that bridge the differences of both blacks and whites as one significant goal of blacks. If blacks find these discourses, they can break the limitation of possibilities imposed on them. They can open much wider opportunities to obtain jobs and to develop their talents fully in various fields. In other words, they can find their position in a wider society and get wider recognition.

Du Bois' phrase, "to merge his double self into a better and truer self," also suggests a combination of two citizenships, black and American. In these assertions, he rejects the "alternative"—choose life as a black or as an American—which has

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been imposed on blacks for a long time. He asserts that blacks do not need to choose one fixed identity or citizenship socially, that one can demand identity both as black and as American. Both have merit and blacks deserve both of them. The phrase "Can I be both?" in the "Conservation of Races" shows that being both is a better way than choosing one identity (nationality). Du Bois knows how cruel this alternative is for blacks. As his "end of strivings" shows, either way, blacks suffer. So Du Bois avoids this cruel alternative.

In this model it is not necessary to choose one fixed perspective. One person has both perspectives and can choose either one as needed. This also serves integration, because it carefully avoids the amalgamation of these two identities. Advocating the need to contain the Twoness-identity as an American and a black-establishes "a better and truer self." By retaining two identities, "neither of the older selves [are] lost."¹⁵ This divided subject makes possible the exchange implied by the aphorisms, "America has too much to teach the world and Africa," and "Negro blood has a message for the world" suggest.¹⁶

¹⁵ As for the interpretation, several researchers have commented. For example, William Cosgrove interprets Du Bois's solution as "To merge the two selves without losing the individuality of either" (120).

¹⁶ Corey K. Creekmur regards Du Bois' double-consciousness or "two-ness" as "unequal difference" of the "African-American's internal division" ("Telling White Lies" 157). Keith E. Byerman interprets this condition that "Blacks in this case are not nothing, but two thing, both of

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In Du Bois model of black psychology, blacks move between two identities as fluid or can choose to be a black or an American (or can choose a black perspective or an American perspective) as needed in their psychology, using code-switching to accommodate their identities. With double consciousness blacks cannot be both blacks and Americans at the same moment. Although each of these identities remain distinct, the subject position shifts between the two. This ability gives blacks the capacity for multiple perspectives.

Thus, the "merging" of two selves does not mean a melting of two racial identities, but a uniting of them. In other words, Du Bois introduced the identity model which contains three elements; blackness, whiteness (Americanness), and a subject that comprehends the two or can be both black or white in one body.¹⁷

As I have argued and as most researchers agree, Du Bois' "twoness" is basically "black and American" which relates to the dichotomy between black nationalist and integrationist. His emphasis on retention of "African blood" relates to his life long assertion on Pan-Africanism.¹⁸

Dickinson D. Bruce, Jr. argues, "for Du Bois the essence of a distinctive African consciousness was its spirituality, a

which are coherent and meaningful. . ." (15).

¹⁷ The last one is later called Black Americans or African Americans.

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spirituality based in Africa" and that "double consciousness related particularly to Du Bois' efforts to privilege the spiritual in relation to the materialistic, commercial world of white America" (301). Also, Bruce argues that Du Bois had a "desire to develop a positive sense of racial distinctiveness out of a distinctively African heritage" in the time when "race" had biological connotations, especially implying black inferiority among whites (305). He thinks that "Double consciousness" allowed for a sense of distinctiveness that really did entail equality, a sense of distinctiveness that did not imply inferiority" (305).

On the other hand, we can interpret "American" as "whites." Du Bois wrote that in merging two identities, "He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism. . ." (*Souls* 5). "Americans" directly signifies "whiteness" because Du Bois used the verb "bleach." Henry Louis Gates Jr. interprets Du Bois' dichotomy as black and "white" or "whiteness" ("Introduction of the Autobiography of Ex-Colored Man" xii). If it is "white," we can limit this argument only in a black nationalist/integrationist argument centering on a demand for full citizenship as Americans or in "double aims" which signifies a contradiction between duty as blacks or as American

¹⁸ Du Bois is often called the father of Pan-Africanism.

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citizens. In his poetry, "Song of Smoke" (1907), Du Bois argued that "Souls unto me are as stars in a night,/ I whiten my black men—I blacken my white! (55). Here Du Bois recognizes two kinds of selves—my "black men" and "my white" in him and assumes the dichotomy of the double selves is "black" and "white." Du Bois implies two kinds of dichotomy: "black and white" and "black and American." He not only pursues having two identities and citizenship as black and American, but also advocates the need of having a "black" self and a "white" self in one African-American person.¹⁹

Du Bois' twoness model has two kinds of dichotomy, and as his word "the truth lies between the extremes" suggests that he believes that "between" two identities, a solution for blacks to survive in American society exists (*ABC of Color* 45).²⁰ In this sense, double consciousness not only signifies a "twoness" problem or "the eyes of others" problem, but also is a dramatization of "between-ness" of various kinds of dichotomy. This logic, that "the truth lies between the extremes" is to admit both the importance of having two separate identities and of his avoidance of the exclusive alternative—either black or white.

¹⁹ When King made speech, he gathered white brains in order to know what white audience think. In this sense, Du Bois's assertion on the need of having "white eyes" might suggest the need of understanding other's logic.

²⁰ Du Bois repeatedly mentions this idea. In *Darkwater* (1920), he notes that "The truth lies ever between extremes" when he takes up the timing

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In Du Bois' model how do these identities interrelate? One possibility is that the "older selves" have a mutual effect. In the phrases, "America has too much to teach the world and Africa," and "Negro blood has a message for the world," if "the world" contains America, "Negro blood" and America are directed toward each other. The mutual effect of "older selves" in one African-American's psychology is related to his ideal that "some day on American soil two world races may give each to each those characteristics both so sadly lack." This ideal implies the two races' complementary relationship.

At the same time we can infer that the two identities do not direct toward each other. In Du Bois' definition, blackness is not directed toward America alone, but toward "the world."²¹ If the "world" toward which blackness throws a message does not contain "America," or if Du Bois intentionally omits "America" as the exclusive destination of "a message," the interrelation of two identities does not have a mutual effect. Du Bois carefully avoids limiting his twoness argument to a simple mutual-effect model between blacks and Americans or blacks and whites.²² Then, why did Du Bois use an unbalanced juxtaposition of the directions of two identities? That is, Why is only America

when parents should introduce race to their children (120).

²¹ As Dickson D. Bruce Jr. says, "Negro blood has a message for the world" was "of spiritual sense and a softening influence that black people could bring to a cold and calculating world" (301).

²²This idea relates to his linkage of the race argument in America with

clearly defined to direct toward the other side, toward "Africa"?²³

This is an expression of his resistance to white America; it is a declaration that he distrusts America, and that he would not appeal to America on the need for justice.²⁴ In the final chapter of *The Souls of Black Folks*, "The Sorrow Songs," Du Bois defines African American folksongs as "the articulate message of the slave to the world" (*Souls* 207). He says that these songs "are the music of an unhappy people, . . . they tell of death and suffering and unvoiced longing toward a truer world, of misty wanderings and hidden ways" (*Souls* 207). Further, they are "music of trouble and exile, of strife and hiding" (*Souls* 210). Du Bois also thinks that "through all the sorrow of the Sorrow Songs there breathes a hope—a faith in the ultimate justice of things" (*Souls* 213) and argues that this "hope" is "assurance of boundless justice in some fair world beyond" (*Souls* 214).

For him, a "truer world" in which blacks should tell their "strife" and seek "justice" is not America, but "some fair world beyond"—outside America or that includes America in a larger world. So his definition of "the message" of "the Negro blood" reveals his denial of America as a "fair" place. When Du Bois

that in the world.

²³ This is one of the complexities of Du Bois's logic.

²⁴ Also, if Du Bois assumes a white middle-class readers in writing *Souls*, he threatens them with what he or other African Americans would declare to the world about what white Americans do to them.

introduced the concept of double consciousness in 1897, he had just finished studying in Europe and came back to the "disturbed world" of "'nigger'-hating America" (*Autobiography* 183; 184). For Du Bois in those years, Europe looked like a better place than America.²⁵ So the contrast between America and the world outside of America might have deepened his distrust of America.

"The Negro blood" appeals to "the world" including other black people in America and the rest of the world about what was going on in America, and what constituted racism at the end of the 19th century. This is the voice with which to seek a fair judgment of racism, which does not exist in America and blacks' declaration of dignity is ignored. This is Du Bois' sense of "the message" (*Souls* 5). Du Bois suspected that the people in the world were not aware of the realities of racism in America and tried to make them imagine what racism really is. In *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, he appeals to the reader by repeating the italicized "Suppose" (183). For example, he writes, "Suppose I have missed a Harvard scholarship?" "Suppose the Slater Board had then, as now, distinct ideas as to where the education of Negroes should stop?" and ends with "Suppose and suppose!" (183)

²⁵He calls the days after returning from Europe to America "My Days of Disillusion" but says those days were not disappointing enough to discourage me" (*Autobiography* 183). Also, after coming back, he taught at Wilberforce University.

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This juxtaposition is also related to his ideal, "large conformity to the greater ideals of the American Republic" (*Souls* 11). By avoiding limiting the older-selves dichotomy to a mere mutual effect between blacks and whites, he emphasizes the need to pursue larger ideals—"the greater ideals of the American Republic" and establishing "a better and truer self" (*Souls* 5). Although Du Bois does not trust America, he trusts democracy, which America advocates.²⁶ In this passage, Du Bois shows a perspective in which he ignores America.

The passage, "America has too much to teach the world and Africa" also shows Du Bois' stance of resisting America. His use of "too much" shows Du Bois' emphasis on America as a problematic country. Although he uses the verb "teach," he does not mean to show respect for America as a teacher. Rather, he declares that "Africa" and "the world" benefit or gain advantage from America. This leads to his assertion that having a correct perspective on America is advantageous for African Americans. Du Bois also declares that not only "Africa" but "the world" is the observer of "America," and shows the sense of solidarity of "Africa" and "the world" as the judges of "America" and its racism.

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much to teach the world and Africa" directly relates to the function of "the eyes of others"—prejudice against African Americans and Africans, exploitation of them, as "the Devil" who "strikes" blacks "that cannot strike again" and hates "the image which their Maker stamped on a brother's soul" (*Du Bois: A Reader* 105). What both "the eyes of others" as "the Devil" claim is blacks' inferiority that engender in blacks a self-hatred, causing them to relinquish the basic rights that enable them to fight back.

Manning Marable argues that "race is essentially a group identity imposed on individuals by others" (*Black Popular Culture* 292). If this definition is applied to Du Bois' model, America's "too much teaching" signifies the "stamp" or imposition of a wrong image of blacks on blacks. Marable further argues that "Blackness, or African-American identity, is much more than race, . . . [it] is not something our oppressors forced upon us," that obliterated "our sense of ethnic consciousness and pride in our heritage of resistance against racism" (*Black Popular Culture* 295). If this is true, "the message" of "the Negro blood" is the revelation of blacks' pride in resisting racism and their pursuit of active independence, escaping the dominance of "America" and its "teaching"—imposition of a bad image of blacks on blacks themselves. It signifies rejection of "the eyes of others" and the necessity of striking back

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against America. Marable also defines blackness as "our culture, history, music, art, and literature" (295). His definition fits with Du Bois' emphasis on the cultural heritage of Africa. So the "message" of "the Negro blood" signifies blacks' demonstration of pride in their cultural heritages.

All in all, this unbalanced juxtaposition reveals Du Bois' positioning of "the Negro" as an advantageous one in "America." The function of "the Negro blood" is the crucial factor and symbol of an active and independent perspective for African Americans. Although he emphasizes the importance of the "between"ness of the two,—Africans and Americans—, Du Bois treats them as different in nature and differently directed, and retains the unlimited possibility that these two might develop (the possibility that a solution might be found in communication with other countries).

Du Bois also avoids the easy alternative—either blacks or Americans—. ²⁷ All in all, he turns the seemingly disadvantageous condition of having opposite ideals into possible or potential advantage in which blacks can have multiple perspectives. Turning a weak point into a strong one, Du Bois not only shows the complexity of his logic, but also affirms blacks' strong points and makes his people self-confident.

²⁷ Du Bois's complexity- of -race concept emerges from this idea.

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Du Bois argues in Chapter 1 of *Souls* that:

Each growing and aiding each, and all striving toward that vaster ideal that swims before the Negro people, the ideal of human brotherhood, gained through the unifying ideal of Race; the ideal of fostering and developing the traits and talents of the Negro, not in opposition to or contempt for other races, but rather in large conformity to the greater ideals of the American Republic, in order that some day on American soil two world-races, may give each to each those characteristics both so sadly lack (*Souls* 12).

As for the solution of having double identity, Du Bois' integrationist idea is shown in his rhetoric which emphasizes the common advantage for both blacks and whites. For example, in his "What is the Negro Problem?" (1899), he wrote that, "[i]t is to the advantage of all, both black and white, that every Negro should make the best of himself" (348). He also argued in "the Niagara Movement" (1906) that "[t]he battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but for all true Americans" (31). In "The Niagara Movement" (1906), he also threatens white America that:

if now the world of culture bends itself towards giving Negroes and other dark men the largest and broadest opportunity for education and self-development, then this contact and influence is bound to have a beneficial effect upon the world and hasten human progress. But if, by reason of carelessness, prejudice, greed and injustice, the black world is to be exploited and

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ravished and degraded, the results must be deplorable, if not fatal—not simply to them, but to the high ideals of justice, freedom and culture which a thousand years of Christian civilization have held before Europe (*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 626).

He does not aim for a mere mingling of two races. By keeping the two races distinct categories in these passages, he aimed to make whites treat blacks equally.

I argued that Du Bois' illustration of African Americans' psychology in the concept of double consciousness is a metaphor of external social relationship, mainly a black and white relationship. His solution for the African Americans' "two-ness" problem, is "to merge his double self into a better and truer self." Elsewhere "a better and truer self" is related to "the greater ideals of The American Republic" and the effort "to merge double self into a better and truer self" is in "large conformity to the greater ideals of the American Republic" (*Souls* 11).²⁸ Rather than a melting pot of sameness, Du Bois moves toward the conditions for a pluralistic democracy.

Bruce argues that "The meaning of African and American selves was, or at least could be, an act of will, and Du Bois so treated it" (307). Keith E. Byerman argues that "It is unclear whether Du Bois intends the term to carry the full connotation

²⁸ Here Du Bois talks about what kind of rights African Americans need such as suffrage.

of a pathological state or intends it metaphorically as a cultural condition" (15). While presenting both advantage and disadvantage seems to be contradictory, it actually turns the status quo into the means for a solution. In this sense, the "double self" is not only an "American" and "Negro" dichotomy, but also a dichotomy between blacks' "strife" to establish their own view "true self consciousness"— and "the eyes of others" which can be a challenge for blacks not to fall into "self-conscious manhood." Du Bois thinks that the "integration" of two identities—"an American and a black," or self and "the eyes of others" is the solution for blacks. So, one of the definitions of "a better and truer self" is establishment of a self freed from the assessment of the whites.

Throughout his analysis of blacks' psychological mechanism, Du Bois regards blacks as victim of the "eyes of others," and the "American world," and discloses the existence of power which always tries to impose an inferiority complex on blacks or deprive them of sound self-esteem. That is, he argues that the public image of blacks is not their nature but whites' creation. One of the characteristics of Du Bois' logic in his introduction of double consciousness is the use of the verbs "merge," "conform" or "weld." Houston Baker, Jr., points out Du Bois' role as "synthesizer" (96). He argues that "The more interesting part of the statement is the portion that deals with synthesis,

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the melting and welding of a wide range of ideas into a broader and more effective whole; for it is his stand as a synthesizer that marks Du Bois as a man of culture" (96). That he ends with the lines "And my soul and thy soul shall meet that day" when "I lay this body down" in the epigraph of the final chapter "The Sorrow Songs" represents the tendency of his discourse (*Souls* 204). "The physical freedom" originally signifies African-Americans' urgent need to be freed from slavery. But, even after the Emancipation, freed blacks confront the possibility of being lynched. As Du Bois' use of the word "the second slavery" signifies, blacks were bounded by a new kind of system. Whites' violence against blacks was legalized by the enactment of laws represented by Black Code and Jim Crow laws at different times by Southern States. "Political power" is another theme for African-Americans. After the Emancipation, they had actual political power, suffrage and civil rights, but they were deprived of these immediately. So the name "Emancipation" and acquisition of equality did not signify their actual freedom.

As Du Bois argued, "The power of the ballot we need in sheer self-defense,—else what shall save us from a second slavery?" (*Souls* 11), Du Bois regarded the ballot as one solution. But this must lead to democratic possibilities. "Freedom, too, the long-sought, we still seek,—the freedom of life and limb, the freedom to work and think, the freedom to love and aspire" (*Souls*

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11). Also, Du Bois argues that "Work, culture, liberty,—all these we need, not singly but together, not successively but together. . ." (*Souls* 11). His use of the word "together" signifies simultaneous realization of blacks' ideal and the denial of gradualism. Simultaneity and "merging" signifying gathering of plural different items are different. But they are similar in terms of a synthesizing mechanism, and this denial of gradualism is also a variation of Du Bois' solution.

Why does Du Bois put more emphasis on "I" and "I" relationships or one's view of self-image than Sartre's "I" and "the other" relationship? As I argued before, one of the effects of Du Bois' double consciousness, the political slogan, provides an answer to this point. What Du Bois problematizes was the self-degradation mechanism in African-Americans' psychology in America and the possibility that it would directly cause their accommodation to the oppressed conditions. Du Bois argued that:

But the facing of so vast a prejudice could not but bring the inevitable self-questioning, self-disparagement, and lowering of ideals which ever accompany repression and breed in an atmosphere of contempt and hate . . . we cannot write, our voting is vain; what need of education, since we must always cook and serve? (*Souls* 10).

He regards raising self-esteem as a key for uplifting the race.

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Du Bois assumes that other blacks (or non-blacks) do not know this degradation mechanism, so he thinks that acknowledgement of this hidden mechanism would enable blacks to sweep the familiarized black inferiority discourse from their minds. Trusting (or recovering) their self worth would be the starting point for them to fight against oppression and to acquire the full rights they deserve.

If blacks are aware of how their self-esteem was lowered, they can be careful about this. But Du Bois thinks that blacks do not know this mechanism which happens in their own minds. Without judging whether black inferiority discourse is fact or not, they are unconsciously violated by this discourse which "the eyes of others" represents. Du Bois tried to problematize this mechanism in the double consciousness concept.

Du Bois argues that blacks want to be both "a Negro and an American" "without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows" and "without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face" (*Souls* 5). These passages take up the relationship between the fluid identity model of blacks between Americanness and blackness and blacks' economic problem. Also, in the theory of double consciousness, these two racial identities were defined as equal ones. In his description of "the end of strivings," he evokes a slogan, "to escape both death and isolation" (*Souls* 5). Du Bois' observation of the relationship

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between whites and blacks in the South around 1985 in *Dusk of Dawn* (1940) fits this slogan. Du Bois remembered that when Booker T. Washington made the speech in Atlanta in 1895, many black papers criticized Washington's "proposition of compromise with the white South" (55). Du Bois wrote to the *New York Age* and suggested that "here might be the basis of a real settlement between whites and blacks in the South, if the South opened to Negroes the doors of economic opportunity and the Negroes co-operated with the white South in political sympathy" (55). But disfranchisement of blacks and passing of "Jim Crow" laws hindered this "offer" Du Bois argued (55).

In his description of "the end of strivings," Du Bois raised slogans such as "to be a co-worker in the kingdom of culture" (*Souls* 5), "to husband and use his best powers and his latent genius," and to accomplish "the ideal of fostering and developing the traits and talents of the Negro . . ." (*Souls* 11). This is Du Bois' presenting the counter discourse to the discourse which forced African-Americans to give up exercising their talents and ability, and to accept accommodation to an alleged inferiority myth or whites' wish to suppress blacks after the Emancipation. Du Bois' plan and advocacy of the importance of higher education, the Talented Tenth, was one representative example of his resistance against this dominant discourse.

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Du Bois argues that: "The bright ideals of the past, -physical freedom, political power, the training of brains and the training of hands . . . " and "To be really true, all these ideals must be melted and welded into one" (*Souls* 11). One of the characteristics of Du Bois' logic in his introduction of double consciousness concept is that he uses the verbs "merge," "conform" or "weld." As I argued so far, these similar keywords are used as a solution for the "Negro problem." As Du Bois advocates the need to gather ideals of two races, here he insists the need for "weld" these three ideals into "one."

As I have argued, however, Du Bois emphasizes that "truth lies between extremes," not so much synthesis as pluralism. Here synthesis is replaced by "betweenness," as space where various interpretations might happen, as Deleuze observes (*Dialogue* 45). Du Bois' definition of betweenness involves all possibilities of communication or misunderstanding of two races. Second, this betweenness allows shifting or fluid identity. Black Americans have the potential for multiple perspectives, the back and forth between dichotomies of twoness, first and second sight, two worlds and so on.

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Chapter 2 Double Consciousness as Solution:

An African American People's Philosophy

Herbert Aptheker stresses in 2001 that "Dr. Du Bois' life was dedicated to the liberation of the severely oppressed—especially those of darker hue" (vii). As Aptheker argues, Du Bois' proposition directly relates to the liberation of the "oppressed." Du Bois folded several resolutions into the concept of double consciousness. In this chapter, I discuss the prescription for liberation in the concept of double consciousness.

Du Bois' observation at the turn of the century shows his acute sense of crisis. His need to formulate the concept of double consciousness emerged from this sense of crisis:

Whisperings and portents came home upon the four winds:
Lo! we are diseased and dying, cried the dark hosts;
we cannot write, our voting is vain; what need of
education, since we must always cook and serve? And the
Nation echoed and enforced this self-criticism, saying:
Be content to be servants, and nothing more; what need of
higher culture for half-men? Away with the black man's
ballot, by force or fraud,—and behold the suicide of a
race! (*Souls* 10)

In defining a set of conditions, Du Bois implies an active agent who is aware of the negative effect of "the eyes of others,"

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learns to manage this effect, and rejects the imposed inferiority myth by his or her own will. He believes that this way of thinking—trust in self-worth—would change the reality.²⁹ Freedom from degradation could be achieved through education that deconstructs the mechanism of degradation, and shows it as an important cause of black plight. That he sought for the answer (or reason) in social psychology might be unexpected for an African American.³⁰ Compared to the reality of oppressive economic and political conditions, a psychological emphasis might be seen as abstract or trivial in relation to the plight of African Americans. But the severity of conditions and the necessity of urgent solutions required new leadership with new awareness of how discrimination in the North and segregation in the South produced a dexterously hidden mechanism of self-destruction. In "Credo" (1904), Du Bois affirms the existence of "the Devil" who hates "the image which their Maker stamped on a brother's soul" (*Du Bois: A Reader* 105). This signifies the whites' unfair and artificial imposition of the wrong image of blacks. Thus, in order to acquire rights, African-Americans would first of all need to develop self-respect.

In this sense, his illustration of the degradation

²⁹ He explains about this purpose in the Forethought that "thus have come to the central problem of training men for life, his purpose of writing this book is to educate blacks as their leader (*Souls* 1).

³⁰ Dickson D. Bruce Jr., argues that "Du Bois's use of the idea of double consciousness to characterize issues of race was provocative and

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mechanism embeds Du Bois' message that blacks must change from passive to active existence. To establish "true-self consciousness" requires an escape from the passivity of being seen, assessed, or controlled by whites' gaze, to establish an active or independent subjectivity freed from whites' gaze.

If blacks fail to break this vicious circle, whites' oppression will continue.

The Negro cannot stand the present reactionary tendencies and unreasoning drawing of the color-line indefinitely without discouragement and retrogression. And the condition of the Negro is ever the excuse for further discrimination (*Souls* 153).

As an educator, Du Bois tried to make black folks aware of whites' discourse. He emphasizes the need of education, especially higher education for blacks. Establishment of "self-conscious manhood," or pride, also suggests that blacks achieve an active independent community within American society. In "Credo" (1904) Du Bois links black pride and self:

I believe in Pride of race and lineage and self: in pride of self so deep as to scorn injustice to other selves; in pride of lineage so great as to despise no man's father; in pride of race so chivalrous as neither to offer bastardy to the weak nor beg wedlock of the strong, knowing that

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men may be brothers in Christ, even though they be not brothers in law (105)

The second-sight function is an internalization of this thought. Thus, in his passage, "Pride of race and lineage and self" that would "scorn injustice to other selves" means "true-self consciousness" that rejects or is free from the contempt, ignorance and devastating power of "the eyes of others (whites)." In other words, self-esteem relates to denial of the "injustice to other selves"—whites' violation, exploitation, and contempt for blacks. Blacks achieve a superior moral and psychological position in scorning injustice.

But, in a strict sense, Du Bois does not limit what "injustice" means. "Credo" shows the possibility in which "injustice" implies not only "white gaze" and the issue of the "deprivation of blacks' pride" but also various kinds of violation of blacks. If the white gaze signifies a violation of blacks, the definition of "true-consciousness" will be broadened into self-realization. Du Bois writes of the need for self-realization in *Souls*. When human oppression is added to the trials and hardships of nature, the oppressed have three possible reactions:

A feeling of revolt and revenge; an attempt to adjust all thought and action to the will of the greater group; or, finally, a determined effort at self-realization and self-

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development despite envioning opinion. The influence of all of these attitudes at various times can be traced in the history of the American Negro, and in the evolution of his successive leaders (*Souls* 40).

He also mentions in "What is the Negro Problem?" (1899):

For the accomplishment of this the Negro has a right to demand freedom for self-development, and no more aid from without than is really helpful for furthering that development (*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 349).

As these passages indicate, Du Bois' "true self-consciousness" enables an active attitude designed to achieve the "self-realization" that overcomes social pressure or oppression.

Even though blacks may change, they remain victims of American society. In *Souls*, he argues that "The other class of Negroes who cannot agree with Mr. Washington" knows that "relentless color-prejudice is more often a cause than a result of the Negro's degradation" (*Souls* 45-6).³¹ In order to bring about social justice both whites and blacks must change. The following passages in *Souls* indentifies the problem:

It is not enough for the Negroes to declare that color-prejudice is the sole cause of their social condition, nor for the white South to reply that their social condition is the main cause of prejudice. They both act as reciprocal cause and effect, and a change in neither alone will bring

³¹ Du Bois regarded Booker T. Washington's policy as an affirmation of the whites' imposition of inferiority myth of blacks.

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the desired effect. Both must change, or neither can improve to any great extent (*Souls* 152-153).

Du Bois wanted blacks to be confident of themselves as they were. Saying that African Americans "come even now not altogether empty-handed" is a kind of modest toast to African-Americans (*Souls* 5). In later writings Du Bois discusses black contributions to American culture, particularly in creative arts such as music. At the same time he argues that blacks need to improve themselves. Blacks need to eliminate "immorality, crime and laziness" that remained as a reaction to slavery (*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 348-349). This view of the weakness of the younger generation can be seen as a stimulous to know the mechanism for the degradation of self-images. Blacks need to raise their self-esteem to reject the inferiority myth and work hard to uplift their status in the society. He says, "[i]t is the duty of the Negro to raise himself by every effort to the standards of modern civilization and not to lower those standards in any degree," emphasizing that "the bulk of the work of raising the Negro must be done by the Negro himself . . . (*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 348-349).

Most of the work in overcoming "the eyes of others" is through education. Du Bois concludes Chapter 6 of *Souls* with the following passages:

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I sit with Shakespeare and he winces not. Across the color line I move arm in arm with Balzac and Dumas, where smiling men and welcoming women glide in gilded halls. From out the caves of evening that swing between the strong-limbed earth and the tracery of the stars, I summon Aristotle and Aurelius and what soul I will, and they come all graciously with no scorn nor condescension. So, wed with Truth, I dwell above the Veil (*Souls* 90).

Education yields truth. Truth and knowledge enable blacks to transcend the veil distinction. The alternative is grim:

If, on the other hand, seized by the brutal afterthought, we debauch the race thus caught in our talons, selfishly sucking their blood and brains in the future as in the past, what shall save us from national decadence? Only that saner selfishness, which Education teaches men, can find the rights of all in the whirl of work (*Souls* 76).

Charles V. Willie points out that "Du Bois' concept linked leadership with education in a hierarchy in which there were teachers, and teachers of teachers" (2).

Du Bois regards "ignorance" as one of the significant components of the problem that African-Americans confront, but in "the Training of Negroes" (1903), he thinks that "[t]his can be gotten rid of only by training. . . ." (*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 355). This "training" is the only solution for solving "the Negro problem" or removing blacks' plight.

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In "The Niagara Movement," Du Bois defines education as "the development of power and ideal. We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be, and we will fight for all time against any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people. They have a right to know, to think, to aspire" (33). This agenda is clearly opposite Booker T. Washington's accommodationist policy. Demonstrating a mechanism of degradation and arguing the need to raise self-respect served to advocate that blacks have all the opportunities available to whites. Du Bois did not want blacks to give up this quest, or to accommodate to any oppressive white policy.

Many researchers point out that Du Bois wrote *The Souls of Black Folks* in order to counter Booker T. Washington's accommodationist policy in *Up from Slavery*. He thought that if blacks are confident, they automatically avoid "accommodation." Thus, he needed to show how blacks' original talents or worth was skillfully excluded from whites' discourse. Du Bois tried to make it possible for blacks to pursue higher education, careers, contribute to arts and letters, and obtain political rights.

In formulating the concept of double consciousness, Du Bois assumed several things. As I noted above, one of the functions

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of writing *Souls* was to "educate" both white and black readers.³² For him, the term "education" contains various definitions. The core definition is to contemplate what "the strange meaning of being black" is at the beginning of the 20th century. He also regards teaching the importance of discovery of the self as a black or self-development as education. The following passage in "The Basic Fallacy" he encapsulates his philosophy on education:

While we teach men to earn a living, that teaching is incidental and subordinate to the larger training of intelligence in human beings and to the largest development of self-realization in men (*ABC of Color* 81).

Here Du Bois regards "development of self-realization" as more important learning than mastering how to "earn a living." This idea explains well the educational function of the double consciousness concept—demonstration of the degradation mechanism and exposure of the alleged black inferiority discourse.

But we have to be careful with respect to this opinion.

³² As for the Du Bois' implied reader, various opinions existed. Du Bois declares in the Forethought that "Then, In two other chapters I have sketched in swift outline the two worlds within and without the Veil, and thus have come to the central problem of training men for life," and "Leaving, then, the world of the white man, I have stepped within the Veil, raising it that you may view faintly its deeper recesses, —the meaning of its religion, the passion of its human sorrow, and the struggle of its greater souls" (1). So from these passages, Du Bois' implied readers would be non-African American readers. Shamoan Zamir argues that Du Bois published in *Atlantic*

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Du Bois never underestimated the importance of how to make a living. In fact, the goal of his bringing up the double consciousness argument in Chapter 1 of *Souls* was to produce a political discourse, to escape death and isolation, to be a colleague of whites and to get opportunity. In these senses double consciousness served practical needs. What Du Bois emphasizes is that this seemingly abstract notion of self-discovery is required to reach practical goals. A function of the double consciousness concept is to provide a solution for blacks to uplift their status or transcend their oppressed situation. At the same time Du Bois has aimed to educate white readers about the "race" problem. Du Bois appeals to white readers that they need to take the race problem seriously because they need to understand their role in the problem. His illustration of blacks' psychology and other information in the concept is prescribed for teaching all readers.

Du Bois argues that race is not biological, but a social construction.³³ Based on this philosophy, he shows the process of blacks' self-discovery using poetry. Although I defined double consciousness as the "coexistence of an American and a black in one person" before, another combination of the "twoness of the self" is possible. Du Bois uses Arthur Symons' poetry—

Monthly whose readers are middle class whites (8).

³³ As for this issue, Anthony Appiah argues in detail in his "The Uncompleted Argument: Du Bois and the Illusion of Race."

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" . . .As I lie and listen, and cannot understand/The voice of my heart in my side or the voice of the sea,/O water, crying for rest, is it I, is it I?"—as the epigraph of chapter 1 of *the Souls of Black Folks*, "Of Our Spiritual Strivings" (3). The passage is closely related to Du Bois' exploration of the self/other issue in this chapter. Based on the condition that race is a social construction, Du Bois' model of blacks' original self is one of a neutral self that does not have any racial identity. Throughout this chapter, Du Bois outlined the history of the African Americans' long sufferings. According to this fact, the voice "crying with a mournful cry," and "unresting water" are metaphors of African Americans. But according to the first line, "O water, voice of my heart, crying in the sand," the "water" is "the other," and at the same time "I." If the "I" is Du Bois or other African Americans, in this passage, Du Bois perceives the existence of the other self, "water," and observes it. As far as the subject of the Symons' poem, "I" says, "O water, crying for rest, is it I, is it I?" the "I" does not have a sure recognition of who he/she is. This suggests that "I" recognized that he/she is "water," African American, and at the same time he/she has hard times believing the fact that she/he is an African American. Here Du Bois shows the difficulty of accepting oneself as other. In other words, time is required for blacks to recognize that they are blacks and will suffer the difference

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between them and others. Du Bois' use of this poetry in Chapter 1 supports his view that "race" is not a primary factor to determine one's identity.

From these observations, one of the combinations of two perspectives in double consciousness is not only black self and white self, but also the perspective of "I" and the other "I" that is determined as a black by social construction. If we interpret the "eyes of others" in a broad sense, we do not need to limit the subject of the perspective to whites. The seer's position can be whites' gaze or a neutral self who originally had no racial identity. Also, the "seen" position can be a black self or the meaning of being black in American society. Du Bois' uses of Symons' poem implies the possibilities that the Du Bois' "twoness of the self" issue transcends the "black and white" issue.

Du Bois persistently argues that the black inferiority myth is the worst obstacle for blacks' uplift. In his essay, "What is the Negro Problem?" (1899) he argues:

. . .and the greatest help for him will be not to hinder and curtail and discourage his efforts. Against prejudice, injustice and wrong the Negro ought to protest energetically and continuously, but he must never forget that he protests because those things hinder his own efforts, and that those efforts are the key to his future (349).

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Here he shows the need to eliminate prejudice and argues that this is the starting point for acquiring various rights. As he states in *Credo* (1904), "I believe that all men, black and brown and white, are brothers, varying through time and opportunity, in form and gift and feature, but differing in no essential particular, and alike in soul and the possibility of infinite development" (*Du Bois: A Reader* 105). This represents a firm anti-essentialist stance.

Du Bois required "full" civil rights as an "American citizen." As far as African Americans do not trust the value of their own existence or do not try to avoid the causes which lower their self-image, they would keep accepting the oppressive situation as an inevitable or natural thing. Du Bois started the Niagara Movement in 1906, three years after he published *the Souls of Black Folks*. His writing on the Niagara Movement contains the direct revelation of his ideals and demands. What he demanded in the Niagara Movement, and his article "Credo" are closely related. Since these two were written near the time *the Soul* was written, these are strong support for interpreting the concept of double consciousness:

In the past year the work of the Negro hater has flourished in the land. Step by step the defenders of the rights of American citizens have retreated. The work of stealing the black man's ballot has progressed and the fifty and more

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representatives of stolen votes still sit in the nation's capital. Discrimination in travel and public accommodation has so spread that some of our weaker brethren are actually afraid to thunder against color discrimination as such and are simply whispering for ordinary decencies. . .Against this the Niagara Movement eternally protests (*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 34).

In "the Niagara Movement" (1906), he emphasized the need to get "full" citizenship:

We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a free born American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. It is a fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the Thief and the home of the Slave—A by-word and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretensions and pitiful accomplishment (*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 31) .

In "Credo," Du Bois emphasizes the excellence of blacks that "Especially do I believe in the Negro Race: in the beauty of its genius, the sweetness of its soul, and its strength in that meekness which shall yet inherit this turbulent earth" (1). Furthermore, in "Song of Smoke" (1907), Du Bois affirms the strength of blackness and his willingness to be a black. Here he uses the blacks' ancient history prior to whites as the reason for the excellence of blackness:

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I will be black as blackness can-
The blacker the mantle, the mightier the man!
For blackness was ancient ere whiteness began.
(*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 55)

Similarly, Du Bois repeats the same argument in *Souls*:

Your country? How came it yours? Before the Pilgrims
landed we were here. Here we have brought our three gifts
and mingled them with yours" (214).

Here Du Bois emphasized the active stance of blacks. In his
rhetoric, integration is caused from the black side. Du Bois
describes this mingling as if blacks' gift for whites. Also,
he seems to emphasize black superiority.

As for the blacks' active mingling with whites, he further
mentions:

Nor has our gift of the spirit been merely passive.
Actively we have woven ourselves with the very warp and
woof of this nation,—we fought their battles, shared
their sorrow, mingled our blood with theirs, and
generation after generation have pleaded with a
headstrong, careless people to despise not justice,
Mercy, and Truth, lest the nation be smitten with a curse.
Our song, our toil, our cheer, and warning have been given
to this nation in blood-brotherhood. Are not these gifts
worth the giving? Is not this work and striving? Would
America have been America without her Negro people?
(*Souls* 215)

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Here he emphasized the "spirituality" as a strong point of blacks, and rejects an image of blacks as outside history or having a passive existence. He treats blacks' active mingling themselves with whites as a major contribution to America. Also, he mentions in "the Song of the Smoke" (1907):

Souls unto me are as stars in a night,
I whiten my black men—I blacken my white!
(*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 55)

Showing the excellence of black souls, Du Bois repeatedly emphasizes blacks' active effort to merge their identity into white America. Here blacks are defined as an active existence who can even turn blackness into whiteness and whiteness to blackness. Du Bois emphasized how active blacks made an effort in order to produce the new identity Du Bois emphasized. This is also an example of blacks' excellence or superiority over whites.

Eric Sandquist says, "'The Song of the Smoke' (1907) looks forward to the Caribbean negritude movement of the 1940s and 1950s, and to the Black Power movement of 1960s America in its evocation of blackness as a source of unity and Beauty" (38).

As one of the goals Du Bois raised was "to be a colleague of whites in the realm of culture," Du Bois did not want to accommodate to the discourse that blacks should be artisans.

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Blacks should experience higher education and pursues jobs in professional careers such as medicine, scholarship and law. Blacks can contribute to arts and literature and be artists. So he argues for the importance of growing a black elite. As his emphasis on excellence of black music in *Souls* and excellence in art suggests,³⁴ he believes in blacks' excellence. In opposition to Washington's emphasis on vocational training, Du Bois advocates the need to raise educated blacks who exercise their talent in literature, arts, and culture. In this aspect, Du Bois also did not want to limit the possibility of development of African Americans.

At the same time Du Bois' issue derives from the black and white issue to the end. His argument on the doubleness of subjectivity is not limited to black and white relations. This means that Du Bois' exploration of self-identity as an African American has a certain kind of universality which various "self-other" issues such as those of other minority people in America (or other nations) and those who confront hardships derived from other kinds of self-other issues have.

There are various discourses about self/other. But, as I mentioned in the previous paragraphs, in the case of Du Bois,

³⁴ In the final chapter of *Souls*, *The Sorrow Songs*, Du Bois emphasizes blacks' contribution to American culture. Du Bois notes that "Before each chapter, as now printed, stands a bar of the Sorrow Songs, -some echo of haunting melody from the only American music which welled up from black souls in the dark past" (2).

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the quest for the image of the self and the quest for self-identity of other assumed people, who also have the question, "O Water, crying for rest, is it I, is it I?" are based on suffering caused by various hardships. The hardships and too heavy burden of the reality made it difficult for them to have the actual feeling of being "I." In other words, the repetition of the questioning, "is it I?" signifies the cruelty or hardness of the meaning of being black and the difficulty with which they must accept the harsh reality this implies.

Not only the hardness of the reality, but also the timing of the recognition of their situation in American society made it difficult for "I,"—Du Bois, and other people—to have actual feelings of who they are. When Du Bois was a child, he found that he was different from others (whites) in his Massachusetts neighborhood. And as he writes, "And yet, being a problem is a strange experience,—peculiar even for one who has never been anything else, save perhaps in babyhood and in Europe" (*Souls* 4). The period when he is "a problem," and the places where he is "a problem" are limited. In other words, he is neither "a problem" all over the world nor in his whole life. He reserves a certain distance from the fact that he is black, the suppressed and the discriminated. This position supports his view that race is not a biological fact, but a social construction.

As his phrase "the strange meaning of being black" suggests,

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his suppressed condition was something unnatural and suddenly added to his life at a certain point. As far as this is an addition and postnatal to his life, he will not easily receive the fact that he is determined to be oppressed in the society. His observation of his actual condition as a black shows that he sees these issues from a certain distance. His characteristic expressions such as "peculiar" sensation (*Souls* 5), "the strange meaning of being black" (1), and "a strange experience" as being black (*Souls* 4), demonstrates his distanced perspective, and the view that racial identity is something unnaturally imposed on him.

I argued that one variation of double selves is the dichotomy between the seer of who he/she is and the seen as the black self as a socially constructed racial identity. The seer is considerably neutral in perspective in terms of racial identity, and of all kinds of self/other aspects at the beginning of their lives. But as people are grown up or change their environments, they come to realize that they are situated in discriminated situations or outsiders of the society as blacks. Thus, the dichotomy between an other seer and the "seen"-self as a black whose identity is constructed by society, non-African Americans' words or behaviour toward them—indicates that race is not biological, but a social construction.

In many ways Du Bois emphasized the importance of his

discovery of difference and the unnaturalness of the definition of race. Among them, one of the characteristics of Du Bois' expression of this matter is represented by his use of a "shadow" metaphor. He describes his shock that "It is in the early days of rollicking boyhood that the revelation first bursts upon one, all in a day, as it were" (*Souls* 4). "Shadow" is a metaphor of this incident. The following is about the very first moment in which Du Bois perceives the existence of difference:

I remember well when the shadow swept across me. I was a little thing, away up in the hills of New England, where the dark Housatonic winds between Hoosac and Taghkanic to the sea. In a wee wooden schoolhouse, something put it into the boys' and girls' heads to buy gorgeous visiting-cards—ten cents a package—and exchange. The exchange was merry, till one girl, a tall newcomer, refused my card,—refused it peremptorily, with a glance. Then it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil (*Souls* 4).

This passage reveals that the impact of this moment for Du Bois was tremendous. Here the difference is imposed from the white side as the line "shut out from their world" represents. This observation in his childhood demonstrates his view of this difference as something unfair based on the white sides' one-way decision. This view is shown in his double consciousness concept.

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In **h**is concept, "the eyes of others" is depicted as the white **side**'s one-way influence on blacks. Under this gaze, blacks **find** it difficult to escape being passive or the victims of a **gaze**. Thus, his description of this moment is an indictment of **whites**' imposition of the veil-gaze as a nonsense thing.

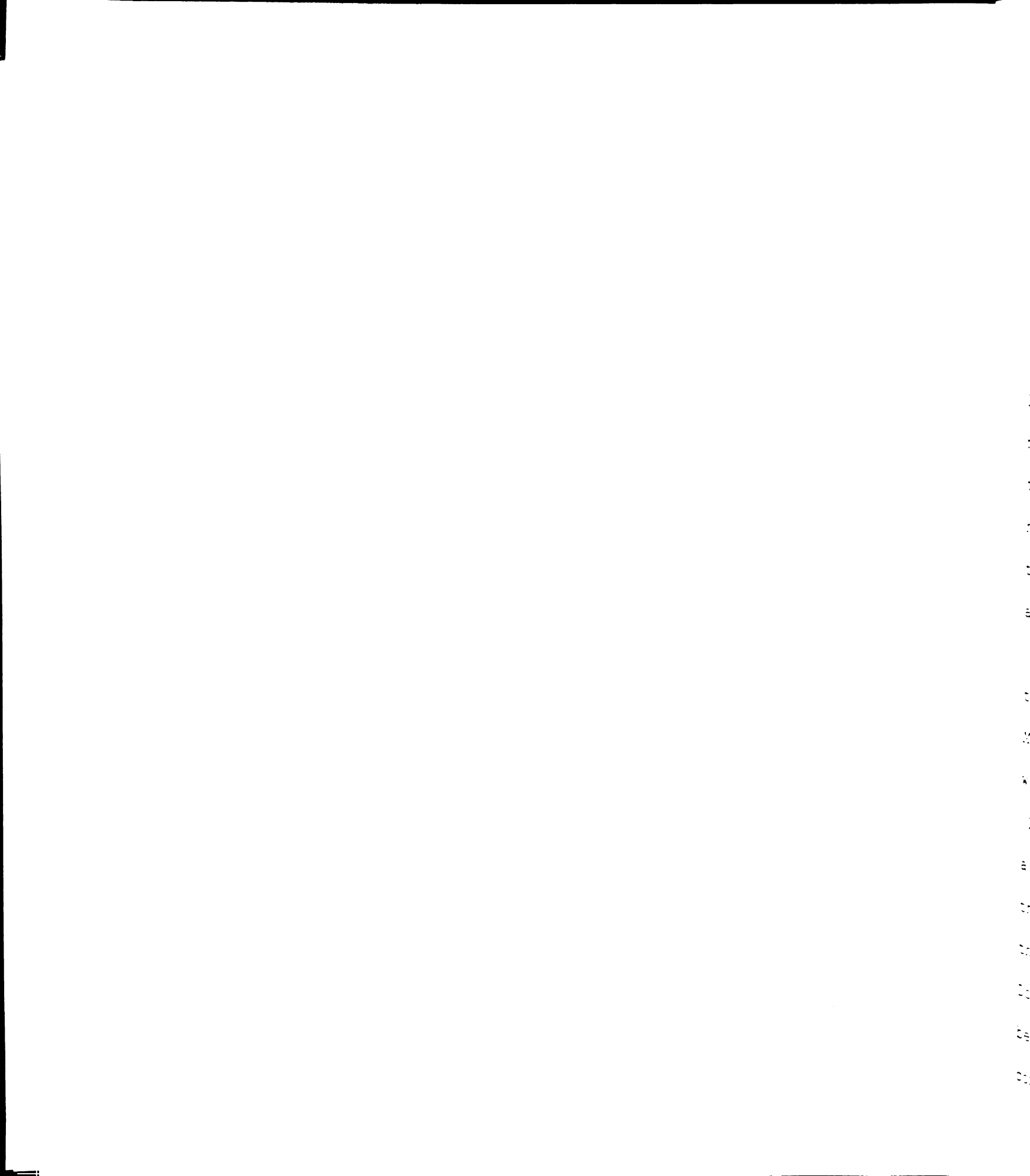
As he repeatedly describes in *Darkwater*, and in his article "The Frank Truth," he argues:

It is wrong to introduce the child to race consciousness prematurely. It is dangerous to let that consciousness grow without intelligent guidance. With every step of dawning intelligence explanation—frank, free guiding explanation—must come. The day will arrive when mother must explain gently but clearly why the little girls next door do not want to play with "niggers"; what the real cause is of the teachers' unsympathetic attitude, and how people may ride on the backs of street cars and the smoker end of trains, and still be people, honest high-minded souls. Remember, too, that in such frank explanation you are speaking in nine cases out of ten to a good deal clearer understanding than you think, and that the child mind has what your tired soul may have lost faith in—the power and the glory (*Darkwater* 120; *ABC of color* 46).

He **t**ries to emphasize this moment in order to recover the **unnaturalness** of color distinction, that race is just a social **construction**.

Also, Du Bois used this metaphor for his son's birth:

Within the Veil was he born, said I; and there within



shall he live, a Negro and a Negro's son. . .
I saw the shadow of the Veil as it passed
over my baby. . .(Souls 170-171).

Besides the metaphor of the veil, here Du Bois predicts the child's future moment when he would discover "difference" and the hardships that the difference would bring.

Du Bois grew up in New England. Less than 50 black people lived in his town, and because of his economic situation, he did not experience massive racism in his childhood. His travel to the South further made him aware of the power of racism. For him, distinction by color of skin did not exist as the criteria to judge people or divide society. His belief in the merit system also made him aware of the stupidity of the distinction by color.

Fanon's case resembled Du Bois' encounter with racism for the first time when he lived in the South. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon writes how he finds that he is black in the white world, and what it meant to be black in a white-dominated world (24) . Du Bois repeatedly wrote about his findings of himself as a black in the white world in his autobiographies. Many black theorists emphasized the unnatural nature of "being black" or the day when they found their blackness in white society. Douglass took this up in the 19th century, Du Bois at the beginning of the 20th century, and Fanon in the 1950s. Their common strategy is to feature the concept of race as a social

construction.

All in all, Du Bois thinks that discovery of self-the discovery of blackness that society defines or imposed on blacks and the social structure that lowers one's self-esteem is a significant education. Throughout his emphasis on this discovery, Du Bois persistently argues that the public image of blacks is something imposed on them, and that the alleged inferiority myth is nonsense and an artificial creation.

As for the moment in which he finds the discovery, he still argues that:

I had thereafter no desire to tear down that veil, to creep through; I held all beyond it in common contempt, and lived above it in a region of blue sky and great wandering shadows. That sky was bluest when I could beat my mates at examination-time, or beat them at a foot-race, or even beat their stringy heads. Alas, with the years all this fine contempt began to fade; for the worlds I longed for, and all their dazzling opportunities, were theirs, not mine (*Souls* 6).

Describing his personal experience, Du Bois argues his belief in the merit system. His words that "all distinction not based on deed is devilish and not divine" in "Credo" (1904) also articulates his assumption (*Du Bois: A Reader* 105). If the metaphor of the "blue sky" is hope or a pleasant world, his use of this metaphor is a declaration that the normal world is his

surroundings (as he shows that African Americans have "greater souls") (*Souls* 4). That he uses the comparative degree suggests that African Americans have become better people than whites. As a human being, he has contempt for people who have prejudice. So in a broad sense, the "blue sky" implies the world as a place of hope and happiness, a world where the merit system is alive or fairness is regarded as the priority.

Du Bois could see the "blue sky" for a while even after he knew the veil. The time when "the sky was the bluest" is when he won over whites by his own ability (*Souls* 4). Then, is "blue" a metaphor of hope? Is it a metaphor of the moment that power or personal ability, effort, or power overcome the hegemony of white supremacy? As for this blue sky metaphor, he argues:

The shades of the prison-house closed round about us all: walls strait and stubborn to the whitest, but relentlessly narrow, tall, and unscalable to sons of night who must plod darkly on in resignation, or beat unavailing palms against the stone, or steadily, half hopelessly, watch the streak of blue above (*Souls* 5).

In the first quotation, after the moment when the sky looks "bluest," he says, "all this fine contempt began to fade" (*Souls* 4). This means that the color "blue" signifies the condition in which Du Bois' belief in the merit system is fulfilled. In the second quotation, "the streak of blue above" exists as a

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slight hope which the "sons of night" look up to in their "half hopeless" situation. If their surroundings suggest a hopeful situation, they do not need to look up at the sky. Since they cannot find a hope in their real world, they see the sky which is not "this world," but the/an "other world." Thus, throughout his description of conditions after his discovery of difference, and use of the blue sky metaphor, he advocates the need of a merit system. This argument is based on his idea that color distinction of human beings is nonsense, and that human beings should be judged by ability and hard work. Around the year when he wrote *Souls*, he reveals his belief in the absurdity of the color distinction and the importance of a merit system that "Let not mere colour or race be a feature of distinction drawn between white and black men, regardless of worth or ability" (*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 626).

Like Douglass, Du Bois' idea adds to the core spirit of the concept of double consciousness that blacks are not passive but can be active seers or assessors of whites. Douglass' comment—"blacks were not only seen, but assess you, whites"—is similar to Du Bois' rhetoric here that blacks need to deny or overcome whites' influence over blacks. Fifty years later, in his speech "I have a dream," Martin Luther King, Jr., would argue that "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin

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but by the content of their character" (*A Testament of Hope* 85).

One of the main bases of Du Bois' thought in discussing race issues is that all human beings are equal and derive from one gene pool. In his "Credo" (1904), he reveals his belief:

I believe in God, who made of one blood all nations that on earth do dwell. I believe that all men, black and brown white, are brothers, varying through time and opportunity, in form and gift and feature, but differing in no essential particular, and alike in soul and the possibility of infinite development (*Du Bois: A Reader* 17).³⁵

In "The Conservation of Races" (1897), he emphasizes this belief:

He [The American Negro] has, consequently, been led to deprecate and minimize race distinctions, to believe intensely that out of one blood God created all nations, and to speak of human brotherhood as though it were the possibility of an already dawning to-morrow (*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 20).

So the rejection of "race distinctions" itself is necessary to his formulation of the concept of double consciousness. Du Bois argues that "Work, culture, liberty,—all these we need, not singly but together, not successively but together. . ." (*Souls* 11). Here Du Bois shows an anti-accommodationist stance, and

³⁵ In his first publications in 1900, he tried to reconcile his religious belief with the ethics of the race problem.

re~~j~~ects gradualism. He thinks that "Human brotherhood" is
ne~~c~~essary for his view of democracy.

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Chapter 3 Double Consciousness Discourse before 1897

Then came the Revolution of 1876, the suppression of the Negro votes, the changing and shifting of ideals, and the seeking of new lights in the great night. Douglass, in his old age, still bravely stood for the ideals of his early manhood,—ultimate assimilation through self-assertion, and on no other terms (*Souls* 42).³⁶

This is Du Bois' view on Frederick Douglass in *The Souls of Black Folks*. Here Du Bois recognizes Douglass as an integrationist who emphasizes blacks' active agency and self-assertion in the acquisition of full rights without any.³⁷ As I argued in Chapter 1, these were significant components of Du Bois' formulation of double consciousness. Other than these points, Du Bois characterizes the core nature of Douglass' leadership as emphasis on "self-development," and "ultimate freedom" (*Souls* 42).³⁸ Du Bois' passage above shows the possibility in which the discourses of Du Bois and Douglass intersect in several ways. Also, it shows that discourses relevant to double consciousness had existed before the time when Du Bois first introduced the

³⁶ The revolution of 1876 is known as the event which determined the white supremacy. As for Douglass' influence on Du Bois, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., points out that "The figure of Douglass persisted in Du Bois' imagination, dogging his steps as the model to be emulated, as a counter force to Booker T. Washington's theories of laissez-faire economics and laissez-faire political accommodation." (*The Souls of Black Folks: Authoritative Text Contexts Criticism*) xvii.

³⁷ Du Bois paid attention to Douglass' emphasis on "the assertion of the manhood rights of the Negro by himself" (*Souls* 42).

³⁸ As for the "self-development," Du Bois not only signifies the nature of Douglass' leadership, but other leaders such as Remond, Nell, Wells-Brown (*Souls* 42).

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concept in 1897.³⁹

In this Chapter, I will examine what discourses relevant to Du Bois' double consciousness existed before his time, how those functioned over time, and how forerunners participated in or reacted to those discourses. In doing so, I also take up double consciousness discourse in cross-cultural and gender conflicts.

In terms of African American/race discourse, I will examine an African American abolitionist, David Walker's (1785-1830) *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* (1829), an African American leader and intellectual of the 19th century, Frederic Douglass' (1818-1895) *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845) and *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855). I also explore some slave narratives such as Harriet Jacob's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861), Bethany Veney's *The Narrative of Bethany Veney: A Slave Woman* (1889), *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave Related by Herself* (1831), William Wells Brown's *Clotel or the President's Daughter* (1853), and Olaudah Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, The African Written by himself* (1814). Frederick Douglass is a famous black leader,

³⁹ As I argued in Chapter 1, originally, Du Bois formulated the concept of double consciousness based on his interpretation and observation of history.

and is often called Du Bois' model in many respects.⁴⁰ In fact, Du Bois shows his respect for Douglass in *Souls* and other works (*Souls* 42; *Black Folk: Now and Then* 123; *The Philadelphia Negro* 230). Also, some researchers agree that the death of Douglass might have become one of the motives for Du Bois to raise several slogans for blacks' uplift.⁴¹

William Wells Brown's *Clotel*, a story published in 1853 about a mulatto woman who was President Thomas Jefferson's child by his slave, Currer, is the first African American novel. Joan E. Cashin points out that this is "the first in American literature to concentrate on slave women" ix). Olaudah Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano Written by himself*, a story about a West African kidnapped and bought by European slave dealers, is recognized as "the prototype of the nineteenth-century slave narrative" because of its rich structure (*The Classic Slave Narratives* xiv). Since it was published in 1789, Equiano's *Narrative* has been a popular slave narrative and more than ten editions have been published since his death (*The Classic Slave Narratives* xiv).

Mary Prince of *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave* (1831) was "the first woman to publish a slave narrative"

⁴⁰ Henry Louis Gates introduces Du Bois' eulogy of Frederick Douglass and regards this as an evidence of Du Bois' will to inherit Douglass' position as a black leader (*The Classic Slave Narratives* xii).

⁴¹ Henry Louis Gates represents this view (*The Classic Slave Narratives* xiv).

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(*The Classic Slave Narratives* xv). Gates emphasizes the importance of Prince's narrative:

Prince's narrative is also central to the development of the slave narrative because she repeatedly comments upon the differences between popular white myths or impressions about the feelings of slaves, and the actual feelings of the slave themselves. . . (*Classic Slave Narratives* xv).

In terms of the formation of cross-cultural subjectivity, I will take up William Apess' works. A Native American (Pequot) in New England, Apess "initiated and helped to lead" the Mashpee Revolt in 1833 (xiv-xv). Apess' writings were published between 1829 and 1836, and with these he became "a public figure" (xiv). I will analyze his first published work, his autobiography, *A Son of the Forest* (1829, revised in 1831), and other texts. Barry O'Conner points out that it is surprising that Apess' consciousness of Euro-American racism in the first third of the nineteenth century in New England could be found in later times such as the 60s or the 90s (*On Our Own Ground* xiii). Also, he argues that "From what sources or experiences might Apess' consciousness have come, a consciousness which anticipates so strikingly pan-Indianism and the political sensibility signified in the 1980s and 1990s by the term "people of color"? (*On Our Own Ground* xv). I argued in chapter 1 that Du Bois' double

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consciousness could be applied to cross-cultural identity and found in different periods. Examination of Apess would demonstrate this. If so, do other peoples face the same discourses in different times, or share some ideas or ways to react to those discourses? What problems did Douglass, Apess, Walker, Harriet Jacobs, and Mary Prince identify? Did their discourses function as illustrations of double consciousness?

First of all, I will explore Du Bois' sense of second sight—"the eyes of others"—discourse. As I noted in chapter 1, one of Du Bois' definitions of the concept of double consciousness is the "second-sight" function. Du Bois discloses the psychological mechanism in which "the eyes of others"—whites' contempt, pity, and ignorance of blacks lowers blacks' self-esteem, deprives them of "true-self-consciousness" and makes them accept their plight as unavoidable conditions. The white gaze implies whites' power over blacks, exploitation of blacks, injustice, hostility, contempt, pity, ignorance, oppression of blacks, and a perspective as onlookers which regard blacks as "others." Many writers before Du Bois perceived the whites' gaze—"the eyes of others"—and grappled with this discourse in various ways.

As for the gaze as power over slaves, Douglass describes his experience under overseers' watching him. Douglass observed that not only slave owners' prohibitions, orders to him, but also

their views toward him hindered his having self-esteem. His masters' watching him made his consciousness passive and deprived him of active subjectivity. He cannot help regarding himself as one only to be seen or assessed by others' eyes—in this case, the slave owners' or overseers' eyes. He describes one of his masters called "Mr. Severe":

Mr. Severe, the overseer, used to stand by the door of the quarter, armed with a large hickory stick and heavy cowskin, ready to whip any one who was so unfortunate as not to hear, or, from any other cause, was prevented from being ready to start for the field at the sound of the horn (*Narrative* 25).

For Douglass, the gaze of "Mr. Severe" signifies the possibility of receiving actual violence or attack. For Douglass, being "seen" means to be an object of actual violence. The danger always stayed near Douglass and this condition functions as one of Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of others." He also argues this in his relationship to his other master, Mr. Covey:

Life, in itself, had almost become burdensome to me. All my outward relations were against me; I must stay here and starve, (I was already hungry), or go home to Covey's, and have my flesh torn to pieces, and my spirit humbled under the cruel lash of Covey. This was the painful alternative presented to me (*Narrative* 72).

This passage shows that the effect of Mr. Covey's attack on Douglass' spirit is also one of the implications of Du Bois' definition of "the eyes of others." The effect of it is damaging not only to Douglass' body, but also to his mind. Especially, the mechanism in which the gaze makes blacks' minds "humbled" in this case illustrates Du Bois' warning that the white gaze deprives blacks' of self-respect.

Linda Brent, the protagonist in Harriet Jacobs' narrative, describes gaze as oppression that deprives slaves of pride or true-self consciousness. Brent also emphasizes the suffering of being watched: "Alone in my cell, where no eye but God's could see me, I wept bitter tears" (*Jacobs* 454). Also, Jacobs describes the day when she and her brother went to the new master's house: "When we entered our new home we encountered cold looks, cold words, and cold treatment" (*Jacobs* 130).⁴² Her comment that "When we reached home, I went to my room, glad to shut out the world for a while" does not directly signify her view of the gaze problem (*Jacobs* 479). But the world outside is the place where she is compelled to be an object of others' gaze. So her shutting out the world signifies one way of resisting the gaze. Brent has "a vivid recollection" that her

⁴² The sister of Jacob's mistress had married a physician in her neighborhood, Dr. Flint. Jacob became "the property of their little daughter" (*Jacobs* 129). Jacob's brother, William was also purchased by the Flints.

mistress, Mrs. Flint, offered her "the linsey-woolsey dress" every winter: "How I hated it! It was one of the badges of slavery" (*Jacobs* 131). As a badge of slavery, the dress identifies Linda as a slave and her status as one of the oppressed or "seen" in double consciousness. Nancy Prince also shows her strong consciousness of her mistress' power in facial expression:

She carries power and dignity in her countenance, and is well adapted to her station (*Prince* 35).

The white gaze's supervision and expectation of obedience are also portrayed in Jacobs' narrative. Linda noted the suffering of being watched by her master, Dr. Flint, a physician:

My master met me at every turn, reminding me that I belonged to him, and swearing by heaven and earth that he would compel me to submit to him (*Jacobs* 151).

This is one form of gaze. As Jacobs describes, "He had never punished me himself, and he would not allow any body else to punish me," but the master's gaze sexually violates and oppresses Linda's identity (*Jacobs* 155).

Linda's case signifies "the eyes of others" in terms of sexuality, and her master also exercised gaze as actual physical exploitation of her. She recalls the days when her master Dr.

Flint started to "whisper foul words in my [Linda's] ear" "a sad epoch in the life of a slave girl" (*Jacobs* 150). Linda relates that Dr. Flint "tried his utmost to corrupt the pure principles my grandmother had instilled" and that "[h]e told me I was his property; that I must be subject to his will in all things" (*Jacobs* 150; 151). The master's oppression of Linda, compelling her to be passive and exploited, fits the relation between Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of others" and black self in double consciousness.

Mr. Flint's gaze produces another kind of gaze upon Linda. Mrs. Flint who is aware of her husband's sexual interest in Linda starts watching her. *Jacobs* reveals Linda's observation:

I was an object of her jealousy, and, consequently, of her hatred; and I knew I could not expect kindness or confidence from her under the circumstances in which I was placed" (*Jacobs* 157).

Linda considers that the seer and seen relationship between her and Mrs. Flint does not necessarily signify Mrs. Flint's power over her. The following passages show that what forces Mrs. Flint to spend "a sleepless night" is one of the products of a particular system, slavery, which enables a white masters to keep a female slave in one house:

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her own. There I was an object of her especial care, though not of her especial comfort, for she spent many a sleepless night to watch over me (*Jacobs* 157).

Mrs. Flint is also the person who is deprived of her pride by her husband's sexual gaze upon Linda. In this sense, both Linda and Mrs. Flint are victims of gaze-power. Linda thinks that her mistress cannot function as "white gaze" under her husband's power and sympathizes with her:

She [Mrs. Flint] now tried the trick of accusing my master of crime, in my presence, and gave my name as the author of the accusation. . . . [Mr. Flint] replied, "I don't believe it; but if she did acknowledge it, you tortured her into exposing me." . . . It was to show me that I gained nothing by seeking the protection of my mistress; that the power was still all in his own hands. I pitied Mrs. Flint" (*Jacobs* 158).

Linda's observation of the power relationship among Mr. and Mrs. Flint and herself signifies the complexity of second sight and illustrates various kinds of seer and seen relationship. Linda suffered her mistress' gaze toward her. But second-sight in gender discourse makes both women oppressed in degrees, deprived of dignity and pride by male power.

Douglass claims that his masculinity was castrated by overseers' watching him. While Du Bois advocates that blacks should have "true-self-consciousness" or "self-conscious

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manhood" as human beings, what Douglass emphasized in his autobiographies was his experiences of being deprived of his self as "a man." He thinks the fact that "the eyes of others" (master's or overseers' eyes) depriving his masculinity was a painful thing and is one of the worst results of slavery. Douglass resisted his master, "Mr. Covey." He seized his master hard by the throat (*Prince* 73). Douglass explains his psychology:

This battle with Mr. Covey was the turning-point in my career as a slave. It rekindled the few expiring embers of freedom, and revived within me a sense of my own manhood. It recalled the departed self-confidence, and inspired me again with a determination to be free. The gratification afforded by the triumph was a full compensation for whatever else might follow, even death itself (*Narrative* 75).

By beating his overseer, he thinks that he recovered his identity as a man. In the case of Jacobs' narrative, Mrs. Flint is on the side of white masters. But her husband's sexual interaction with a female slave deprives her of identity and pride as a white woman. Thus, race and gender identities are constructed through power relationships and each discourse forces each person to play both "seer" and "seen" roles. Nancy Prince also shows sympathy with her mistress (*Prince* 235). This also proves the complexity of a seer and seen relationship.

But at the same time in these slave narratives, race is emphasized as a fatal factor in determining power relationships. The next passage removes Linda's sympathy with her mistress. When Mrs. Flint finds out about her husband's relationship to Linda, she seeks for the fact by digging Linda's unconsciousness:

Sometimes I woke up, and found her bending over me. At other times she whispered in my ear, as though it was her husband who was speaking to me, and listened to hear what I would answer. If she startled me, on such occasions, she would glide stealthily away; and ask who I was talking to. At last, I began to be fearful for my life. It had been often threatened, and you can imagine, better than I can describe, what an unpleasant sensation it must produce to wake up in the dead of night and find a jealous woman bending over you. Terrible as this experience was, I had fears that it would give place to one more terrible (*Jacobs* 157-158).

This is also a kind of Du Bois' sense of gaze. This gaze deprives Linda of privacy and her space even when she is sleeping. Also, Mrs. Flint tests Linda by asking her. One of the representative questions Du Bois was asked was "How does it feel to be a problem?" This exchange does not necessarily signify an oppressor and oppressed relationship. But in Linda's case, asking questions means implying guilt. So "the eyes of others" as assessor or seer discourse exists, and this relationship itself is a humiliating one for Linda. As such, slaves' use

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several tactics to fight against "the eyes of others" discourse.

After he escaped from slavery, Douglass wrote that slaves' strategies to escape from slavery signifies their fight against their slave masters' gaze and that the masters' gaze signifies their power itself. For example, he does not regard the strategy of slaves' "*Upperground railroad*" as a good one because "their open declaration" will "stimulate [the master] to greater watchfulness, and enhance his power to capture his slave" (*Narrative* 95). Douglass' wish, "let us not hold the light by which he [the master] can trace the footprints of our flying brother" and his description that "I would keep the merciless slaveholder profoundly ignorant of the means of flight adopted by the slave" shows the metaphorical relationship between sight and mind; concealing actions from a masters' gaze of running slaves deprives masters of their power (*Narrative* 95).

Douglass' accounts show that one of the double consciousness discourses in his era is portrayed in the rancor between the white slave masters' attempts to grasp slaves' intention and slaves formulating a strategy which masters would not imagine. This corresponds to Du Bois' view that "the eyes of others" signifies whites' oppressive power upon blacks and blacks' resistance against it. In the relationship between slaves and slave masters, to overlook or supervise slaves itself signifies Du Bois' sense of gaze-power. The slave masters' gaze

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functioned to prevent the possibilities that slaves would do something the masters could predict.

In this sense, the deprivation of slaves' knowledge and privacy also functioned as gaze-power or domination over blacks. Douglass observes how whites tried to dominate slavery by banning slaves' education. Douglass noted that "The means of knowing was withheld from me" (*Narrative* 18). This suppression of enlightening discourses helps enable masters to dominate slaves. As Douglass observes, "It is the wish of most masters within my knowledge to keep their slaves thus ignorant" (*Narrative* 17). He observed what masters concretely did in order to ban slaves' exposure to knowledge. Masters were careful to prevent family bonds from disabling the slave market, not to offer slaves their own personal information, to ban slaves' questioning and learning how to read and write.⁴³

Bethany Veney recollects a childhood memory in which her

⁴³ Douglass observed masters' hindering slaves' nurturing family affection: "Frequently, before the child has reached its twelfth month, its mother is taken from it, and hired on some farm a considerable distance off, and the child is placed under the care of an old woman, too old for field labor. For what this separation is done, I do not know, unless it be to hinder the development of the child's affection toward its mother, and to blunt and destroy the natural affection of the mother for the child. This is the inevitable result." Douglass did not know his own age. He describes that "Like other slaves, I cannot tell how old I am" (*Bondage* 35) and how he thought about this: "A want of information concerning my own was a source of unhappiness to me even during childhood. The white children could tell their ages. I could not tell why I ought to be deprived of the same privilege" (*Narrative* 17). As for questioning, he mentioned that "I learned when I grew up, that my master—and this is the case with masters generally—allowed no questions to be put to him, by which a slave might learn his age" (*Bondage* 35) and that "I was not allowed to make any inquiries of my master concerning it. He deemed all such inquiries on the part of a slave improper and

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mistress told her that she (and other slaves) would be "burned like fire" if she told lies. Veney later realizes that her mistress' lie aimed to deprive her of privacy (34). Deprivation of privacy secures the master's "watchfulness," power, and domination over slaves. Masters needed to oversee everything. To be seer enabled the masters to oppress or control slaves. This is also a function of Du Bois' sense of gaze.

Realization of the functions of gaze as the key of power relations appeared in Jacobs' narrative. Brent makes use of the power of gaze—the mechanism in which seer or overlooker of others captures power or domination over others—in order to protect herself from her master, Mr. Flint's, sexual exploitation (*Jacobs* 7). She remembers that "By managing to keep within sight of people, as much as possible, during the day time, I had hitherto succeeded in eluding my master. . ." (*Jacobs* 156). Originally, Mr. Flint signifies power over Linda. But under the public's gaze toward him—his neighborhoods' eye—Mr. Flint becomes "seen." So Linda attempted to make her neighborhood watch as her "seer" of Mr. Flint, and turned her gazer into the seen or assessed. Jacobs shows that Linda knows that this would deprive her master of his power over her—hinder his sexual harassment.

This strategy protected Linda from Mr. Flint's whipping her.

impertinent, and evidence of a restless spirit" (*Narrative* 16).

Linda observes that:

The doctor never allowed any one to whip me. The old sinner was politic. The application of the lash might have led to remarks that would have exposed him in the eyes of his children and grandchildren. How often did I rejoice that I live in a town where all the inhabitants knew each other! (*Jacobs* 158)

In terms of making a gazer the gazed upon, Jacobs' logic resembles Douglass'. Du Bois advocated having an active subjectivity in double consciousness. Making whites' crimes visible in the public eye also fits Du Bois' sense of a "message to the world." The circulation of messages in Du Bois' definition means blacks letting other people know what is going on around them. The problem is that injustice, oppression, and exploitation of blacks does not always happen in visible places or situations, but often in places unseen by the public. So Linda's strategy to ban her master's oppression by using public eyes signifies one kind of "message to the world"—blacks' indictment of whites' crimes upon them and calls for other people's help or attention to them. But, of course, if the public is made up of oppressors, the public's knowledge of abuse may not help the oppressed.

Du Bois problematized the white gaze (pity, contempt and ignorance) toward blacks as the cause of degradation of blacks'

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status, and their self-respect. Among various kinds of white gaze, Du Bois regards whites' disregard of blacks as one of the worst, for negative effects on blacks.⁴⁴ Walker also problematized the disregard of blacks:

. . .have they not made provisions for the Greeks, and Irish? Nations who have never done the least thing for them, while we, who have enriched their country with our blood and tears—have dug up gold and silver for them and their children, from generation to generation, and are in more miseries than any other people under heaven, are not seen, but by comparatively, a handful of the American people? (15-16)

Here Walker points out the condition in which blacks were ignored by whites.⁴⁵ Apess observed the same thing: "It involves the rights, the interests, and the happiness of a large number of that race which has been nearly exterminated by the neglect, the oppression, and the cruelty of a superior number of foreign invaders" (*Indian Nullification* 25).

Jacobs observes that her mistress, Mrs. Flint, was

⁴⁴ Richard Wright and Nella Larsen also take up "ignoring" problem in their works.

⁴⁵ Later Frantz Fanon also argues that blacks need to "appear" (*Black Skin* 35). As the first step of affirmation of their rights as human beings and citizens, escape from being ignored is an important factor. Du Bois argues the importance of escape from being seen or assessed by whites. In this sense, "to be seen" signifies the passive or degraded status as I have discussed. But, in Fanon's case, and Walker's hope "to be seen" means escape from being ignored. So in terms of the need to escape from whites' negative gaze toward blacks, Du Bois, Walker, Fanon, and Douglass argue the same thing.

"totally deficient in energy" and "had not strength to superintend her household affairs; but her nerves were so strong that she could sit in her easy chair and see a woman whipped, till the blood trickled from every stroke of the lash" (*Jacobs* 132-133). She also observes that "The mistress [Mrs. Flint], who ought to protect the helpless victim, has no other feelings towards her but those of jealousy and rage" (*Jacobs* 151). This observation also signifies the mistress' indifference to other people's (blacks') sufferings. Jacobs saw her mistress suffering from her husband's interest in Jacobs and observes that "but she had no compassion for the poor victim of her husband's perfidy. She pitied herself as a martyr" (*Jacobs* 157). Thus, Walker, Apess, and the protagonist of Jacobs' narrative, Linda, confront the same problem and find the need for a solution.

The eyes of others as whites' contemptuous eyes were lodged in these narratives. Harriet Jacobs points out the influence of contempt on her:

That word contempt burned me like coals of fire. I replied, "God alone knows how I have suffered; and he, I trust, will forgive me. If I am permitted to have my children, I intend to be a good mother, and to live in such a manner that people cannot treat me with contempt" (*Jacobs* 479).

The passage above, especially Jacobs' use of the word "fire,"

shows the intensity of her pain when she receives Du Bois' sense of contemptuous white gaze toward her. She also shows her strong consciousness of her master's eye, stating that "I saw that Mr. Flint regarded me with a suspicious eye" (*Jacobs* 413). She also mentions that Mrs. Flint's "watchful eye detected something beneath the surface. She drew me towards her, and asked me to sit down. She looked earnestly at me, . . . (*Jacobs* 413). Dr. Flint's "suspicious eye" and Mrs. Flint's "watchful eye" signify their views of Linda as having guilt, and their contempt of her. All of these accounts prove the slaves' strong consciousness of their master's eyes on them.

Apess also finds the power to impose degradation in him: "Yes, the spirit of degradation has always been exercised toward us poor and untaught people" (*Eulogy of King Philip* 308). After preaching and attending the Conference, Apess feels that "the spirit of prejudice is no longer an inmate of my bosom" (*Forest* 51). Apess' psychological model is similar to Du Bois' model of "the eyes of others" that places contempt on the black self in their own psychology. Apess is aware of the existence of the oppressors' perspective in his own psychology in a manner similar to Du Bois' double consciousness.

As I argued in Chapter 1, against these various kinds of negative effect of "the eyes of others" on blacks, Du Bois advocates the importance of the removal of the influence of

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others' eyes. The following narratives show that Du Bois' sense of the dialogue between "the eyes of others" and the counter discourse to it is found in that of the overseers and slaves. In his letter to his old master, Thomas Auld, Douglass reveals his idea after his escape from slavery that

The morality of the act I dispose of as follows: I am myself; you are yourself; you [Thomas Auld] and I [Douglass] are two distinct persons, equal persons. What you are, I am . . . Nature does not make your existence depend upon me, or mine to depend upon yours
(*The Oxford Douglass Reader* 103-104).

That masters "depend" upon Douglass signifies the whites' exploitation or violation in Du Bois' concept of double consciousness. That Douglass claims that he does not need his master's existence fits Du Bois' rejection of the negative influence of "the eyes of others" and establishment of independent subjectivity. A Native American, Apess argues: "This memorial signed by seventy-nine males and ninety-two females, of the Plantation, represents. . . [t]hat no enlightened or respectable Indian, wants Overseers" (*Nullification* 231).

In the cases of Douglass and Apess, the characteristic logic is that the existence of masters or overseers itself denies equality and dignity of human beings, and that their will to reject their masters or overseers proves their intellect and

spectability or leads to their freedom. Du Bois was frustrated with the condition in which blacks are compelled to be seen or assessed. He knew that blacks do not deserve this unfair structure, and that their active resistance against it is necessary in acquiring freedom. In this sense, the cases of Douglass and Apess illustrate one of the double consciousness discourses.

Du Bois' advocacy of the need to reject "the eyes of others" relates to his promotion of the need for blacks to escape from the enforced passivity and to establish independent and active subjectivity. He believes that blacks should be masters of themselves, and that they need to establish an eye to see or assess themselves without being influenced by others' eyes to them. In this sense, Douglass has the same idea. Douglass found employment after he escaped from slavery and arrived in New York. His job was "stowing a sloop with a load of oil" (Narrative 105). Although it was "new, dirty, and hard work," he explains his happiness, saying that "I was now my own master. It was a happy moment, the rapture of which can be understood only by those who have been slaves" and that "[t]here was no Master Hugh standing ready, the moment I earned the money, to rob me of it. . . . I was at work for my self and newly-married wife" (Narrative

When he was under slavery, he suffered deeply that he was dominated by other people (masters or overseers). Du Bois' sense of the white gaze also signifies the economic exploitation of slaves in this case. Although his job is not a satisfactory one, Douglass acquired subjectivity and is in control of himself. Now it is not others but he who orders or sees himself. Thus, the quotation above relates to Du Bois' sense of rejection of others' eyes, and the need to establish selfhood freed from others' assessment or control. After he escaped from slavery, Douglass was often "asked how I felt when I found myself in a free State" (*Narrative* 99). As Du Bois advocates the need of I to I relationships, Douglass is trying to establish his independent views which are not hindered by whites' gaze or ideas imposed on him.

Du Bois' used the double consciousness concept to advocate that African Americans should have "true-self-consciousness" and should see or evaluate themselves not by whites' "eyes," but by blacks' own eyes. In this sense, Douglass' emphasis on the power of blacks' "eyes" on whites as a symbol or necessary component of blacks' independent subjectivity matches Du Bois' theory on the necessity of "true self-consciousness." Du Bois argues that blacks are conscious of whites' gaze toward them.

⁴⁶ Master Hugh is Douglass' past master.

As far as they do not exclude the negative influence of the white gaze toward them (contempt, ignorance, and pity), they cannot have self-esteem. Harriet Jacobs says, "I argued that we [Jacobs and her brother William] were growing older and stronger, and that perhaps we might, before long, be allowed to hire our own time, and then we could earn money to buy our freedom" (*Jacobs* 131). This passage signifies that her wish is also to escape from enforced passivity, and to control her own life. This is similar to Douglass' sense of achievement in becoming his own master.

We can regard Douglass' experiences in his relation to his master as an example of Du Bois' definition of "second-sight." His master's stealing his "true-self consciousness" frustrated him deeply. The necessity of having Du Bois' sense of "true-self consciousness" for him and other blacks is repeatedly expressed in Douglass' autobiographies. Douglass wanted to escape not only from the system of slavery, but also from being passively seen or assessed by others. In this sense, his ultimate goal was to have active subjectivity, autonomy, and independence.

In many parts of his three autobiographies, Douglass emphasizes the fact that he and other slaves were not only to be seen or assessed by their masters, but also he and other slaves

saw and assessed their owners' abilities.⁴⁷ This is a declaration that the slaves are not passive, but active in having independent subjectivity and the ability to assess whites. Douglass knew that reminding slavemasters of the simple fact that slaves had "eyes" would scare them most. This reverses the previous power relationship between slaves and masters. Douglass also knew that masters did not think that their slaves could be "seers" and observe them.⁴⁸ Also, after he escaped from slavery and became an activist of abolitionism, he sent a letter to his former slave owner (Thomas Auld) revealing that he "saw" or "assessed" him, and that he had independent and active subjectivity and intellect as a human being. Douglass wrote to Auld:

I know you to be a man of some intelligence, and can readily determine the precise estimate which I entertain of your character. I may therefore indulge in language which may seem to others indirect and ambiguous, and yet be quite well understood by yourself (*The Oxford Douglass Reader* 102).

For Douglass, this was the most effective revenge for his

⁴⁷ For example, Douglass reveals that when his overseer, "Mr. Severe" died, the slaves regarded his death as "the result of merciful Providence" (*Narrative* 25). Also, he shows a fact that the slaves called "Mr. Hopkins"—a successor of "Mr. Severe"—"a good overseer" (*Narrative* 26).

⁴⁸ Also, in his description of his or other slaves' observation of their masters, he expressed slaves (blacks) as having higher intellects and personality than slavemasters (whites). In this aspect, Douglass' rhetoric matches Du Bois' rhetoric emphasizing the superiority of blacks over whites.

master's violation of him in the past. Douglass tried to teach his ex-master how painful the effect of "the eyes of others" was on one human being.⁴⁹ As Du Bois shows the effect of whites' contemptuous views of blacks, Douglass tried to show the effect of blacks' contemptuous views of whites.

In Jacobs' narrative Linda observes and analyzes her mistress: "but she was incapable of feeling for the condition of shame and misery in which her unfortunate, helpless slave was placed" (*Jacobs* 157). Linda judges her mistress's capacity and observes that when jealous "Slaveholders' wives feel as other women would under similar circumstances" (*Jacobs* 157). Seers of others are in danger of coming to be seen. Douglass and Jacobs reveal this simple rule and point out the whites' blind spot.

Douglass further extends his power to not only reverse the seer/seen power relationship of his master and himself, but to exploit his new advantage. He writes to his past master that:

. . .I intend to make use of you as a weapon with which to assail the system of slavery—as a means of concentrating public attention on the system, and deepening the horror of trafficking in the souls and bodies of men. I shall make use of you as a means of exposing the character of the American church and clergy—and as a means of bringing this guilty nation, with yourself, to repentance (*The Oxford Douglass Reader* 107).

⁴⁹ Douglass was freed from slavery at this point.

In terms of an indictment of the injustice of slavery and notification of it to the broader world, it signifies Du Bois' sense of "the message for the world" discourse.

Douglass pursued having subjectivity not only as a human being, but also as a man. He was aware that his slaveowners' oversight deprived him of his sense of masculinity. Du Bois also emphasizes the importance of having subjectivity as a man. In this sense, Du Bois' definition of "second-sight," and his assertion that blacks' should retrieve their pride relates to blacks' gender identity, too.

Among Du Bois' claims for the need for blacks to stand up and reject the negative effect of whites' views toward them, his emphasis on the need to deny the black inferiority myth is one of the most important issues. Du Bois argued that this is a crucial factor in achieving full civil rights as American citizens, basic human rights, higher education, and opportunities. Olaudah Equiano mentions, "Did Nature make them inferior to their sons? And should they too have been made slaves? Every rational mind answers, 'No.'" (Equiano 41) Douglass touches the same issue: "I prefer to be true to myself, even at the hazard of incurring the ridicule of others, rather than to be false, and incur my own abhorrence" (Narrative 41-42).

Both Du Bois and Douglass thought that removal of the black

inferiority myth is the most important thing. In terms of whites' rejection of their image of blacks as intellectual people, the texts of Douglass, Du Bois, and other African Americans show the pervasiveness of the effect of "second sight" of the double consciousness concept. Not only the "alleged inferiority" in terms of ability, intellects, and talents in art, but also other kinds of stereotypical images toward blacks lower blacks' status and their self-esteem.

Harriet Jacobs confesses how her true-self consciousness was deprived: "I was desirous to spare my lover the insults that had cut so deeply into my own soul" (*Jacobs* 370). Olaudah Equiano also mentions the effect of slavery on blacks' souls:

Are they treated as men? Does not slavery itself depress the mind, and extinguish all its fire, and every noble sentiment? But above all, what advantages do not a refined people possess over those who are rude and uncultivated! (*Equiano* 41).

Nancy Prince paid attention to the power which deprives one of true-self consciousness: "Those who lived with their white fathers were allowed great power over their slave mothers and her slave children" (58). Walker asserts the need to be master of oneself through education:

Then we will want all the learning and talents among ourselves, and perhaps more, to govern ourselves.—"Every

dog must have its day," the American's is coming to an end (17).

He also doubted the authority of whites as blacks' masters:

Have we any other Master but Jesus Christ alone? Is he not their Master as well as ours?—What right then, have we to obey and call any other Master, but Himself?" (18).

Apess asserts that his people "want the Overseers discharged, that they may have a chance to take care of themselves" (*Nullification* 232). His idea is close to Du Bois' sense of "true self-consciousness," where the "independence of thought and action, that formed the main pillar of [whites'] character, has been completely prostrated, and the whole moral fabric lies in ruins" (*Forest* 61). Here Apess emphasizes the independent nature of Native Americans' identity. In the case of Douglass, he cannot live as an "idealistic man" and the heroine in Larsen's work cannot live as an "idealistic woman" who has intellect, a good heart, and moral sense. Thus, in the case of Douglass' autobiographies and other African American literary texts, Du Bois' "double consciousness" in terms of humanity works differently.

I argued in Chapter 1 that Du Bois explains double consciousness in order to raise "the end of strivings." One of goals is "to be a co-worker in the kingdom of culture" (*Souls* 5). Douglass faces the difficulty of doing this. He finds that

whites "refused to work with me, and of course I could get no employment" and concludes that this result comes from "the strength of prejudice against color" (*Narrative* 105). Du Bois raises the "end" as a counter discourse to this tendency encapsulated by his word "the eyes of others" in his time. The second goal of the "end of strivings" is "to escape both death and isolation" that existed in Douglass' ideas. Du Bois argued one of the blacks' dilemmas of having a double identity—being within the black community—would deprive blacks of opportunities, while assimilation to white society would isolate blacks. Douglass' accounts demonstrates that the dilemma existed earlier and the goal was one of the core slogans for blacks in his time. As for the inability to get opportunities among the black community, he mentioned,

for a time, every door seemed closed against me. A sense of my loneliness and helplessness crept over me, and covered me with something bordering on despair. In the midst of thousands of my fellowmen, and yet a perfect stranger! (*Bondage* 338-339)

As Du Bois describes "having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face" is what blacks should avoid, Douglass experiences being shut out from the "Opportunity" after he found freedom in the North. As for the isolation in white society, he describes his feeling after escaping: "I was soon taught that

I was still in an enemy's land. A sense of loneliness and insecurity oppressed me sadly" (*Bondage* 337). He mentions his dilemma more directly in saying "I was without home, without friends, without work, without money, and without any definite knowledge of which way to go, or where to look for succor," and "I was not only free from slavery, but I was free from home as well" (*Bondage* 339; 340). He repeatedly emphasized his loneliness of being separated from his friends, which he found "painful beyond expression," a "painful sensation" (*Narrative* 99; *Bondage* 333). Thus, Douglass' experience corresponds to Du Bois' illustration of the dilemma in his account of double consciousness and outsidersness in American society.

David W. Blight points out that "Douglass demonstrated his American nationalism, while at the same time exhibiting a strong commitment to an antebellum form of black cultural nationalism. This dialectical relationship between two kinds of nationalism became a major preoccupation of virtually all antebellum black leaders" (304). He also points out that Douglass confronted many a "veil" in mid-nineteenth century America, through the playing of conflicting roles. Philip Foner agreed that Douglass was seeking to be "an integrationist" (vi). What Blight and Foner commonly feature is Douglass's situation of inhabiting two identities or worlds.

Du Bois provided the answer to the dilemma which Douglass

experienced. His solution was "to be both black and American citizens." He advocated avoiding the alternative—being either blacks or Americans. Du Bois argued in the *Souls* that blacks have two selves—one as a black and one as a white American. When establishing a new identity by merging two identities, Du Bois wants blacks to retain their "old selves"—black perspective and white perspective as distinct perspectives. Du Bois advocates the merit of having two kinds of perspective for blacks because he believes that the black perspective has a "message to the world" and the white perspective teaches blacks various things.

The discourse that "having two selves is an advantage for blacks" is the sense of value of black leaders and existed in Douglass' time as a discourse. Douglass has two selves—as a slave and a free man— or past self and present self. At the same time he lived in two worlds or two realities. He describes that "The wretchedness of slavery, and the blessedness of freedom, were perpetually before me. It was life and death with me" (*Narrative* 99). After escaping from slavery in the South, Douglass tried to remember what he had been thinking under slavery in order to grasp the pattern of whites' prejudice or oppression of blacks. For example, in his letter to his old master, Thomas Auld, he observes the transition from the past self to the present self:

Much of my early dislike of white persons was removed, and their manners, habits, and customs, so entirely unlike what I had been used to in the kitchen-quarters on the plantations of the south, fairly charmed me, and gave me a strong disrelish for the coarse and degrading customs of my former condition. I therefore made an effort so to improve my mind and deportment, as to be somewhat fitted to the station to which I seemed almost providentially called. The transition from degradation to respectability was indeed great, and to get from one to the other without carrying some marks of one's former condition, is truly a difficult matter (*The Oxford Douglass Reader* 105).

Also, Douglass is aware of the importance of the relationship between these selves in writing that "The relation subsisting between my early experience and that which I am now about to narrate, is perhaps, my best apology for adding another chapter to this book" (*Bondage* 335).

In Du Bois' double consciousness model, two selves are separated in identity and do not melt into one. So blacks move back and forth between two selves or perspectives as black and as culturally white Americans. Blacks cannot have black selves and white selves at the same time. In this sense, Douglass' case matches Du Bois' model. Douglass' past self as a slave and present self as a free man cannot co-exist at the same time. After escaping, the past self under slavery became "other" for the present Douglass. But, as Du Bois argues the importance

of retention of his "old self," black self, Douglass tried to retain his old self as a slave. Although in Du Bois' model, two selves were internalized in blacks' minds, in Douglass' case, two selves were physically separated between the South and the North. So he cannot move back and forth between two selves physically. Instead, it took energy for Douglass to remember or reconstruct his own psychology under slavery. By repeatedly moving between his present and old self, Douglass tried to hear what his past self demanded, and to deepen his understanding of prejudice, slavery, and America. Douglass' shifting or liquid identity illustrates a form of double consciousness. In the next passage, Douglass shows the importance of having two perspectives—one as a slave and one as a freeman:

It is difficult for a freeman to enter into the feelings of such fugitives. He can not see things in the same light with the slave, because he does not, and cannot, look from the same point from which the slave does. . . . A freeman cannot understand why the slave-master's shadow is bigger, to the slave, than the might and majesty of a free state. . . . (*Bondage* 339).

Here Douglass emphasizes his advantageous nature of the components of having two subjectivities by comparing himself to freemen. That he can "understand" both perspectives signifies Du Bois' emphasis on the importance of having multiple

perspectives as blacks' advantage. Although the content of the "two selves" are different and Douglass might not be conscious of the importance, both Du Bois and Douglass represent the discourse (sense of values) that having two selves are an advantage for blacks.⁵⁰

In Du Bois' double consciousness model, two selves are separate identities and do not melt into one. So blacks move back and forth between two selves or perspectives as black and white (or American). Blacks have identity as blacks and whites, but the identities do not exist at the same moment. In this sense, Douglass' case matches Du Bois' model. Douglass' past self as a slave and present self as a free man cannot coexist at the same time. After escaping, the past self under slavery became "other" for the present Douglass. Although in Du Bois' model, the two selves were internalized in blacks' minds, in Douglass' case, the two selves were physically separated between the South and the North, so he cannot move back and forth between two selves physically (125). In Morrison's *Beloved*, Beloved represents Sethe's past self in the sense that she haunts the present Sethe, and holds her infanticide up to the cruelty of slavery. In a sense, this relationship between Beloved and Sethe after

⁵⁰ Douglass' past tells his present self about "slavery" and prejudice patterns. In *Beloved*, Beloved represents Sethe's past self in a sense, haunts present Sethe, and retells her the cruelty of slavery. In a sense, this relationship between Beloved and Sethe after escaping represents Du Bois' sense of shifting subjectivity.

escaping represents Du Bois' sense of shifting subjectivity.

The third of the "end of strivings" in Du Bois' primary definition of double consciousness is "to husband and use his best powers and his latent genius" (*Souls* 5). As a solution to fight against the eyes of others, Douglass advocates the following things as necessary conditions:

I further stated, that, in my judgment, a tolerably well conducted press, in the hands of persons of despised race, by calling out the mental energies of the race itself; by making them acquainted with their own latent powers; by enkindling among them the hope that for them there is a future; by developing their moral power; by combining and reflecting their talents—would prove a most powerful means of removing prejudice, and of awakening an interest in them (*Bondage* 389).

The use of power and talent are regarded as representative weapons by both Du Bois and Douglass. Among several kinds of oppressive power, they regarded the black inferiority myth as one of the massive hindrances for blacks' uplift. I noted in chapter 1 that Du Bois presented counter-discourses to this discourse and included messages resisting this discourse in this double consciousness concept. He witnesses several of whites' reactions to blacks. He observed the whites' assumption that blacks are inferior to whites. Also, he experiences his friends' rejection of him in his childhood. On the other hand, in

Douglass' observation, these discourses were mainly represented in the consciously suppressive relationships between slaves and their slave masters.

The counter discourse to these conditions is promotion of the knowledge that the black inferiority myth is whites' creation and imposition on blacks. In this sense, Du Bois and other black leaders have similar ideas. For example, Douglass was strongly impressed with his master's hesitance to teach him how to read and write. This is the moment when he finds how the subjugated discourse, "black inferiority myth" was formulated (here the master tried to create blacks who cannot read), and discovers whites did this in order to exercise power to oppress blacks:

I now understood what had been to me a most perplexing difficulty—to wit, the white man's power to enslave the black man. It was a grand achievement, and I prized it highly. From that moment, I understood the pathway from slavery to freedom. It was just what I wanted, and I got it at a time when I the least expected it (*Narrative* 44).

Here Douglass ironically praised the whites' invention of how to make myth—"the white man's power to enslave the black man"—as "a great achievement." At the moment when he finds "the pathway from slavery to freedom" as most slave narratives take up "literacy" as the symbol of "freedom," he became sure that

the myth is whites' deliberate creation. In fact, when he learns how to write and read, he felt that he had found the direct strategy to escape (*Narrative* 41).

Other than the law which prohibits slaves from learning how to read and write, slave masters used other strategies to keep their slaves ignorant. For example, his slave master forbade Douglass to ask questions:

I was not allowed to make any inquiries of my master concerning it. He deemed all such inquiries on the part of a slave improper and impertinent, and evidence of a restless spirit (*Narrative* 16).⁵¹

Douglass finds that this prohibition signifies the key to slaves' liberation. What whites prohibit is what they are most afraid of. If blacks start reading, writing, and asking questions, these actions would result in their desire to know the truth. Once they knew what whites were doing to blacks—the way to communicate with other slaves, or how they could resist against whites and could escape from them—this would damage the profitability and stability of slavery.

Whites' tricks further gave Douglass a conviction that the owners' assertions that slaves lack intellect or that they are incompetent were not factual, but whites' self-serving creation.

⁵¹ Apess observed the same tendency in his works.

Du Bois advocated the rejection of the black inferiority myth in formulating his double consciousness concept. In doing this, his basic argument was that "race" is not a biological component, but a social construction. As Du Bois recalls the day when his white friends rejected him, Douglass emphasizes how shocking it was for him to find his difference from other children.⁵² Douglass' treatment of his childhood memory in these autobiographies shows his intention to demonstrate the unnaturalness or nonsense of the concept of race as a biological fact.

The author of *The Narrative of Bethany Veney* starts her account with the line "Of my father I know nothing" (3). Douglass, Apess, and Veney all observed that they were distanced from various means of "knowing." Douglass directly heard his masters' own idea that knowledge would make slaves rebellious or independent. He remembers that Mr. Auld forbade his wife to teach Douglass the alphabet, and how to spell words. Mr. Auld told his wife that "If you give a nigger an inch, he will take an ell" and that "if you teach that nigger (speaking of myself) how to read, there would be no keeping him" (*Narrative* 44). Linda in *Incidents* recollects that "One day he caught me teaching

⁵² In Douglass' three autobiographies, he takes up this moment repeatedly. But, in writing these, he gradually emphasizes the importance of his childhood memory. His naming of the contents show this change. And in his third (last) autobiography, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855), he emphasized this most.

myself to write. He frowned, as if he was not well pleased; but I suppose he came to the conclusion that such an accomplishment might help to advance his favorite scheme" (*Incidents* 154-155). Douglass remembers that "Whilst I was saddened by the thought of losing the aid of my kind mistress, I was gladdened by the invaluable instruction which, by the merest accident, I had gained from my master" (*Narrative* 44-45). Douglass finds that what masters hate is what slaves need.

When Douglass was a slave, abolitionism became prevalent mostly in the North, but even in the South it was getting popularized. Kwame Anthony Appiah points out that "Damn abolitionist" or "Damn the niggers" were prevalent slogans of whites (*Introduction* xii). But, the more the abolitionist movement became active, the more Southern whites attempted to oppress slaves and other blacks (xii). They thought it effective for them to repress the slaves' desire to be freed, to raise their status, or to get various rights. As far as slaves believe in their own inferiority and lack of intellect, they would accept their positions as slaves.

Douglass finds whites' imposition of the myth on blacks in his own masters' remarks, his orders to him, and conversations with their family. As the law which forbade blacks to learn how to read and write was established in this period, Douglass directly experienced this prohibition in his relation to his

master. Douglass values the imposition of an inferiority myth on blacks as the major hindrance for blacks' uplift:

I told them that perhaps the greater hinderance to the adoption of abolition principles by the people of the United States, was the low estimate, everywhere in that country, placed upon the negro, as a man; that because of his assumed natural inferiority, people reconciled themselves to his enslavement and oppression, as things inevitable, if not desirable (*Bondage* 388-389).

Douglass describes this part in the ending chapter of his third biography, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855). This is a kind of conclusion to his observation of the prejudice patterns. Douglass' observation resembles Du Bois' theory of the negative function of second-sight. Both of them think that black inferiority" is not fact but whites' social construction, and that blacks' acceptance of this myth brings about blacks' plight.

Harriet Jacobs reveals her analysis of blacks' alleged inferiority:

I admit that the black man is inferior. But what is it that makes him so? It is the ignorance in which white men compel him to live; it is the torturing whip that lashes manhood out of him; it is the fierce bloodhounds of the South, and the scarcely less cruel human bloodhounds of the north, who enforce the Fugitive Slave Law? They do the work (375).

Apess also had sensed that the inferiority image was imposed on Native Americans, and emphasized the inevitability of accepting this image:

We were represented as having no souls to save, or to lose, but as partridges upon the mountains. All these degrading titles were heaped upon us. Thus, you see, we had to bear all this tide of degradation, while prejudice stung every white man, from the oldest to the youngest, to the very center of the heart (*Five Christian Indians* 119).

Apess was aware that this deliberate imposition of an inferior image on Native Americans had a damaging effect:

Their spirits are debased by conscious inferiority, and their native courage completely daunted by the superior knowledge and power of their enlightened neighbors (*Forest* 61).

In this sense, Du Bois, Douglass, Jacobs and Apess observe the same structure of whites' strategy to oppress blacks.

Harriet Jacobs starts her autobiography with the following lines: "I was born a slave; but I never knew it till six years of happy childhood had passed away" (341). Apess discovered his identity by his grandparents' violent treatment of him when he was three. In his mixed blood background—white

and Native American, the grandparents found white ancestry. Apess later found it "as an effect of the theft by whites of Native American lands, culture, and pride" (*Forest* 555). Walker found what being black meant in his journey to the South. Du Bois also experienced the deepening meaning of being black in his first journey to the South. Thus, Du Bois, Douglass, Walker and Apess all experienced discovery of their identity, and revealed how shocking it was for them. For them, discovery of difference was portrayed as a turning point of their lives or motive for changes of their view of the world.

After observing the power of whites and their imposed differences, black leaders or activists launched counter discourses and proposed solutions. In terms of the argument that race is a social construction, Douglass and Du Bois share the common ground for defining race and forming slogans for blacks' uplift. Douglass emphasized the importance of rejection of the black inferiority myth:

The grand thing to be done, therefore, was to change the estimation in which the colored people of the United States were held; to remove the prejudice which depreciated and depressed them; to prove them worthy of a higher consideration; to disprove their alleged inferiority, and demonstrate their capacity for a more exalted civilization than slavery and prejudice had assigned to them (*Bondage* 389).

Since this passage is the ending of *My Bondage*, it is written as the conclusion of Douglass' observation of the key for achieving equality. Thus, we can expect that this passage encapsulates one of Douglass' most important messages—to remove the prejudice and raise self-esteem.

Harriet Jacobs also advocates the need to know self-worth:

Many of the slaves believe such stories, and think it is not worthwhile to exchange slavery for such a hard kind of freedom. It is difficult to persuade such that freedom could make them useful men, and enable them to protect their wives and children. . . . They would know that liberty is more valuable than life. They would begin to understand their own capabilities, and exert themselves to become men and women. . . (375).

Walker expressed anti-inferiority myth in his criticism of Jefferson:

They excelled too, in science, insomuch as to be usually employed as tutors to their master's children; Epictetus, Terence and Phaedrus, were slaves, but they were of the race of whites. It is not their *condition* then, but *nature*, which has produced the distinction." See this, my brethren!! Do you believe that this assertion is swallowed by millions of the whites? Do you know that Mr. Jefferson was one of as great characters as ever lived among the whites? See his writings for the world, and public labours for the United States of America. Do you believe that the

assertions of such a man, will pass away into oblivion unobserved by this people and the world?" (17).

Henry Louis Gates, Jr., argues that "The black slave narrators sought to indict both those who enslaved them and the metaphysical system drawn upon to justify their enslavement. They did so using the most enduring weapon at their disposal, the printing press" (*The Classic Slave Narratives* ix). The oppressor and "the metaphysical system" in Gates' account function as Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of others." Gates further argues that the slave narrators achieved dual purposes; making their lives into "meaningful and compelling pattern[s]" and making the narratives into "an emblem of every black person's potential for higher education and the desire to be free" (*The Classic Slave Narratives* x). In this sense slaves' writing itself signifies their resistance against "the eyes of others" and alleged inferiority myth.

Du Bois' anti-accommodation policy in the double consciousness concept reinvigorates the struggle against the white discourse that "blacks should not be artists but artisans." Du Bois argues that the goal of blacks is "to be colleagues of whites in the realm of culture." In this sense, being forced to be an artisan represents accommodation, acceptance of the black inability myth, and artists represent anti-accommodation, acquisition of full human rights, high

status, high education, or civil rights as "Americans." Du Bois' motive of introducing the concept of double consciousness was to advocate blacks' need to demand all rights they deserve. Walker also confronts this need. He urges,

But let us review Mr. Jefferson's remarks respecting us some further. Comparing our miserable fathers, with the learned philosophers of Greece, he says: "Yet not withstanding these and other discouraging circumstances among the Romans, their slaves were often their rarest artists" (17).

Throughout these passages, Walker reveals strong dissatisfaction with the imposed discourse that blacks rarely become "artists."

Kwame Anthony Appiah argues that Douglass' and other slave narratives were written in order to fight against the discourse that "Africans, people of the Negro race, were constitutionally incapable of making contributions to arts and letters"⁵³ Appiah explains that they needed to sign on their writings as "by himself/herself" because the authenticity of their writing was proof of their ability.

As I noted in Chapter 1, Du Bois discloses the lie of the black inferiority myth. He thinks that if black inferiority is

⁵³ And Appiah shows example of the consensus of many European and American intellectuals in Thomas Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia (Narrative xii).

a fact, there is no need to oppress blacks. Since the myth is lie, whites had to exercise power. Appiah points out that teaching slaves to write was banned by law in most parts of the South in America, "especially after the abortive slave uprising led by Gabriel Prosser in 1800" (*Narrative xii*). Appiah further argues "This alleged inferiority in matters intellectual was one of the main weapons in the armory of those who defended slavery," (*Narrative xii*), and some slave narratives were "part of the long campaign for the abolition of the slave trade and or slavery" (*Narrative xi*). It was written emphasizing the excellence of rhetoric and proving blacks' high spirits in order to fight against this black inferiority discourse.

As I noted in Chapter 1 and 2, for Du Bois, "self-esteem" is a key for uplift. Forerunners of Du Bois also noticed the effect of the self-degradation mechanism on their minds. William Wells Brown observed the tendency of blacks to scorn themselves in *Clotel*:

There is, in the Southern States, a great amount of prejudice against colour amongst the Negroes themselves. The nearer the Negro or mulatto approaches to the white, the more he seems to feel his superiority over those of a darker hue. This is, no doubt, the result of the prejudice that exists on the part of the whites towards both mulattoes and blacks (*Brown 129*).

Brown's view problematizes blacks' having Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of others" toward their own race. Since Brown observes that blacks in the South preferred lighter skin, their discrimination against other African Americans is a product of white gaze toward blacks—Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of others."

Harriet Jacobs advocates "self-respect" under slavery as a means of resistance:

I wanted to keep myself pure; and, under the most adverse circumstances, I tried hard to preserve my self-respect; but I was struggling alone in the powerful grasp of the demon slavery (*Jacobs* 354).

That she writes "the most adverse" or "demon slavery" emphasizes the difficulty of retaining self-respect and that self-respect is her primary value even under harsh conditions. What she tries to do is to overcome "the eyes of others" as actual oppression by having self-respect. Jacobs further argues:

To my grandmother, I expressed a wish to have my children sent to me at the north, where I could teach them to respect themselves, and set them a virtuous example (*Jacobs* 449).

This self-respect argument relates to the vicious circle Du Bois' warns of in illustrating double consciousness. As Du Bois argued, Douglass advocates the importance of mental energy for uplift: "calling out the mental energies of the race itself" is

necessary for "removing prejudice and awakening an interest in them" (*Bondage* 389).

Du Bois was not interested in each code, law, or institution. For him, these are just transparent containers. What he was interested in was the thought, discourse, and assumption in society, which the container represented, and he believes that these unseen discourses have certain powers to oppress blacks. The biggest difference in the conditions experienced by Du Bois and Douglass is that Douglass experiences slavery and Du Bois was born after the Emancipation and observed blacks' conditions in the so-called "second-slavery" (postbellum) period. Both of them are strongly conscious of the existence of the unseen power of whites' oppressive discourse on blacks.

After Douglass escaped from slavery, he analyzed what made the "old master" violent in his treatment of Douglass' cousin and decided that "I think I now understand it. This treatment is a part of the system, rather than a part of the man" (*Bondage* 83). As far as slavery exists as a system, it exercises particular power which mere individuals cannot have. Douglass further paid attention to the power which circulates through the system. He observes what changed the "heavenly smiles" of his mistress: "That cheerful eye, under the influence of slavery, soon became red with rage. . ." (*Narrative* 43-44). Harriet Jacobs also observed the negative influence of the slavery-

system on blacks in her accounts of a "slave mother": "She may be an ignorant creature, degraded by the system that has brutalized her from childhood" (Jacobs 351). The power of slavery "makes the white fathers cruel and sensual; the sons violent and licentious; it contaminates the daughters, and makes the wives wretched" (Jacobs 383). Douglass, Jacobs, William Wells Brown (in *Clotel*), Olaudah take up similar views on the particular power or influence of slavery on slaves and mistress by using the word "system." David Walker also perceives the unseen power oppressing blacks, and advocates the need to analyze what it is:

But against all accusations which may or can be preferred against me, I appeal to Heaven for my motive in writing—who knows that my object is, if possible, to awaken in the breasts of my afflicted, degraded and slumbering brethren, a spirit of inquiry and investigation respecting our miseries and wretchedness in this *Republican Land of Liberty!!!!!!*" (5).

What these leaders and intellectuals found necessary for blacks was discovery of the power of discourses circulating through slavery and its aftermath. These discourses were embedded in daily lives in subtle ways. They discovered that deconstruction of this discourse which blacks in general had not done was their primary duty as spokespersons.

Du Bois' sense of the need for being critically active is found in forerunners' writings. Linda in Jacobs' narrative warns whites that "I can testify, from my own experience and observation, that slavery is a curse to the whites as well to the blacks" (*Jacobs* 383).

Du Bois' discourse of "the message for the world" discourse is found in the narratives before his time. Linda Brent's use of "Reader" signifies her intention to identify the injustice and oppression that she experiences for the readers and the broader world.⁵⁴ Also, it signifies her wish to provoke the readers' understanding of her plight and assertions. Native American, William Apess describes that "My people have had no press to record their sufferings or to make known their grievances. . ." and that "I merely relate this circumstance, without any embellishment or exaggeration, to show the reader how we were treated" (*Forest* 60; 5). David Walker emphasizes that he writes from inside the system of slavery by writing that "But it is time for me to close my remarks on the suburbs, just to enter more fully into the interior of this system of cruelty and oppression" (8) and that "I am one of the oppressed, degraded and wretched sons of Africa, rendered so by the avaricious and unmerciful among the whites" (74-75). Douglass's account is

⁵⁴ But the use of "the reader" signifies one of the archetypes of the literary tradition of slave narratives. So it does not signify Jacobs' unique way.

vivid enough about what is going on in the inside of slavery that "[t]he reader will easily imagine what must have been my feelings" (*Bondage* 391). Du Bois says he has "stepped within the Veil, raising it that you may view faintly its deeper recesses" and tried to make the readers "Suppose and suppose!" what experiencing racism is like (*Souls* 1-2). These forerunners assume that people outside their community or system do not know the reality of injustice and oppression that they experience. In anticipating Du Bois' "the message for the world" discourse they emphasize that they wrote from the insider's view and the need to notify the world of their experiences.

Du Bois' sense of double consciousness and Douglass' and others' sense of the concept in terms of gender. Douglass' and other texts demonstrate that not only human dignity, but also dignity as a man and a woman, is the significant component of "true-consciousness" or "true self-manhood." Basic human rights and living one's life as idealistic man or woman are related to each other. Inability to get satisfactory gender identity is one cause of human tragedy.

Chapter 4

Historical Contexts: Conditions for a Counter Discourse

The year Du Bois first introduced the concept, double consciousness, was 1897.⁵⁵ Later in autobiographical *Dusk of Dawn* (1940), he called the years from 1885 to 1894 "a day of Progress with a capital P" (26).⁵⁶ Also, he recollected that *the Souls* was "a cry at midnight thick within the veil, when none rightly knew the coming day" in terms of resolving race problems (*Dusk* 1).⁵⁷ Du Bois's view signifies the contrast between the plight of blacks and the coming of age of America. Events at the end of the nineteenth century produced discourses that Du Bois's concept of double consciousness intersects. What discourses did the background in the late nineteenth century give Du Bois in formulating his concept? Did Du Bois' concept share any values and fragments of ideas in Du Bois' concept found in other contemporary thinkers' works? The concept of double

⁵⁵It appeared as an article entitled "The Strivings of the Negro People" in *Atlantic Monthly* (August, 1897), and later the article was published as Chapter 1 of his book, *The Souls of Black Folks* (A.C. McClurg and Company, April 1903) (D. W. Blight and R. Gooding-Williams, "Introduction" 1).

⁵⁶ For Du Bois, "progress" implies population increase, development of cities, transportation, invention, commerce, and expansion of colonies (*Dusk* 26).

⁵⁷ D. W. Blight and R. Gooding-Williams argue that *the Souls* was Du Bois's "poignant but often biting dissent from the racist and nationalist ideologies animating post-Reconstruction political culture" (1). Also, they argued that Du Bois's aim in writing *the Souls* was "to explore the strange meaning of being black in a society that viewed blacks with contempt" (1).

consciousness is an intersection of various discourses, and the concept shows some relation to other discourses existing around the period. Du Bois, however, shaped the concept into compact form and adapted it to the crisis of democracy in a pluralistic society. In this sense, the double-consciousness concept is a powerful one that helps to explain a broad range of social relations.

Du Bois presented counter discourses to several oppressive discourses prevalent while conceptualizing double consciousness. In this sense, the concept functions as a source of discourses for uplifting black people, so it will be helpful to know what discourses the concept reacted to and how double consciousness constructs a counter-discourse to the existing social hegemony. In the introduction of *Souls of Black Folks* (1903), Du Bois declared that he would write about "the strange meaning of being black here in the dawning of the Twentieth Century" (*Souls* 1) and presented a question: "What was then called the Negro problem?" (*Souls* 2) He also presented the famous line, "The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line" (*Souls* 1). What was the meaning of being black around 1903 in America? What were the most important events? The nineteenth century marked a significant change in social relations the intellectual climate of the U.S.

In this chapter, I examine the historical and intellectual

context and discourses around the year 1903 that paved the way for Du Bois' publishing *The Souls of Black Folks*. I look at several discourses that existed during the era and discuss how Du Bois's concept addressed issues of democracy in a pluralistic archive of interests. During this time, as later, discourses and events were interrelated with each other. The complexity of relations between multiple discourses, shown in Du Bois's concept, help explain the complexity of his concept of double consciousness. I find that the complexity of relations between multiple discourses helps to explain the complexity of Du Bois' thought.

The End of the Civil War became the significant point for tremendous changes in all aspects of society. Above all, the United States underwent an enormous development of industrialization. As a result of the Victory of the North, industrial capital started to dominate the nation, and the U.S. became the No.1 industrial nation by the end of the nineteenth century. Industrialization called for a labor force and immigrants from Europe and the migration of blacks from the South to the North began to form new classes in the cities. Development of transportation and communication made possible large-scale manufacturing and agriculture, which led to the rise of

corporation moguls.⁵⁸ The boom of Social Darwinism justified a *laissez-faire* economy, so the competition among people and businesses in capitalist society came to characterize the turn of the century. The conservative concept Social Darwinism helped to justify white supremacy and to help blacks at the bottom of the economy.

Respect for wealth dominated the nation during this time that Mark Twain called "The Gilded Age." Plutocracy and political corruption characterized the era, and Du Bois wrote, "Wealth was god" (*Dusk* 26). In the rise of big corporations, a monopoly called "trust" began to be formed.⁵⁹ The public started to attack industrial leaders for the corruption of politics and the exploiting of labor (Cashman 356). They also

⁵⁸P. N. Carroll and D. W. Noble note that The rapid westward expansion of the railroads ironically provided the economic conditions for the expansion of the number of farms from about 2,000,000 in 1860 to almost 6,000,000 in 1900 and a comparable increase in the land under cultivation from about 150,000,000 acres to almost 400,000,000" (269).

They also point out that "By 1900, the value of industrial products surpassed those of agriculture for the first time. It was possible for 5,000,000 factory workers to produce goods worth \$11,500,000,000 while 11,000,000 farm workers produced goods worth \$8,500,000 (271).

⁵⁹S. D. Cashman considers that "monopolies, popularly called 'the trusts'" was "the most important political issue" at the turn of the century (354). He also refers to the estimate of C. B. Spaur that one percent of the population owned more than half of the total national wealth. In 1898 the total value of all corporations individually worth \$1 million or more was \$170 million. In 1900 the total value was \$5 billion. When Andrew Carnegie sold out to the House of Morgan in 1901 the bonds and stocks issued by Morgan for the United States Steel Corporation were valued at \$1.4 billion. At this time the average annual wage was between \$400 and \$500 (annually) (354-356).

As for Rockefeller's monopoly, P. N. Carroll and D. W. Noble note that "By 1880, the superior size and organization of his militant company made it possible for him to control 90 percent of oil refining in the nation" (261).

suppressed competition and surplus production.

On the other hand, in the South the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery after the surrender of the South in the Civil War, and Reconstruction of the South was the theme of the nation. Black people were literally freed, and enfranchised, and offered civil rights once, but they were deprived of their rights almost immediately (Franklin 344). As a result, they neither got real freedom nor rights. Although the Freedmen's Bureau saved some aspects of the lives of blacks, such as education, whites resisted even the establishment of the Bureau.

The fact that blacks could not get land made them suffer and even made some of their economic conditions worse than the time of slavery because they did not have the means to survive.⁶⁰ No attempt was made by the government to enable their economic independence. The antipathy of Southern whites to the rise of black people brought a new kind of oppression—represented by Jim Crow Laws, Black Codes, and the Ku Klux Klan. Originally, the North advocated the equality of blacks and whites, aiming to suppress the power of the white Southerners. Once it became unnecessary to suppress white Southern rebellion, however, they lost interest in the serious Reconstruction of the South.

⁶⁰Thomas T. Lewis argued that after the abolishment of slavery in 1865, "almost all freed blacks were without property or education" (*The Civil Rights Movement* 129).

Several reforms in the Reconstruction era broke down. As a result, new discourses and practices of discrimination emerged.

In terms of the relationship between blacks and whites, Reconstruction at the turn of the century collapsed and whites feared the influx of potential black workers who would compete in labor markets. For example, migrated blacks were oppressed by white workers in urban areas, and were forced to become a low-paid labor force. This created blacks as an underclass, and impeded their rise to middle and upper classes. In terms of education, industrialization increasingly required a labor force schooling and practical training. Already excluded from Traditions guilds, this tendency limited the access of blacks to specified skills and deprived them of the possibility of acquiring expensive higher education and becoming specialized intellectuals and professionals. The United States failed to integrate blacks and whites even after the Emancipation, and it took another 50 years for blacks to get Civil Rights in the 1960s.

An African-American historian, John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr. argued that "Although the South, for example, did not experience great industrial development during the war, the North did. . ." (246). When African-Americans stayed in the South, they were subject to the conventions of an abusive and resentful system of agricultural exploitation. While development and modernization marked the late nineteenth-

century, conservatism represented in the rise of KKK and Jim Crow Laws characterized the time, so that social contradictions and complexity mark the background of the emergence of *The Souls of the Black Folk*.

As we have seen, Du Bois' psychology of African-Americans in his accounts of double consciousness responds to the external reality in America. Du Bois points out the effects of "the eyes of others" on black psychology. The "eyes" signified the gaze of whites toward blacks—contempt, pity, and avoidance that determined the status of blacks would be inferior or submissive. Du Bois implied that blacks should reject this gaze and the negative effect it had on them.

As discussed in Chapter 2, under slavery Frederick Douglass' experience of the gaze of his slavemasters or overseers toward him deprived him of his "true-self consciousness" or self-respect as a human being and as a man. When he escaped from slavery, he realized that he could escape from being "seen" by whites, and become "seer" of himself or whites and "master" of himself. As for the function of "the eyes of others," which fixes blacks in a submissive subjectivity, Du Bois took up the Civil War as the means. He regarded the Civil War as a "determined effort to reduce black labor as nearly as possible to a condition of unlimited exploitation and build a new class of capitalists on this foundation" (*Black*

Reconstruction 670). As a result, "the Negro worker" was "to be reduced to the level of bare subsistence by taxation, peonage, caste, and every method of discrimination" (670). Although the Civil War was ended and slavery was abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment, new kinds of "seer" (whites) and "seen" (blacks) relationships emerged that were different from master and slave relationship represented by Douglass.

DuBois argued that:

BETWEEN ME and the other world there is ever an unasked question: unasked by some through feelings of delicacy; by others through the difficulty of rightly framing it. All, nevertheless, flutter round it. They approach me in a half-hesitant sort of way, eye me curiously or compassionately, and then, instead of saying directly, How does it feel to be a problem? (*Souls* 3)

The post emancipation era created the atmosphere in which people "flutter round an unasked question." Many historians agreed that for whites, how to control blacks was the theme of the South, as well as the government, after the Emancipation.⁶¹ The view of blacks as "a problem" was one of Du Bois' senses of "the eyes of others." Thus, the relationship between the "seer," who regarded blacks as "problem," and the "to be seen" who were called a "problem" arose as a new type of dichotomy based on the

⁶¹Peter Noel Carroll and David W. Noble in *Free and the Unfree* and John Hope Franklin in *From Slavery to Freedom* reveal this view.

"gaze" problem in double consciousness. The gaze, which sees blacks as a "problem," was also the power that imposed inferior and submissive status on blacks. For example, the Compromise of 1877 determined white supremacy and the status of African Americans until the civil rights era in the 1960s. A newly elected President, Rutherford B. Hayes, finished efforts to establish equality during the Reconstruction era (c1863-1877) in the South. However in the South, Andrew Johnson's reactionary policy (or backlash) dramatized ex-slaveowners' demands for the restoration of slavery and Southern whites' resistance to blacks' acquisition of rights as American citizens. In fact, as soon as suffrage and civil rights were extended to blacks through the Fifteenth Amendment and the Fourteenth Amendment after the Emancipation, these rights were taken away immediately. These Civil Rights Acts were passed by Congress in 1875, but the Supreme Court invalidated them in 1883. It forbade African-Americans to go to white hotels, barber shops, restaurants, and theaters (Franklin and Moss Jr. 290).

These sentiments of whites in the South was one of the components of Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of others"—whites's gaze toward blacks at that time. One of the people who read the message of the eyes of others, was Booker T. Washington, who argued, in effort, that blacks should accept the implications

of the white gaze, trusting in its ultimate good faith.⁶² Du Bois observed that the sentiments of whites toward blacks were diverse (*Souls* 48).⁶³ This meant that several kinds of oppressive discourses functioned as "the eyes of others," and Washington's advocacy of "industrial education, conciliation of the South, and submission and silence as to civil and political rights" was the embodiment of his reaction to the demands of whites (*Souls* 36).⁶⁴ Among those, Du Bois noted that "Mr. Washington's first task" was "To gain the sympathy and cooperation of the various elements comprising the white South" (*Souls* 37). Du Bois names Washington "a compromiser" among the South, the North, and blacks, and argued that as a result of Washington's asking black people to give up "political power," "insistence on civil rights," and their "higher education," blacks were disfranchised (*Souls* 43). Compromise led to "the legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority" for blacks and "the steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for

⁶² Henry Louis Gates, Jr., pointed out that by the time of the death of Frederick Douglass in 1895, "DuBois turned his prodigious energies to challenging Washington's influence over the ideological direction of the struggle for Negro rights" and that his publishing *The Souls of Black Folks* enabled DuBois to fulfill his wish to continue Douglass' "tale of prophecy and waiting work" (*The Souls of Black Folk: Authoritative Text contents criticism*), x.

⁶³ Du Bois argued that "the ignorant Southerner hates the Negro, the working men fear his competition, the money-makers wish to use him as a laborer, some of the educated see a menace in his upward development, while others—usually the sons of the masters—wish to help him to rise" (*Souls* 48).

⁶⁴ Du Bois did not regard these policies as Washington's original idea. He regarded Washington as the person who first "linked" preexisting ideas (*Souls* 37).

the higher training" for blacks (*Souls* 44). Du Bois regards national discourses of race-prejudice against blacks as the "reaction from the sentiment of war time" that advocates "a policy of submission" to "the eyes of others" and produces double consciousness. Washington was a transmitter of the gaze of whites because he was representative of "the old attitude of adjustment and submission" and his "programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races" (*Souls* 43).⁶⁵ To Washington's accommodationist policies, Du Bois argued that "manly self-respect is worth more than lands and houses, and that a people who voluntarily surrender such respect, or cease striving for it, are not worth civilizing" and that it is necessary "to state plainly and unequivocally the legitimate demands" (*Souls* 43; 47). Also, for him the way for blacks was to "gain their reasonable rights" and to "gain respect," not by "belittling and ridiculing themselves," but by "insist[ing] continually" that "voting is necessary to modern manhood, that color discrimination is barbarism, and that black boys need education as well as white boys" (*Souls* 47). This discourse identifies double consciousness as a pragmatic concept that explain how to resist against oppressive discourses in order to

⁶⁵ Du Bois regarded "the ascendancy of Mr. Booker T. Washington" as "the most striking thing in the history of the American Negro since 1876" (*Souls* 36). H. L. Gates pointed out that after the death of Douglass, his anti accommodationist stance was replaced by B. T. Washington's accomodationist stance. DuBois felt urgency to counter the power of this

gain necessary rights.

In Washington's speech, which later came to be called the "Atlanta Compromise" at Atlanta's Cotton States and International Exposition in September 1895, he proposed the separation of whites and blacks, observing the sentiment of the whites who abhorred the rise of blacks: "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress" (*Washington Papers* 75). As I noted in chapter 1, Du Bois argued that "the ideal of human brotherhood" should be realized "not in opposition to or contempt for other races, but rather largely in conformity to the greater ideals of the American Republic, in order that some day on American soil two world-races may give each to each those characteristics both so sadly lack" (*Souls* 11). Both of their descriptions seemed to signify harmonious cooperation between the populations, but differences are clear. Although Washington named the two races "one as the hand," he clearly signified segregation as the solution to problems by suggesting the fingers' separation. Du Bois presented a complementary relationship of the two races. Although the solutions of Washington and Du Bois were different, we should find that both of them were revolving around or perceived the discourse controlled by Southern whites after the Emancipation.

tendency. (Authoritative Text, xvii).

Washington mentions employment "in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions" and states that "[n]o race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem" (*Washington Papers* 75).

Du Bois observed that Washington "intuitively grasped the spirit of the age which was dominating the North" (*Souls* 38). In "a day of astonishing commercial development," Washington emphasizes the importance of "the substantial," but at the same time overlooks the importance of higher education (*Souls* 36). Du Bois revealed his disagreement with the Washington's proposal:

And so thoroughly did he learn the speech and thought of triumphant commercialism, and the ideals of material prosperity that the picture of a lone black boy poring over French grammar amid the weeds and dirt of a neglected home seemed to him the acme of absurdities. One wonders what Socrates and St. Francis of Assisi would say to this (*Souls* 38).

Washington cautioned that being "[i]gnorant and inexperienced," blacks sought for too much: they wanted "a seat in Congress or the state legislature" or preferred "the political convention or stump speaking" over "real estate or industrial skill" or "starting a dairy farm or truck garden" (*The Washington Papers* 73). Washington accused blacks' demands

for political rights after the Emancipation as the mistake of beginning "at the top instead of at the bottom."

For Washington political rights were too demanding a request, and blacks are described as people who do not know their place. Washington tried to sooth whites who were threatened or offended by the rise of vocal blacks and with his compromise speech his remarks embody the discourse of whites who do not agree to blacks' participation in politics. Against these proposals and accommodations, Du Bois argued the necessity of blacks getting political independence and the importance of acquiring voting rights. He points out that the "ideal of liberty demanded for its attainment powerful means, and these the Fifteenth Amendment gave him. . .Had not votes enfranchised the freed men?" (*Souls* 8). He argued, "The power of the ballot we need in sheer self-defense,—else what shall save us from a second slavery?" (*Souls* 11) For Du Bois the "signs of compromise" that were "to be exchanged for larger chances of economic development" sacrificed "civil and political rights" and offended blacks (*Souls* 43). Criticisms of accomodation was "hushed" by "the rich and dominating North" that was "investing largely in Southern enterprises and welcomed any method of peaceful cooperation" and "national opinion" (*Souls* 43).

In attacking Booker T. Washington's proposals, Du Bois resisted the power of whites to degrade blacks after the

Emancipation. For Du Bois, Washington's adoption of the white gaze is "accommodation" that absorbs the gaze's contempt for blacks, an acceptance of an alleged inferiority. In fact, later, in formulating the Niagara Movement (1905), the establishment of the NAACP (1910) and publishing the journal, *Crisis*, Du Bois consistently argues anti-accommodationist policies demanding full rights as American citizens and basic human rights without any compromise.

Du Bois also presented a counter discourse to Washington's view that more than anything the African American must "strive mightily to help himself" (*Souls* 49). Du Bois agrees with this assertion, but at the same time argues that this doctrine makes Northern and Southern whites "critical" or "pessimistic spectators" of blacks and the problems imposed on them. This signifies whites' indifference of blacks' plight as a matter of "others," and allows them to unfairly escape from their own duty. Du Bois considers that originally, not blacks, but "the nation" has to bear the "burden" of the problems surrounding blacks after the Emancipation. Washington's doctrine promotes a white agenda of shifting the burden to blacks' shoulders (*Souls* 49). Du Bois' counter discourse is that "it is equally true that unless his striving be not simply seconded, but rather aroused and encouraged, by the initiative of the richer and wiser environing group, he cannot hope for great success" (*Souls* 49). He

characterizes whites' gaze as indifference and proposes the need of a complimentary relationship between blacks and whites. This is also the implication of double consciousness that neither the black or white alternative is a complete solution for blacks' equality.

Various kinds of exploitation existed after the Emancipation. Against the blacks' demand for 40 acres and a mule, land was not distributed to freed blacks. This weakened the economic conditions of blacks from the first generation. Some of them inevitably had to return to their ex-slave masters, and some of them became unpaid workers of the land. The Government's Freedmen's Bureau from 1865 provided food and education to some, but the whites' antipathy to Bureau was intense (Cashman 206). Whites, especially in the South, felt they needed to suppress the emancipated blacks by any means after the abolishment of slavery. Whites' antipathy toward blacks' demand for democracy and full citizenship as Americans produced a new kind of systematic discrimination known as Jim Crow Laws and Black Codes.⁶⁶ The Jim Crow Laws that were passed by the

⁶⁶ Thomas Winter argued that the precise origins of the term "Jim Crow" are unknown. It may have first appeared in 1832, in a minstrel play by T.D. "Big Daddy" Rice. The play contained a song about a slave titled 'Jim Crow.' The expression was used commonly beginning in the 1890's. In 1904, the Dictionary of American English listed the term "Jim Crow Law" for the first time (*The Civil Rights Movement* 341).

In Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), the slave of a slave master, Mr. Shelby, was called "Jim" or "Jim Crow." The boy is portrayed as a slave who sang and danced following his master's order.

legislatures of the Southern states codified a racial hierarchy system in the American South in late nineteenth century.⁶⁷ Du Bois thought that Jim Crow Laws "made the Negro citizens a subordinate caste" (*Dusk* 55). Segregation laws persisted until the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* in 1954.

The emergence of large black communities in urban areas and a significant black labor force in factories presented a new challenge to white Southerners. They could not control these new communities in the same informal ways they had been able to control rural blacks, who were more directly dependent on white landowners and merchants than their urban counterparts. In the city, blacks and whites were in more direct competition than they had been in the countryside. There was more opportunity for social mixing. The city, therefore, required different and more rigidly institutionalized systems of control. The Jim Crow laws were a response to a new reality that required white supremacy to move to where it would have a rigid legal and institutional basis to retain control over the black population.

Jim Crow Laws forbade the interaction of blacks with whites, as for example in the intermarriage of whites and blacks. In

⁶⁷Tennessee adopted the "Jim Crow" laws first in 1875. After that, the rest of the Southern states abruptly followed Tennessee (Franklin and Moss Jr. 290).

diverse aspects, it regulated the segregation of whites and blacks, such as on passenger seats of trains. The following passage is an example of the Constitutional segregation of schools in Georgia in 1877:

The provision of an adequate education for the citizens shall be a primary obligation of the State of Georgia, the expense of which shall be provided for by taxation. Separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races (Article VIII. Mark, 1 (6576)) (Murray 89).

The black Code was a notoriously harsh code that was regarded by some as even harsher than the slave code. It enabled whites to force blacks to do intense work and otherwise allowed their exploitation.

In addition to controlling blacks through the enactment of laws and the economic exploitation of blacks, whites' verbal and physical assaults on blacks continued after the Emancipation. As Du Bois defined the function of "the eyes of others" or "the Devil" as one who "strikes" blacks "that cannot strike again" in "*Credo*" (*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 105), whites' verbal and physical attacks characterized the era. Blacks who opposed whites' control were intimidated, brutalized, and often lynched, and the number of blacks who were killed by lynching rose.⁶⁸ The

⁶⁸ As for the number of lynchings, John Hope Franklin and Alfred Moss Jr. noted that: In the last sixteen years of the nineteenth century there had been more than 2,500 lynchings, the great majority of which were of African Americans, with Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana leading the nation. . . . In the very first year of the new century more than 100

anti-black association, the Ku Klux Klan, harassed blacks by threats, hanging and beating (Franklin and Moss Jr. 345).

The victory of the North in 1865 signified the victory of the North's industrial capitalism over the Southern economic system based on slave agriculture, principally the cotton plantation. The North's power of industrial capitalism soon dominated the nation, both the North and the South, and existed as a nationwide hegemony. In this sense, although the whites' influence on Southern blacks was indirect, the South was under the political and economic control of the North—under the Northern whites' gaze on them.

Whites' ignorance of blacks led to other oppressive powers over blacks. The enactment of civil rights, suffrage, and the abolition of slavery did not necessarily result in the acceptance by the Northern whites of a democratic view that affirmed the equality of blacks and whites. As historians agreed,

African Americans were lynched, and before the outbreak of World War I the number for the century had soared to more than 1,100" (345).

Leslie H. Fishel, Jr., pointed out that "Between 1882 and 1899 over 2,500 black men and women were lynched, almost half of them between 1889 and 1899. Of the victims 2 percent were women" (146). Du Bois, himself, described lynching as one example of "excitement of quick-moving events" with which he was "torn" in these years. He mentioned that lynching was "a continuing horror in the United States at the time of my entrance upon a teaching career" and that:

It reached a climax in 1892, when 235 persons were publicly murdered, and in the sixteen years of my teaching nearly two thousand persons were publicly killed by mobs, and not a single one of the murderers punished. That partition, domination and exploitation of Africa gradually centered my thought as part of my problem of race (*Dusk* 55).

See also *At the Hands of Persons Unknown: The Lynching of Black America* by

many northern whites continued to discriminate against blacks, and the reason they advocated equality was to suppress the power of the southern whites. When Reconstruction ended, it was no longer necessary for them to advocate equality. When southern states succeeded in depriving blacks of suffrage after 1890 and the Black Code was enacted, northern whites did not support blacks. In short, by ignoring what was going on in the South, northern whites invited the emergence of a so-called "solid south" that fixed massive discrimination on blacks, and resulted in choking blacks for many decades afterward.

In the access of southern blacks and northern whites, new seer and seen relationships emerged. Massive industrialization encouraged black migration from the South to Northern cities. In the North blacks experienced the prejudice of whites who felt threatened by them. As black workers moved into white communities, white workers moved out and the communities became segregated and black ghettos emerged in the cities.

Also, the contempt whites had for blacks were radicalized at this time. Industrialization called for immigration from Eastern Europe and migration from the South. These newcomers were regarded as "aliens" in the northeastern cities. White America feared that the massive population of these aliens would

undermine American values, and tried to exclude them.⁶⁹ For example, "the creed" of the Ku Klux Klan required members to agree that "I believe in the limitation of foreign immigration" (Davis and Sims-Wood 629). The State of Idaho enacted in its constitution in 1890 the claim that: "No person, not a citizen of the United States, or who has not declared his intention to become such, shall be employed upon, or in connection with any state or municipal works" (Murray 118).⁷⁰ As white middle classes followed the wealthy to the suburbs, the remaining poor whites, blacks, and immigrants were left to struggle for survival. The rise of black workers as an underpaid labor force fixed them as lower class, and in terms of race and class, blacks experienced the discrimination of whites.

Ideological fashion also promoted the degradation of the status of blacks and justified the contempt of whites on them. Herbert Spencer's Social Darwinism, and his concept, "the survival of the fittest" not only defined an economic elite and "the unfit," but also resulted in justifying those of Western

⁶⁹ Sean Dennis Cashman noted that: American immigration was continuous throughout the nineteenth century. . . . In 1882, 788,992 immigrants arrived . . . 87 percent were from northern and western Europe and only 13 percent from southern and eastern Europe. . . . In 1907, however, when 1,285,349 immigrants arrived, 19.3 percent were from northern and western Europe, and 80.7 percent from southern and eastern Europe. . . (74).

⁷⁰Pauli Murray noted that "This provision affects primarily aliens who are ineligible for citizenship, i.e., Japanese and certain Oriental groups" (118).

European descent as a superior race to blacks and immigrants. The Klan's creed represents this as: "I am a native-born American citizen and I believe my rights in this country are superior to those of foreigners" (Davis and Sims-Wood 629).

In its westward expansion and overseas invasions, such as the Spanish-American War and annexation of Hawaii represented, America was imperialistic as well as nationalistic. The old stock American's fear of or antipathy toward immigrants—American nativism—was intensified.

Du Bois reveals his view on this problem in *Souls*:

Indeed, the characteristic of our age is the contact of European civilization with the world's undeveloped peoples. . . . We know that these considerations have never adequately explained or excused the triumph of brute force and cunning over weakness and innocence (*Souls* 133).

Here he criticizes United States' imperialism as "the triumph of brute force" and further argues the issue by linking it with "the survival of the fittest" derived from evolution theory:

It is, then, the strife of all honorable men of the twentieth century to see that in the future competition of races the survival of the fittest shall mean the triumph of the good, the beautiful, and the true; that we may be

able to preserve for future civilization all that is really fine and noble and strong, and not continue to put a premium on greed and impudence and cruelty. To bring this hope to fruition, we are compelled daily to turn more and more to a conscientious study of the phenomena of race-contact—to a study frank and fair, and not falsified and colored by our wishes or our fears (*Souls* 134).

He criticized the tendency dominated by Social Darwinism, capitalism, or imperialism in which "greed, impudence," and "cruelty" surpassed "the good," "the beautiful," "the true," "fine," "noble," and "strong" as the definition of "the fittest." But we should be careful about his implication for the choice of these adjectives. Although he used the word, "strong" as a criteria of the fittest that should survive, it does not mean power which defeats another race or country. Being "really strong" is defined as the polar of "greed," "impudence," and "cruelty" in Du Bois's case, and a counter-discourse to "greed" and "cruelty."

In Du Bois's case, one of the means to acquire a "good, beautiful, true, fine, noble, and strong" nature and to escape from the disadvantage derived from whites's "contemptuous" gaze on blacks was education. His assumed the "end of striving" of blacks at this time, "to be co-worker in the realm of culture," and "to exercise talent and genius" supports his view. On the other hand, lack of education invited the contempt of whites.

Not only Du Bois, but some historians as well, agreed that the lack of education was the cause of the disadvantage of blacks at this time. For example, Button Prorenzo argued that the educational environment of blacks did not enable them to be free and equal to whites. Education that whites received was much better than that of blacks.

As argued in chapter 1, "the eyes of others" excludes African-Americans in their country as outsiders. Segregation is a function of this tendency. *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) that affirmed legal segregation, represented this discourse. But, in a more subtle way, Du Bois observed the existence of "the eyes of others" as segregationist discourse. He acutely indicts the hegemony of whites embedded in the name of the Freedmen's Bureau that:

. . . the very name of the Bureau stood for a thing in the South, which for two centuries and better men had refused even to argue,—that life amid free Negroes was simply unthinkable, the maddest of experiments (*Souls* 25).

Also, he observes the discourse that defines whites as seer or controller and African-Americans as to be seen or to be taken care of.

In the hegemony of whites' "eyes of others," Du Bois presented a counter discourse by writing *Souls* and introducing

the concept of double consciousness.⁷¹ Du Bois the effect of prejudice was almost overwhelming:

But the facing of so vast a prejudice could not but bring the inevitable self-questioning, self-disparagement, and lowering of ideals which ever accompany repression and breed in an atmosphere of contempt and hate (*Souls* 10).

Du Bois observed in 1906 that "In the past year the work of the Negro hater has flourished in the land" (*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 367). Against the retreat of "the defenders of the rights of American citizens," progress toward "stealing the black man's ballot," and "discrimination in travel and public accommodation," Du Bois proposed a counter discourse described in the leaflet of The Niagara Movement that: "We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights" (*The Oxford Du Bois Reader* 367).

⁷¹ Many scholars pointed out the role of the "Souls" as work which encouraged African-Americans in the post-Emancipation era. For example, D. W. Blight and R. Gooding-Williams argued that "During an era ruled by a seemingly permanent white consensus on segregation and disfranchisement, Du Bois's book offered black readers a unique burst of hope" (3). They referred to biographer D. L. Lewis's interpretation that *Souls* was resistance against the turn-of-the-century racist belief on black inferiority (3).

Chapter 5 Intellectual Discourses of Double Consciousness

As many scholars point out, the late 19th century, especially the 1890s, marked a significant change and development of American intellectual discourses.⁷² Du Bois' concept of double consciousness was formulated in this context. In Chapter 1 and 2, I discussed the concept as an intersection of several different discourses, in Chapter 3 as fragments of discourses found in texts of the oppressed, and in Chapter 4 the concept was related to cultural discourses of the turn of the twentieth-century. In this chapter, I will explore related intellectual discourses current around that time. The emergence of new social sciences was one of the dominant forces in academia in and out of America.⁷³ New disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, and psychology emerged in the late nineteenth-century.⁷⁴ As H. Warren Button and Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr. point out, there was keen interest in how to apply the concepts of

⁷² For example, H. Warren Button and Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., cite Lawrence Cremin's opinion that "the 1890s were a brilliant period for American scholarship", and argue that "Largely under the influence of Darwinian theory, nearly every field of knowledge made important advances" (192).

⁷³ As Du Bois himself looked back on the late nineteenth century: "Above all science was becoming religion: psychology was reducing metaphysics to experiment and a sociology of human action was planned" (*Dusk* 26). Also, as Du Bois himself confessed, "[t]he main result of my schooling had been to emphasize science and the scientific attitude," and "[t]he triumphs of the scientific world thrilled me." Science occupies him as an important discipline (*Autobiography* 205; *Dusk* 50).

⁷⁴ As for the sociology Du Bois defined himself as "a teacher and a student of social science" during the years from "the Fall of 1894 to the Spring of 1910, for 16 years" (*The Autobiography* 205).

Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin to social theory or reform (193).

Herbert Spencer, a journalist in England, the main proponent of Social Darwinism, first advocated this ideology represented by the concept, "the survival of the fittest," and affirmed laissez-faire economics in *Social Statics* in 1850.⁷⁵ Spencer's *Social Statics* was a mixture of laissez-faire economics and biology. Sean Dennis Cashman interprets Spencer's argument that "the pressure of subsistence on the human race had had a beneficent effect. It had led to social progress by putting a premium on intelligence, self-control, and skill" (42).⁷⁶ This implies social inequality. Regarding social inequality, social Darwinism attributed the gap between the wealthy and the poor primarily to the greater "fitness" of the wealthy to survive and thrive (Boardman 112). Also, social Darwinism did not recognize any kind of need of social reform (Cashman 42). Charles Darwin published *The Origin of Species* in 1859, presenting his evolution theory which advanced Spencer's case (Cashman 42). Darwin deployed Spencer's slogan, "the survival of the fittest" to explain the mechanism which advanced evolution.

⁷⁵ In 1903, it was published in New York, and 368,755 volumes of his works were sold in the U.S. (Cashman 42).

⁷⁶ Cashman takes up Spencer's opposition to state help to poor people as an example of his practice of his own ideology. Cashman explains that the poor were for Spencer "unfit and candidates for elimination" (42).

William Graham Sumner, chair of political science and social science at Yale from 1872 adopted Spencer's idea. Sumner emphasized the social struggle's beneficence, advocating the notion "the survival of the fittest" for civilized society (Cashman 42). Historians Peter N. Carroll and David W. Noble argued that "In his lectures on sociology at Yale, William Graham Sumner gave the notion of cultural and social hierarchy perhaps the solidest theoretical foundation in the period (find quotation end):

Classifying "societal value" on a curved scale, Sumner portrayed the social world as a range of values descending from "genius" through "talent" to "mediocrity" (identified with "the masses," or middle groups), to "unskilled and illiterate proletariat," to the bottom line of the "defective, dependent, and delinquent." It was clear where the power to rule should lie (157-158).

Sumner's classification encapsulates the bias of Darwinism in the social sphere. *The Souls of Black Folks* was published in the midst of the discourse of social Darwinism, and Du Bois himself revealed his consciousness of this discourse. Du Bois assesses the notion, survival of the fittest in *the Souls of Black Folk*:

It is, then, the strife of all honorable men of the twentieth century to see that in the future competition of races the

survival of the fittest shall mean the triumph of the good, the beautiful, and the true; that we may be able to preserve for future civilization all that is really fine and noble and strong, and not continue to put a premium on greed and impudence and cruelty. To bring this hope to fruition, we are compelled daily to turn more and more to a conscientious study of the phenomena of race-contact, to a study frank and fair, and not falsified and colored by our wishes or our fears (*Souls* 134).

Here Du Bois condemned the "wishes and fears" that fueled the ideology of social Darwinism. He saw clearly that it justified competition based on "greed" and emphasized the importance of a criteria of the "fittest" based on "good" "beauty" "true," "fine" and "noble" nature as counter argument to the survival of the greediest discourse.

Sumner also argued that when nature follows its natural course in the process of evolution, true scientific progress could happen (Button and Provenzo 93). For example, Sumner regarded government reform as a hindrance of the natural evolutionary process (Button and Provenzo 193). Peter N. Carroll and David W. Noble argue that many northern protestants began to accept the evolutionary idea in the 1880s and 1890s and that evolution signified progress for them, noting that "they took their definition of progress from these social scientists" (322).

Du Bois' interest turned from philosophy to history and

social science. He notes that "Between the years 1885 and 1894 I received my education at Fisk University, Harvard College and the University of Berlin" (*Dusk* 25). He describes in *Dusk of Dawn* that "The turning was due to William James" at Harvard who advised that "[i]t is hard to earn a living with philosophy" (39). "Harvard had in the social sciences no such leadership of thought and breadth of learning as in philosophy, literature, and physical science" (39).

Herbert Spencer completed his final volume of *Synthetic Philosophy* in 1896. Du Bois thought that "The biological analogy, the vast generalizations, were striking, but actual scientific accomplishment lagged" (*Dusk* 51). Rather than follow the fashion of the social Darwinistic concept Du Bois saw that a more accurate ground for thought lay in ". . .facing the facts of my own social situation and racial world, where I determined to put science into sociology through a study of the conditions and problems of my own group" (*Dusk* 51). Du Bois was going to study "the facts, any and all facts, concerning the American Negro and his plight" with "the utilitarian object of reform and uplift" and "scientific accuracy" (*Dusk* 51).

As he argues that "I began to conceive of the world as a continuing growth rather than a finished product" and "in my own sociology, because of firm belief in a changing racial group, I easily grasped the idea of a changing developing society rather

than a fixed social structure" (*Dusk* 51). Contrary to Sumner and others this idea of change does not rely on the implied teleology of social darwinism, but on overcoming the resistance of vested interests (*Dusk* 51). He advocated the need to retain "the message for the world" of "Negro blood." Du Bois thought that scientific study was important in order to make the world aware of racism in the U.S.:

The Negro problem was in my mind a matter of systematic investigation and intelligent understanding. The world was thinking wrong about race, because it did not know. The ultimate evil was stupidity. The cure for it was knowledge based on scientific investigation" (*Dusk* 58).

In this sense, "the message to the world" discourse in double consciousness has science as a strong support in this period. Du Bois also argued that science would "give the world a mass of truth worth the knowing" (*Dusk* 60).

In Du Bois's idea, science would realize the removal of a black inferiority myth. Repeatedly he emphasized that the bad condition of blacks was not because they were unfit, but resulted from social oppression. Du Bois conducted the sociological study, *The Philadelphia Negro* in order to investigate contrary claims.⁷⁷ Du Bois observed that Philadelphia had "a theory"

⁷⁷ Du Bois was the person who engaged in the first study of blacks in America based on science, *The Philadelphia Negro*.

that the municipality of Philadelphia "was going to the dogs because of the crime and venality of its Negro citizens" (*Dusk* 58). Du Bois' study concludes with "the Negro group as a symptom, not a cause; as a striving, palpitating group, and not an inert, sick body of crime; as a long historic development and not a transient occurrence" (*Dusk* 59).

Theory of mind was also becoming popular, with psychology emerging as new discipline. Early German physiological neurologists and psychological theories were developed (Button and Provenzo 203-204). Leahey argues that William James' publication of *Principles of Psychology* in 1890 was "a watershed in the history of American psychology" and that "it set the tone for American psychology from 1890 to 1913 and beyond" (371). Thomas Hardy Leahey points out that William James "advanced his philosophy timidly, as psychology rather than philosophy" (341). As John T.A. Cobb notes, Du Bois started serious study of psychology and philosophy as a student of William James at Harvard (6).⁷⁸ When Du Bois became a student of James in 1888, James was a professor of psychology and philosophy and was teaching and working on *The Principles of Psychology* and discussed it with Du Bois. James' philosophy courses also

⁷⁸ As Cobbs points out, the relationship between Du Bois and James started when Du Bois was an undergraduate student at Harvard in 1888 and persisted to 1910 when James died (6). Before Du Bois entered Harvard, he graduated from Fisk University in 1888, where he took an undergraduate degree in philosophy.

included a new developmental science called psychology. During this time philosophy and psychology were under one rubric. It was in James' course in psychology that the concept of consciousness was developed, and appears to have influenced Du Bois later concept of double consciousness (Cobb 16).

Ideas about complexity of the mind became popular among psychologists. As I argued in chapter 1, in his illustration of the concept of double consciousness, Du Bois introduced the complex mechanism of black psychology as an inner struggle. In this sense, Du Bois's double consciousness reflects the intellectual trends of that time. However, his concept was dynamic and was based on interaction, and he also takes up the psychology of "races" as the key for solution of human contact (or imperialism) or for understanding racial histories:

We feel and know that there are many delicate differences in race psychology, numberless changes that our crude social measurements are not yet able to follow minutely, which explain much of history and social development (*Souls* 134).

Du Bois further argues:

The problem of the future world is the charting, by means of intelligent reason, of a path not simply through the resistances of physical force, but through the vaster and far more intricate jungle of ideas conditioned on

unconscious and subconscious reflexes of living things; on blind unreason and often irresistible urges of sensitive matter; of which the concept of race is today one of the most unyielding and threatening. I seem to see a way of elucidating the inner meaning and significance of that race problem by explaining it in terms of the one human life that I know best (*Souls* 134).

Du Bois felt the need to meditate on "the concept of race" by paying attention to psychology as a reflection of reality. Like Freud, Du Bois found early childhood experience to be important for later development, but unlike Freud, who found significance in the observation of the sexual act, Du Bois found it in the experience of discrimination. Furthermore, Du Bois' concept did not condemn the individual to a life of neurosis, but provided a dynamic condition of mind that depended for its well-being on the ability of society itself to heal social conflict. For Du Bois, psychology was a method useful for finding the solution to race problems.

As I have suggested, Du Bois formulated the concept of double consciousness as a pragmatic tactic for uplifting black people. Around the turn of the century, three philosophers in America, Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, and John Dewey founded pragmatism. Leahey regards pragmatism as "America's only homegrown philosophy" (339).

William James suggests in his lecture *Pragmatism* (1906;

1907) that C.S. Peirce first introduced pragmatism into philosophy in 1878 (*James Writings* 506). Leahey argued that "the practical, scientific attitude of C.S. Peirce as a way of determining whether concepts had any empirical reality" initiated Pragmatism (346). After Peirce, William James started to formulate "his own version of pragmatism" in the 1870s and 1880s (341), thinking "[t]here is absolutely nothing new in the pragmatic method" (*James Writings* 508).

James emphasized the practical use of pragmatism, stating that "the term [pragmatism] is derived from the same Greek word, . . . meaning action, from which our words 'practice' and 'practical' come" (*James Writings* 506). Du Bois uses black psychological models in order to change African Americans' reality and to raise practical goals in formulating a double consciousness model. In this sense, Du Bois is pragmatic in introducing the concept.⁷⁹

In *Pragmatism* James encapsulates the nature of pragmatism, stating that a pragmatist "turns away from abstraction and insufficiency, from verbal solutions, from bad *a priori* reasons, from fixed principles, closed systems, and pretended absolutes, and origins. He turns towards concreteness and adequacy, toward

⁷⁹ Some scholars commented on the relationship between Du Bois and pragmatism. For example, John T.A. Cobb regards Edward Hudlin's work (name of the book) as "a part of the reassessment of the claims that Du Bois should be considered America's first Black American philosopher in the tradition of pragmatism" (2).

facts, toward action and toward power" (*James Writings* 508-509). Here James did not define a pragmatist in relation to race problems. But when Du Bois discusses race problems, he shares the pragmatist perspective with James. Du Bois fought against what James rejects in the passage above. If the definition is applied to "race problems", "bad *a priori* reasons" or "pretended absolutes" include the absolutism of white supremacy shown in the creed of the Ku Klux Klan, alleged black inferiority myths, or all existing myths which attempt to assume blacks to be "the worst."⁸⁰ The implied or stated hierarchies of power are represented by "the eyes of others" in double consciousness. As I described above, Du Bois deployed science and showed concrete and scientific facts in order to prove that these myths are imposed lies without concrete evidences to support them. *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) represents an attempt to counter these beliefs and leads to James's sense of "action" and "power." Thus, Du Bois' promotion of resistance against "the eyes of others" is the discourse of a pragmatist.

William James argued that "ideas (which themselves are but parts of our experience) become true just in so far as they help us to get into satisfactory relation with other parts of our experience. . . ." (*James Writings* 512). In terms of the relation

⁸⁰ As I argued in Chapter 1, Du Bois's definition of "the eyes of others" signifies the "Devil" in "Credo" 1904). In "Credo," Du Bois argues that "Devil" regards blacks as "the worst."

between idea and experience as necessary conditions, Du Bois and James share a common position. Since Du Bois' formulation of the concept of double consciousness emerged from his interpretation of African Americans' history and experiences, one of his aims in introducing the concept is to formulate discourses which would change their experience. In this aspect, Du Bois is a pragmatist.

James argues in "Some Problems of Philosophy":

It (pluralism) protests against working our ideas in a vacuum made of conceptual abstractions. Some parts of our world, it admits, cannot exist out of their wholes; but others, it says, can (*James Writings* 1053).

The ideas and aims such as "to be a co-worker in the kingdom of culture" which Du Bois raised in double consciousness were not abstract but very practical ones (*Souls* 5).

James stressed the importance of "consequence" as the criteria of judging notions: "The pragmatic method in such case is to try to interpret each notion by tracing its respective practical consequences" (*James Writings* 506). Also, he argued:

To attain perfect clearness in our thoughts of an object, then, we need only consider what conceivable effects of a practical kind the object may involve—what sensations we are to expect from it, and what reactions we must prepare. Our conceptions of these effects, whether immediate or remote, are then for us the whole of our conception of the object, so far as that conception has

positive significance at all. . . . It is astonishing to see how many philosophical disputes collapse into insignificance the moment you subject them to this simple test of tracing a concrete consequence (*James Writings* 506-508).

In the case of Du Bois' introduction of the double consciousness concept, he did not end up with his revelation of the existence of others' gaze of "second-sight" notion, but also points out its effect on black psychology. Du Bois observes James' sense of "effect," or "sensations" on black consciousness--deprivation of true self consciousness. Also, Du Bois not only reveals a black psychological mechanism, but also the effect or consequence that could be drawn from the betterment of the mechanism. For example, to "escape from others' gaze" or recover "true-self consciousness" leads to his goal "to use his best powers" (*Souls* 5).

As for the importance of "consequence," James further argues for:

[t]he attitude of looking away from first things, principles, 'categories,' supposed necessities; and of looking towards last things, fruits, consequences, facts (*James Writings* 510).

This idea resembles Du Bois's promotion of the merit system. As argued in chapter 1, Du Bois was opposed to an essentialism

in which biological differences fix or limit one's identity or a racism which does not respect any "real good, truth, and beautiful" thing. James' "first things" and "categories" relate to Du Bois's hate of power which limits or bounds rights or activities of African Americans within the black community. James's emphasis on "fruit," "fact," and "consequence" and the crucial point of Du Bois's slogan, exercise of power and genius in escaping from being categorized as "Negro" share elements of a common discourse.

James argues that "Pragmatism is uncomfortable away from facts. Rationalism is comfortable only in the presence of abstractions" and that "The pragmatist clings to facts and concreteness, observes truth at its work in particular cases, and generalizes. Truth, for him, becomes a class-name for all sorts of definite working-value in experience" (*James Writings* 516). In these passages, James emphasized the importance of "facts," and "truth" not as a metaphysical concept, but as a practical one relating to reality. In *the Souls of Black Folks*, Du Bois pursued "Truth" in opposition to racist reality. In advocating the merit system, his belief in African Americans' contribution to America and their genius, he tries to find "truth."

William James argued that pragmatists should confront reality. William Taft Feldman points out on Dewey that:

In the 'nineties, however, as practical matters engrossed Dewey more and more, he was attracted to a different problem, and he began to develop his characteristic doctrine that philosophy should interest itself mainly with the role of reflective experience in human living" (5)

So James, Dewey, and Du Bois were all working toward discourses that link notion, reality and effect. For James, "the first part of reality" is in general what truths have to take account of; and the *first* part of reality from this point of view is the flux of our sensations. Sensations are forced upon us, coming we know not whence" (*James Writings* 593).

Next, he defines "the second part of reality" in *Pragmatism*:

The *second* part of reality, as something that our beliefs must also obediently take account of is the relations that obtain between our sensations or between their copies in our minds. This part falls into two sub-parts: 1) the relations that are mutable and accidental, as those of date and place; and 2) those that are fixed and essential because they are grounded on the inner natures of their terms. Both sorts of relations are matters of immediate perception. Both are 'facts.' But it is the latter kind of fact that forms the more important sub-part of reality for our theories of knowledge (*James Writings* 593).

James thinks the "sub-part of reality"—relations between

sensations or their mental copies—is more important than the “flux of our sensations” which is “forced upon us.” Du Bois calls double consciousness a “peculiar sensation,” a “sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others. . .” (*Souls* 5). This effect is produced by the asynchronous relations in the culture, rather than, in James terms, by mental conditions and qualities of facts.

Not only pragmatists, but other thinkers emphasized the importance of practical experience. For example, Henry Adams stresses “useful education” and “social education” in his essay, “The Perfection of Human Society” (1864):

Henry Adams had failed to acquire any useful education; he should at least have acquired social experience. Curiously enough, he failed here also. From the European or English point of view, he had no social experience, and never got it (195).

This passage suggests that for Adams “useful education” is not vocational training, but education which connects to real life experience. Du Bois also questioned the effectiveness of practical education, asking “[h]ere we have, then, nearly twenty-five hundred Negro graduates, of whom the crucial query must be made, How far did their training fit them for life?” (*Souls* 84).

Double consciousness among other things is a political

concept for uplifting African Americans. After his introduction of the concept, Du Bois raised several "aims" of blacks' fighting such as "to be a co-worker of whites in the realm of culture," and "[t]o avoid death and isolation" (*Souls* 5). We can regard his introduction of the concept as a pragmatic use of the idea. In this sense Du Bois' concept is not an abstract psychology, but directly addresses practical solutions to real world stresses.

In *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), James insists on the power of something "unseen." For James, the function of the unseen is defined as follows:

All our attitudes, moral, practical, or emotional, as well as religious, are due to the 'objects' of our consciousness, the things which we believe to exist, whether really or ideally, along with ourselves. Such objects may be present to our senses, or they may be present only to our thought. In either case they elicit from us a reaction; and the reaction due to things of thought is notorious as strong as that due to sensible presences. It may be even stronger (*James Writings* 55).

As an example, he describes, "The memory of an insult may make us angrier than the insult did when we received it" (*James Writings* 55). And he concluded that "[t]he sentiment of reality can indeed attach itself so strongly to our object of belief that our whole life is polarized through and through, so to speak,

by its sense of the existence of the thing believed in, and yet that thing, for purpose of definite description, can hardly be said to be present to our mind at all" (*James Writings* 57).

James takes up the power of the unseen as preparation for discussing religion. But in terms of the power of the unseen on human action, Du Bois emphasizes the effect of "the eyes of others" on selves. He argues that this not only deprives blacks' of self-respect, but it also weakens their will to strive for full human rights. This resignation can be seen as an effect "of the existence of the thing believed in."

Williams James argues in *Principles of Psychology* (1890) that "the constituents of the Self" are (a) The material Self; (b) The social Self; (c) The Spiritual Self; and (d) The Pure Ego (292). Among these "the social Self" is close to Du Bois's "the eyes of others." James defines "the social self" as

the recognition which [one] gets from his mates. We are not only gregarious animals, liking to be in sight of our fellows, but we have an innate propensity to get ourselves noticed, and noticed favorably, by our kind. . . . Properly speaking, a man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him and carry an image of him in their mind (293-294).

Du Bois' double consciousness describes a much more powerful social dynamic in which a continuous form of oppression is at

work. Part of the problem is that "the eyes of others" hinders blacks' from having their own self-image directly, so that an "American world" does not provide blacks the means of "true self-consciousness." Du Bois's sense of "true-self-consciousness" and James's straightforward perception of things both signify the need to reject obstacles or bad influences on consciousness. Both James and Du Bois signify the existence of two kinds of lives. For James, it is dichotomy of "the natural" and "the Spiritual, and for Du Bois, it is that of being "A Negro" and "an American." This dilemma and James's "we must lose the one before we can participate in the other" similarly suggest the difficulty of being both or participating as both. James regards this condition as a negative state of the human soul. But the problem is more difficult for Du Bois. If African Americans stay within black communities, they lose opportunity, but if they join in white society, they are excluded from their communities.

In "the Varieties of Religious Experience," James attributes the structure of the "sick souls" to being "oppositely constituted" as having "whimsical inconsistency," or "discordancy of which the consequences may be inconvenient in the extreme," as having "a stronger degree of heterogeneity" (*James Writings* 156; 157)

As seen in Chapter 1, Du Bois defines black and white as

polar extremes. Thus, the two selves in one black body are "two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings: two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder" (*Souls* 5). In James the "two types are violently contrasted" internally where "Their spirit wars with their flesh" ("Varieties" 155; 157). So in terms of the conflict of two selves in one's psychology, James and Du Bois share the common model. But, the dichotomy James sets is formed of "pure naturalism" and "pure salvationism." Besides the former dichotomy of "the natural" and "the Spiritual" (*James Writings* 155), this dichotomy is contained in the mind.

James defines the "heterogeneous personality" as "the result of inheritance—the traits of character of incompatible and antagonistic ancestors are supposed to be preserved alongside of each other" (*James Writings* 157-158). In Du Bois' case, the dichotomy signifies two kinds of citizenship. Du Bois argued that "The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife"—"to merge his double self into a better and truer self" (*Souls* 5). Yet neither James nor Du Bois sets up a psychological model which simply signifies a melting condition of two selves. Both models set the self as one container which contains parts-plural selves—as the way they are, but they see the pressure of the world quite differently. In Du Bois' model, combining the two selves does not transform to some different

thing. He assumes that combining the black self and the American self would neither lose the original partial self nor bring blacks any disadvantage such as loss of opportunity in real life. James' model of divided consciousness and Du Bois' model of double consciousness have some common structures. In either case, consciousness is divided into parts, and those coexist in one person. In case of Du Bois' model, the "consciousness" which is "split into parts" are defined as a black one and an American one.

As I argued in Chapter 1, we can interpret the interaction of two selves in Du Bois' sense in multiple ways. One possibility is that the two selves do not interface with each other as "parts" of "consciousness" do in James' model where they "mutually ignore each other." As the "parts" of James' model "share the objects of knowledge between them," the two selves in Du Bois's consciousness model compete for control of perception. James assumes that the parts of consciousness are internal conditions rather than the competition of internal and external influences. For James:

systematic healthy-mindedness, conceiving good as the essential and universal aspect of being, deliberately excludes evil from its field of vision; and although, when thus nakedly stated, this might seem a difficult feat to perform for one who is intellectually sincere with himself and honest about facts, a little reflection shows

that the situation is too complex to lie open to so simple a criticism (*James Writing 1902-1910* 86).

For both James and Du Bois the good state of mind needs to be free from negative influences. Yet James argued that in order to lead a satisfactory life "evil simply cannot then and there be believed in. He must ignore it; and to the bystander he may then seem perversely to shut his eyes to it and hush it up" (*James Writing 1902-1910* 86).

James's definition of "evil" is as follows:

Much of what we call evil is due entirely to the way men take the phenomenon. It can so often be converted into a bracing and tonic good by a simple change of the sufferer's inner attitude from one of fear to one of fight; its sting so often departs and turn into a relish when, after vainly seeking to shun it, we agree to face about and bear it cheerfully, that a man is simply bound in honor, with reference to many of the facts that seem at first to disconcert his peace, to adopt this way of escape.
(*James Writing* 86)

James's assertion on the need of transforming "evil" as an object of fear to that of fight is also same in Du Bois's view. He argues how annoying the "eyes of others" or its deprivation of true self-consciousness had been historically, and also advocates the fight against this oppressive power as a solution

in his double consciousness concept. Du Bois and James share the common view that fighting against negative power would bring happiness.

James' following passage strongly indict the power of "evil," and these are James's sense of "fight" against evil in one's mind to be happy:

Refuse to admit their badness; despise their power; ignore their presence; turn your attention the other way;
And so far as you yourself are concerned at any rate, thought the facts may still exist, their evil character exists no longer. Since you make them evil or good by your own thoughts about them, its is the ruling of your thoughts which proves to be your principal concern
(*James Writings* 86-87).

James calls this stance "the deliberate adoption of an optimistic turn of mind" (*James Writings* 87). As I argued in Chapter 1, Du Bois asserted the need for blacks to change their existence to be seen to the seer of others or reality. So James' active agency and independence here and Du Bois' idea are similar.

James's grasp of "evil" seems naïve in relation to Du Bois' understanding of the "American world" or "the eyes of others," although both are based on external phenomena. James's assertion that "the sufferer's inner attitude" can transform it to positive a thing is again similar to Du Bois's position that

a change in thinking can change the state of one's mind and external reality, but with Du Bois the external reality must change as well.

Du Bois' assertion that the others' gaze must be rejected might not be optimistic, but he shows the need to establish an independent gaze as part of the solution of the African American's dilemma. He advocates the need for blacks to reject the "eyes of others" contempt for one's black self and restore self-respect in order to change blacks' condition in America. While Du Bois was immersed in the intellectual currents of the time he brought together discourses in unique ways—for example by engaging social Darwinism and developing pragmatism for his own purposes.

CHAPTER 6

Double Consciousness in Political Discourse in the Civil Rights Era

The American Negro has now reached a point in his progress where he needs to take serious account of where he is and whither he is going. This day has come much earlier than I thought it would ("Whither Now and Why" (1960) *The Education of Black People* 193)

Dr. Du Bois recognized that the keystone in the arch of oppression was the myth of inferiority and he dedicated his brilliant talents to demolish it ("Honoring Dr. Du Bois" (1968) *Dusk of Dawn* vii-viii).

W. E. B. Du Bois presented the above passage in 1960 when more than sixty years had passed since he first introduced his concept of double consciousness. As he suggested, the legalization of segregation and the fixation of blacks in a marginal status as second-class American citizens would become illegal and blacks' acquisition of equal rights was going to be accomplished in the 1960's.⁸¹ How did the double consciousness discourse function in the pivotal period of African-American history—the Civil Rights Era?

⁸¹The view that the 1960s was the turning point for blacks was also presented by Martin Luther King, Jr., by

This chapter aims to examine if the double consciousness concept or its related discourse existed during the Civil Rights era of the 1960s, and if it did, how it functioned in the political discourses surrounding black liberation movements. In order to do this effectively, it is important to focus on the discourses found in the writings and speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X, the two prominent leaders of the Civil Rights Era.

James H. Cone argues that "Martin and Malcolm X represented the two sides in W.E.B. Du Bois' concept of double identity," and that "their answers to Du Bois' question, 'What am I?' were clear, emphatic, and opposite: 'American' was Martin's answer and 'African' was Malcolm X's during "the early part of their participation in the black freedom movement" (Cone 270). Martin Luther King, Jr., an activist of the Civil Rights Movement and Malcolm X, the main spokesman of the Nation of Islam were generally known as representing the dichotomy between integrationist and black nationalist. But, as Cone and some researchers point out, in their late years they show some similarity of ideas.⁸² It could also be argued that some of the

his addresses such as "Where do we go from here?" (1967) (*A Testament of Hope* 555-633).

⁸² For example, William Cosgrove points out in "Modern Black Writers" that, after his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1964, Malcolm X got "the new sight" that some whites hoped would change racism in America, and that "his late-found desire to create rather than destroy made him not unlike Martin Luther King" ("Modern Black Writers: The Black Self," 120-121).

ideas of both King and Malcolm X revolved around Du Bois' double consciousness discourse, but in different ways. As Manning Marrable points out, "The double consciousness theory helps to explain Du Bois' entire political and academic career, as he was constantly at odds with both the integrationist and the black nationalist leaders and organizations" (*Black Leadership* 44). The meaning of Du Bois' concept cannot be limited to mere integrationist nor black nationalist positions.

The awareness of race and the meaning of being black became a part of both King's and Malcolm X's consciousness when they were still children. Their autobiographies revealed their often-common view of whites and those similar views indicate the danger of categorizing them as just integrationists or nationalists. King noted that, "[t]wo incidents happened in my late childhood and early adolescence that had a tremendous effect on my development" (*Autobiography* 6). One was the death of his beloved grandmother and the other was the loss of his friendship with a white boy.⁸³ King and his friend had been together from the age of three and King remembered that, "[w]e always felt free to play our childhood games together," then when King was six years old, he and his playmate entered school (*Autobiography* 7). His friend entered one school (which King

83 King's parents told him "the doctrine of immortality" (*Autobiography* 7). King thought this incident made him "such a strong believer in personal immortality" (*Autobiography* 7).

calls a "separate school") while King entered another. King notes that, "I remember how our friendship began to break up as soon as we entered school; this was not my desire but his" (*Autobiography* 7). Furthermore, his friend told King that his father had banned him from playing with King (*Autobiography* 7).

This shocking occurrence was one of the common realities of segregation in mid-1930's Atlanta. King noted later that, "here for the first time I was made aware of the existence of a race problem" and that, "from that moment on I was determined to hate every white person" (*Autobiography* 7). This experience made King reconsider what his parents had told him,

My parents would always tell me that I should not hate the white man, but that it was my duty as a Christian to love him. The question arose in my mind: How could I love a race of people who hated me and who had been responsible for breaking me up with one of my best childhood friends? This was a great question in my mind for a number of years. (*Autobiography* 7).

How to love white people became King's life-long theme (*Autobiography* 7). This was a contradiction of both the existing reality and his Christian belief, but it became the basis, or theme, of his later meditation on the solution to the race problem. Malcolm X had similar experiences with white people when he was growing up in Michigan. When he was in the seventh

grade, he sensed something like a "physical barrier" that "the mascot wasn't supposed to dance with the any of the white girls."⁸⁴ Later, his experience with his advisor, Mr. Ostrowski made him want to stay far away from white people (*Autobiography* 38). When Malcolm X told Mr. Ostrowski that he wanted to be a lawyer, Mr. Ostrowski told him to be "realistic," while at the same time encouraging the whites to become professionals. What shocked Malcolm X was that his grades were higher than the white students'. He discovered that a fair merit system was not being applied.

However, it was in experiencing the death of his father at the hands of whites that Malcolm X's distrust of whites reached a more bitter and deeper level. His father, called "the Reverend Earl Little," was a Baptist minister and an organizer for Marcus Garvey's U.N.I.A. (Universal Negro Improvement Association). When Malcolm X's mother, Louise, was pregnant with him, the Ku Klux Klan had surrounded his house in Omaha, Nebraska one night. They shouted for Earl Little to come out of his house, flourishing their shotguns and rifles. Earl Little was preaching in Milwaukee then. The Klansmen menaced Malcolm X's mother, warning that his family had better leave town because Earl Little's "back to Africa" preachings of Marcus Garvey for

⁸⁴ "The mascot" in this passage signifies Malcolm X himself. Malcolm X analyzed later that he was seen as a mascot by whites in the detention home.

blacks in Omaha would be unbearable for "the good Christian white people" (*Autobiography* 3). The Littles moved from Omaha to East Lansing, Michigan after Malcolm X was born in 1925. Earl Little continued his work there, but for his advocating of Garvey's belief in blacks' self-respect, freedom, independence, and rights, Earl Little was almost lynched by the KKK. In 1929, the house of the Littles was burned down by two white members of "a local hate society". Malcolm X recollected that, "The white police and firemen came and stood around watching as the house burned down to the ground" (*Autobiography* 6). In 1931, when Malcolm X was six years old, Earl died. Malcolm X claims, "Negroes in Lansing have always whispered that he was attacked, and then laid across some tracks for a streetcar to run over him. His body was cut almost in half" and remembers people saying, "the White Black Legion had finally gotten him" (*Autobiography* 13). Also, Malcolm X recollected that Louise "looked like a white woman" and she was ashamed of her white father (*Autobiography* 4-5).

King and Malcolm X are both aware of "the eyes of others" discourse. Malcolm X observed in the 1960s that "A black man is supposed to have no feelings" in America and that blacks were taught that whites were "the personification of beauty and the personification of success" (*Malcolm X Talks to Young People* 38). As Du Bois attempted to resist the myth which denies the

existence of blacks' soul in the *Souls of Black Folks*, Malcolm X's observation reveals the existence of the same suspicion in later periods.

The "eyes of others" concept changes between Du Bois' time at the turn of the century and the Civil Rights Era due to the press' use of the media such as television.⁸⁵ One of the functions of the press Malcolm X observed in 1965, was to serve as a myth-making device that subtly underscored the negative image of blacks and emphasized their status as lower class, evil, and problematic: "Racists and segregationists use the press skillfully to project an image of the Black man as a criminal" (*The Final Speeches* 21).⁸⁶ His awareness of the camera eye and television journalism were derived from his mentor, Elijah Muhammad's teaching that the white devils were always watching them and they should be careful.

Popularization of television in the 1950s and Du Bois' "the eyes of others" need more consideration. Black leaders, including King and Malcolm X, appeared on TV programs and assumed

⁸⁵ Richard Valeriani, NBC reporter who "covered the civil rights protests in Albany, Birmingham, and Selma" commented that "television helped accelerate the progress of a movement whose time had come" (*Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years* 270).

⁸⁶ As I argued in Chapter 1, Part 2, in *Credo* (1904) DuBois defines whites as "the Devil" who "believe the worst and work to prove it" and who impose a negative image of blacks on "a brother's soul" (1). Although DuBois defines the function of "the Devil" as cause of blacks' self-degradation, his perception of whites as myth making of wrong image of blacks and Eliza's view are common. As for Malcolm X's stance in terms of medium, Peter Goldman calls him "a medium genius" who knew the "medium politics" well ("The Real Malcolm X").

that their activities or addresses were aired on TV.⁸⁷ This means that not only their spoken or written words but also their actual voice, their visibility, and their gaze towards the people (through the camera) were directly transmitted to Americans and in many cases to those outside America. In the path to the acquisition of Civil Rights in the 1950's and the 1960's, the African American "message for the world" was thrust into the wider worlds by this technological breakthrough, television, where it functioned as a form of resistance against "the eyes of others" and revealed what was actually going on in America.⁸⁸ Richard Valeriani, NBC reporter who covered the civil rights movement, thinks that the uniqueness of television was an immediacy that "forced the print media to be more honest than it had ever been in covering these events" (*Eyes* 270). Valeriani further argues that:

In the old days, the wire service guy would sit there in Birmingham and call up the local sheriff. . . . He would write the sheriff's point of view entirely. Television forced [print journalists] to go there and see what was happening, and then they could not distort it" (*Eyes* 270).

⁸⁸ Some works discuss television's role as notifying the world about the civil rights movements. For example, Herman Gray points out that "because of television many of the aims and struggles of those movements became widely known" (*The Revolution wasn't Televised* 349). But the present study explores the relationship between double consciousness discourses and media coverage of those movements.

The distorted news articles from "the sheriff's point of view" in Valeriani's view is "the eyes of others" of Du Bois' double consciousness. "The message for the world," in double consciousness, would be the information and perspective of blacks being presented to the world. In *Souls*, Du Bois emphasizes that he writes the book as a black and from "inside the veil."⁸⁹ Valeriani's comment implies that the visual presentation of events on television protected the blacks' "message" from the possibility of being filtered through "the eyes of others"—the white gaze and the print media's distortion of facts.⁹⁰ In other words, television offered more possibility for the "message" to overcome "the eyes of others. As Linda Brent in Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents* used the eyes of the neighborhood in order to evade the danger in which her master would sexually exploit her, blacks' active use of the medium in the 1960's notified the broader world about the injustices against them in America.

Some good examples of how the medium (in this case,

⁸⁹ Other than Du Bois, David Walker wrote pamphlets and news articles in order to notify international people of injustices in the U.S. The writers of slave narratives such as Harriet Jacobs indict slavery by introducing readers to hidden and cruel facts they experience. These writers emphasize the importance of being insiders of the black community who actually experience and witness injustices in the U.S. Their writings play an important role in circulation undistorted facts to the world.

⁹⁰ Needless to say, the viscosity of television is not perfectly honest in terms of transmitting facts of "the message for the world." Various visual techniques, for example editing and camera techniques manipulate the text that audiences receive.

television) was used to benefit the blacks' cause and get their "message" out to the world, were the broadcasts of marches and luncheon sit-ins that took place. Often, the marchers and sit-in participants received direct media attention by being interviewed, so that their feelings and perspectives were being relayed to American citizens as well as to the world. For example, on April 19, 1960 the "Home of Z. Alexander Looby, prominent black attorney in Nashville, is destroyed by dynamite. That same day 2,500 students and community members march to Nashville city hall, the first protest march of the modern civil rights period." A student activist from Fisk University and a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Diane Nash asks the mayor of Nashville, Tennessee, Ben West, "Mayor West, do you think it is wrong to discriminate against a person solely on the basis of their race or color?" ("No Easy Walk (1961-63)," *Eyes on the Prize* Program 4) The person whom Nash directly asked was West, but I argue that her direct address also functioned as her message to the viewers of the TV program or challenge to racist discourses in America. In this sense, this case signifies one example of Du Bois' "message for the world" discourse.⁹¹ Another case is Emmett Till's case. When

⁹¹ *Eyes on the Prize* is "a six-part documentary series that tells the human stories of the movement for social change in the words of both famous and less-known participants. Produced by Blackside, Inc.1, and presented on PBS by WGBH Boston, *Eyes on the Prize* premiered Wednesday, January 21, 1987" (Blackside, Inc., 1996).

two white men, Roy Bryant and J. W. Milam, killed a fourteen-year-old black boy, Emmett Till in Mississippi in 1955, an open-casket funeral was held in Till's hometown Chicago. Till's body was harshly beaten and his head was shot. His eyes were gouged out. So his face was hardly recognized by people who knew him. Only a ring he wore was the evidence to identify him. Till's mother commented to the reporters that "world must see what had been done to her child". The picture of Till's dead corpse was published in the magazine *Jet*. The open-casket funeral and publication of Till's picture signify appeal to the world and demonstration of injustice, and were made to expose people to what happened, and signify Du Bois' message for the world discourse.

This was a new and characteristic phenomenon in the era of the 1960s, which was not available at the turn of the century. Herman Gray writes that King's Affiliation, the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC), and students' committee, and SNCC used television (mainly news programs) in order to evoke "moral and financial support for their causes" and "to focus national attention on various protest campaigns" (*The Revolution wasn't Televized* 349). Gray points out that organizations such as the Nation of Islam to which Malcolm X belonged and the Black Panther Party attempted to use press and media to "illustrate the complex strategies and machinations at

work to contain and neutralize their efforts" although the media coverage of them were mostly negative (*The Revolution wasn't Televised* 349).

Although Malcolm X and Muhammad viewed whites as "racists," the image of Malcolm X and Muhammad as themselves "racists" was popularized in white America. Following a television program about the rise of Malcolm X, "The Hate Produces Hate," Malcolm X and The Nation of Islam (NOI), the black nationalist organization with which both Malcolm X and Muhammad were involved became widely publicized in 1959.⁹² The images of Malcolm X and NOI as "black supremacists," and "racists," together with Malcolm X's slogan, "By Any Means Necessary" were used to reverse Du Bois' original definition of the "white gaze" as oppressor and the black self as oppressed.

King's case was literally a situation where blacks were able to meet the gaze of the national audience, give their "message for the world," and actively participate in the changing of white America's stance of being just onlookers on their plight. As stated in Chapter 1, one of the definitions of the "eyes of others" of Du Bois' double consciousness was that of whites as bystanders onlookers. Du Bois started *the Souls of Black Folks* with his observation that whites were bystanders, while blacks confronted the problem after Emancipation. Du Bois

was frustrated with the whites' lack of involvement, because he felt that what blacks faced was a problem that all Americans should be grappling with. In the 1960's, media development helped challenge this inactivity. The concept of double consciousness was formulated as a pragmatic means for solving the plight of African-Americans. In this sense, the pragmatic function of the concept was exercised by the use of the new medium to prejudice and discrimination.

African Americans assumed that their resistance against the police, who expelled them from marches, or whites' violence against those who sat in the white sections of lunch counters, would be seen by thousands of TV viewers. In this way "the eyes of others" became split between whites' violence and segregation in public places and television viewers, who would be able to judge for themselves what was right and wrong. To reveal their very existence was resistance against the discrimination of "the eyes of others." For example, King deliberately utilized non-violent tactics when police would use violence to break up demonstrations, in order to arouse the viewer's sense of guilt or conscience as they watched the blacks being victimized. This plan proved to be very successful and resulted in a very effective resistance consistent with Du Bois' sense of "message for the world." A good example of this was when President

⁹² Malcolm's address and activities of NOI were featured.

Kennedy was duly shocked by a news broadcast showing police using high pressure hoses on blacks to break up a march (Garrow 45). One could speculate that perhaps his shock led to even more effective action and support by the federal government to ease the black situation and bring about integration.

Martin Luther King, Jr. observed another pattern of "the eyes of others" ignorance. Du Bois had pointed out that whites' ignorance of blacks had a massive and an oppressive power over them, but King argued that, "Ten years ago, Negroes seemed almost invisible to the larger society, and the facts of their harsh lives were unknown to the majority of the nation" (*Where Do We Go From Here* 15). He went on to say, "Today, civil rights is a dominating issue in every state, crowding the pages of the press and the daily conversation of white Americans. In this decade of change, the Negro stood up and confronted his oppressor" (*Where Do We Go From Here* 15).

King interprets this historically important decade of moving toward civil rights as the turning point for blacks escaping from an oppression invisible to most whites. In his "Where do we go from here?" speech in 1967, a year before his assassination, King recollected the year 1957. Although the year 1957 was after the Brown vs. Board of Education decision that banned school segregation in 1954 and the Supreme Court decision that segregation on school busses was illegal in 1956,

Jim Crow laws and segregation still upheld in the South. As he mentioned, the period between the mid 1950s and 1967 marked a significant change in African-American and American history. Several actions such as the Sit-in Movement in Greensboro (1960), the Freedom Ride in 1961 and the fight against the white backlash led to the Civil Rights Act in 1964. This period, the path to Civil Rights, marked the time when blacks were able to overcome their invisibility or the traditional sense of "the eyes of others."

The "eyes of others" symbolizes massive prejudice that oppresses blacks' inner psychology and external conditions, causes self-criticism, and leads to giving up demands for the equality and ideals of justice. In terms of the effect of "the eyes of others" on blacks' external conditions, King's famous speech "I have a dream" in Washington. D.C. (March, 1963), shows some elements of the discourse:

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free; one hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination; one hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity; one hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself in exile in his own land (*A Testament of Hope* 217).

As Du Bois points out, "the eyes of others" made blacks outsiders in the society, and he regards poverty as one of the effects of "the eyes of others" on blacks around the turn of the century, mentioning that "To be a poor man is hard, but to be a poor race in a land of dollars is the very bottom of hardships" (*Souls* 9). King also emphasized blacks' alienation in American society and the persistent poverty in the 1960s, citing the number of years from Emancipation, now adding up to "one hundred years later."

The Souls of Black Folks was written about forty years after the Emancipation Proclamation right after Plessy vs Furguson's "Separate but Equal" decision in 1896, and King's "I have a dream" speech was addressed one hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation. While Du Bois' introduction of the double consciousness concept in 1897 was in the "second-slavery" era (Du Bois' phrase), King's time still inherited the legacy of the decision, which was segregation. In his speech, King's frustration against Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of others" was revealed in his indictment of segregation, discrimination, and the mechanism that hinders blacks' economic wellbeing and excludes them from the center of society. These conditions in the 1960s prove the continued existence of the structure which the double consciousness discourse originally addressed. In his *Where do we go from here: Chaos or Community?* (1967), King

said that "the Negro still lives in the Basement of the Great Society. . . . In consequence, Negroes are still impoverished aliens in an affluent society" (18-19). In referring to Johnson's slogan, King emphasized that blacks were persistently poor even in the "Great Society" that advocated the abolishment of poverty and racial inequality in 1965.⁹³

Malcolm X also noticed the continued existence of Du Bois' sense of "veil." In the detention home in Mason, Michigan, in 1938, all the white people in charge of the home or who cooked were "good people" and liked him.⁹⁴ But he came to realize that "they all liked my attitude and it was out of their liking for me that I soon became accepted by them—as a mascot, I know now" and remembered that "they would even talk about me, or about 'niggers,' as though I wasn't there, as if I wouldn't understand what the word meant" (*Autobiography* 27). The veil existed in his perception of his invisibility.

Malcolm X, a member of the Black Muslims, argues that

⁹³ David Levering Lewis points out that Du Bois once recognized King as "the American Gandhi" comparing "Gandhi's liberation of India" with "King's success in Alabama," but King's "nonviolent passive resistance devoid of an economic agenda increasingly disappointed Du Bois" (557).

⁹⁴ When Malcolm X was thirteen years old, he went into a classroom wearing his hat. His white teacher ordered him to keep wearing the hat, and to walk around the room until he told Malcolm X to stop. Malcolm X walked, took a thumbtack, and put it in his teacher's chair. Then, the teacher hit the thumbtack. With his deportment record, a decision to expel Malcolm X came. A states man took Malcolm X down to court and Malcolm X was told to go to a reform school, but he went to the detention home in Mason, Michigan, which is about twelve miles from Lansing, Michigan. Malcolm X explains that the home was the place where "all the 'bad' boys and girls from Ingham County were held, on their way to reform school—waiting for their hearings" (*The Autobiography of Malcolm X* 24-6.)

"America is a colonial power. She is just as much as a colonial power in 1964 . . . and she has colonized twenty-million African-Americans" (*Malcolm X Talks to Young People* 16). He called himself "one of the victims of America, one of the victims of Americanism, one of the victims of democracy" (*Malcolm X Talks to Young People* 11). In his view, American social, political, and economic systems are based upon "the castration of the Black man" (*Malcolm X Talks to Young People* 22) and that blacks were "cargo for purposes of a system that was bent upon making a profit" in America (*Malcolm X Talks to Young People* 11). Although the slavery was abolished their status as a cheap mass labor force became fixed and functioned as the basis of the American economic system, so that the difficulty exercising their abilities still remained for African Americans. So for Malcolm X, in terms of America's exploitation of blacks, the condition had not been changed from Du Bois' time.

As Du Bois perceived that the existence of the "veil" between him and the other world symbolizes blacks' double or divided psychological identity and the existence of something which represses black psychology, King found that segregation divided the structure of his own psychology:

The first time that I was seated behind a curtain in a dining car, I felt as if the curtain had been dropped on my selfhood. After that summer in Connecticut, it was

a bitter feeling going back to segregation. It was hard to understand why I could ride wherever I pleased on the train from New York to Washington and then had to change to a Jim Crow at the nation's capital in order to continue the trip to Atlanta. The first time that I was seated behind a curtain in a dining car, I felt as if the curtain had been dropped on my selfhood. I could never adjust to the separate waiting Rooms, separate eating places, separate rest rooms, partly Because the separate was always unequal, and partly because the very idea of separation did something to my sense of Dignity and self-respect (*Autobiography* 11-12).

Segregation created not only two selves in King's mind, but also an obstacle which repressed his will to go outside the curtain or "veil." Likewise, when Malcolm X was in his seventh year at Junior High School, he sensed as something like a "physical barrier" the awareness that "the mascot wasn't supposed to dance with the any of the white girls" (*The Autobiography of Malcolm X* 27). He sensed that "[i]t was some kind of psychic message—not just from them, but also from within myself. I am proud to be able to say that much for myself, at least" (*The Autobiography of Malcolm X* 34).

Both of King's observations of the curtain's dividing his selfhood and Malcolm X's observation of the power that represses his activity signify Du Bois' problematization of double identity. King's case fits Du Bois' "two selves"—"American" and "Negro"—argument, and Malcolm X's case fits the alienation of

blacks. But, both King and Malcolm X perceived the structure in their psychology that degrades their self-esteem, and causes hesitancy or inability in communicating with whites.

Characteristically, they find that these powers residing not in whites, but in their own psychology. This perception fits Du Bois' argument that a key to solving the race problem is blacks' psychology.

Among several characteristics of double consciousness, Du Bois problematizes the effect of "the eyes of others" on blacks—deprivation of "true-self consciousness," and self-esteem. In the time of persistent segregation in the 1960s, King argues in "Our Struggle" (1956):

The segregation of Negroes, with its inevitable discrimination, has thrived on elements of inferiority present in the masses of both white and Negro people. Through forced separation from our African culture, through slavery, poverty, and deprivation, many black men lost self-respect (*A Testament of Hope* 75).

Also, he argued in "I have a Dream" (1963) that "We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating 'for whites only'" (*A Testament of Hope* 218). In King's accounts, external condition such as segregation, Jim Crow laws, and poverty function as Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of others."

In terms of King's linkage of these prejudices and their systematic effect on blacks' self-esteem, he reproduces Du Bois "a world which yields [one] no true self-consciousness," and "a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (*Souls* 5). In 1965 Malcolm X also points out that America leads blacks to dislike themselves:

But here in America, they have taught us to hate ourselves. To hate our skin, hate our hair, hate our features, hate our blood, hate what we are . . . By skillfully making us hate Africa and, in turn, making us hate ourselves, hate our color and our blood, our color became a chain. Our color became to us a chain. It became a prison. It became something that was a shame, something that we felt held us back, kept us trapped (*Malcolm X Talks to Young People* 37).

Here America's view toward the color of blacks' skin causes blacks' self-hate and sense of being ashamed of themselves (37).⁹⁵ Malcolm X names the blacks' psychology which is oppressed or exploited by whites' gaze a "slave mind" or "colonial mentality" (*Malcolm X Talks to Young People* 16)."⁹⁶

King further argues in "Where Do We Go From Here?" (1967)

⁹⁵ William Cosgrove argues that "The Autobiography of Malcolm X X contains the blueprint for rejection of invisibility-separatism and movement toward the native son" ("Modern Black Writers: The Divided Self" 121)

⁹⁶ As William Cosgrove point out in 1970, "Less literary but more inflammatory reactions to the black man's invisibility in America are the separationist preachings of Elijah Muhammad and the Black Muslims." Resistance against whites' ignorance and fixation of Blacks's position as "invisible" are one of the characteristics of the Black Muslims ("Modern

that historically the deprivation of "self-conscious manhood" has been a theme for blacks and psychological freedom would lead them to the freedom:

The tendency to ignore the Negro's contribution to American life and to strip him of his personhood is as old as the earliest history books and as contemporary as the morning's newspaper. . .As long as the mind is enslaved, the body can never be free ("Where Do We Go From Here?" *A Testament of Hope* 246).⁹⁷

He further argues that: "Psychological freedom, a firm sense of self-esteem, is the most powerful weapon against the long night of physical slavery" ("Where Do We Go From Here ?" 246). As Du Bois advocated the need of rejecting "the eyes of others" and of having self-esteem as pragmatic tactics to get actual rights blacks need, King demonstrates the need to resist against the self-degradation power and to achieve self-respect:

And, with a spirit straining toward true self-esteem, the Negro must boldly throw off the menacles of self-abnegation and say to himself and to the world, "I am somebody. I am a person. I am a person. I am a man with dignity and honor" (*A Testament of Hope* 246).

Here King does not argue about how blacks should act toward

Black Writers: The Divided Self" 120).

⁹⁷ This speech was published under the title "New Sense of Direction" in *Worldview* 15 (April 1972).

whites, but about their "I" to "I" relationship as of key importance. Also, King points out that "[t]he extreme tension in race relations in the South today" was solved by black people's having self-respect (*A Testament of Hope* 76). In 1954, the separate but equal decision was reversed, and legal segregation was banned.

As the mechanism in Du Bois' concept of double consciousness indicates, the discourse that affirms blacks who have a key to change the society existed in the 1960s. One of the reasons why Du Bois problematized the negative function of "the eyes of others" on blacks was because it would lead to their accommodation to the plight:

But the facing of so vast a prejudice could not but bring the inevitable self-questioning, self-disparagement, and lowering of ideals which ever accompany repression and breed in an atmosphere of contempt and hate (*Souls* 10).

As I have argued, in Du Bois' concept, blacks' inner conflict symbolizes or links to the external conflict of social relations. Influence of "the eyes of others" on black psychology—deprivation of "true-self consciousness" or self-esteem—suggests the relationship between prejudice, self-criticism, and blacks' giving up achievement of their goals in America.

This structure has been a big theme for the uplift of

African-Americans historically as was illustrated by Frederick Douglass and David Walker. Du Bois formulated the concept right after the "separate but equal" decision of Plessy vs Ferguson (1896), and King and Malcolm X pursued the abolishment of legal segregation and discrimination that were fixed in Du Bois' time. Leaders explained the psychological mechanism of self-degradation and how it occurred and how it relates to their living environment and liberation. For example, Malcolm X argued in "I'm not an American, I'm a victim of Americanism" (1964) that "the American racists know that they can rule the African in America, the African-American in America, only as long as we have a negative image of Africa" (*Malcolm X Talks to Young People* 14). He also argued that:

Everything needs to be controlled until the colonial mentality has been completely destroyed, and when that colonial mentality has been destroyed at least to the point where they know what they are voting for, then you give them a chance to vote on this and vote on that... (*Malcolm X Talks to Young People* 16).

Malcolm X reasoned that white America knows that the degradation of blacks' self-esteem by massive prejudice was an effective strategy to deprive them of their various rights or to suppress their rising status. This mechanism was also problematized by Douglass. Later, Martin Luther King took up a concrete example

of the relationship between raising self-esteem and the acquisition of rights:

This growing self-respect has inspired the Negro with a new determination to struggle and sacrifice until first-class citizenship becomes a reality. This is the true meaning of the Montgomery Story (*Autobiography* 106).⁹⁸

"The Montgomery Story" refers to the Montgomery Bus Boycott in Alabama in 1955 which started with Rosa Parks' refusal to move from the white section of the bus to the black section. Twenty-year-old King was chosen as a leader to resist the arrest of Parks and segregation of the bus. As a result of this boycott, the Supreme Court decided that the segregation of the buses was illegal.

King noted that several factors such as migration of blacks from "isolation on the rural plantation" in the South to "urban centers" raised their economic condition and brought "new possibilities for educational advance" (*Autobiography* 105-106). This change gave an African American a "fresh look at himself" (sic) (*Autobiography* 16). It also made blacks acquire an anti-accommodationist stance, and pursue "first-class citizenship."⁹⁹ Later, Malcolm X argued in "the Organization

⁹⁸ King regards many changes such as condition of education had offered blacks new kind of self-respect. He calls it "this growing self-respect" (*Autobiography* 99).

⁹⁹ One of the revelation of DuBois' advocate of an anti-accommodationist

of Afro-American Unity" that:

. . . we get into it without compromising. You compromise when you're wrong. You don't have to compromise when you're right. Why, you're right (*Malcolm X Talks to Young People* 45)

In terms of the anti-accommodation of double consciousness discourse they agree.

King's linking the improvement of educational opportunities, the increase of blacks' self-esteem, and improvement of blacks' living conditions or acquisition of rights reviewing the history from the migration era to the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1954 fits Du Bois' message on double consciousness, and Malcolm X shows the common observation on this linkage, that education is a key to uplift. Malcolm X argued in "The Oppressed Masses of the World Cry Out for Action" (1965) that the society degrades educational opportunity:

And they do this very skillfully to keep us trapped. They know that as long as they keep us undereducated, or with an inferior education, it's impossible for us to compete with them for job openings. And as long as we can't compete with them and get a decent job, we're trapped . . ."
(*Malcolm X Talks to Young People* 43).

stance derives from the "eyes of others" argument was his pursuit of the first class citizenship, acquisition of full basic human rights as Americans. This stance was shown in the mottoes of Niagara Movement and NAACP around the turn of the century.

Blacks need education for change, but whites need to deprive them of their education in order to oppress them. In terms of this mechanism, Du Bois, King and Malcolm X agree. Malcolm X further argued in a lecture at Harvard on March 19, 1964 that education leads to equality:

Do you believe that a nation within another nation can be successful, especially when they both have equal educations? If we receive equal education, how long do you expect us to remain your passive servants, or second-class citizens? There is no such thing as a second-class citizen. Or we are not citizens at all. When you teach a man the science of government, he then wants an equal part or position in that government, or else he wants his own government. He begins to demand equality with his master. No man with education equal to your own will serve you . . ." (*The Speeches at Harvard* 129-130).

This mechanism explains Douglass' account of the slave master and slave relationship that I argued in chapter 3. Slavemasters tried to prevent slaves from gaining knowledge because knowledge would grow rebellious slaves. They knew that ignorance could help keep their slaves passive or repress slaves' demands for freedom. Neither slaves in the slavery system nor blacks in the 1960s would accommodate the oppressed situation.

Based on this mechanism, both King and Malcolm X introduced the solution to this problem—education as a key for demolishing prejudice—and revealed their views that change of education would change blacks' self-image and white's prejudice toward blacks. King argued in his speech "Where Do We Go From Here?" (1967) that:

Ossie Davis has suggested that maybe the English language should be reconstructed so that teachers will not be forced to teach the Negro child sixty ways to despise himself, and thereby perpetuate his false sense of inferiority, and White child 134 ways to adore himself, and thereby perpetuate his false sense of superiority (*A Testament of Hope* 245-246).¹⁰⁰

King refers to the need for change in the language system in America which embeds the mechanism to create the black inferiority myth and white superiority myth. In 1965 Malcolm X answered the question, "What do you think is responsible for race prejudice in the U.S.?" :

Ignorance and greed. And a skillfully designed program of miseducation that goes right along with the American system of exploitation and oppression. If the entire American population were properly educated—by properly educated, I mean given a true picture of the history and contributions of the black man—I think many whites would

¹⁰⁰ This speech was published under the title "New Sense of Direction" in *Worldview* 15 (April 1972): 5.

be less racist in their feelings. They would have more respect for the black man as a human being
(*Malcolm X Speaks* 196).

Du Bois wrote *The Souls of Black Folks* in order to "educate" both a black and white readership. In this respect, the views of King and Malcolm X fit Du Bois' argument on the concept of double consciousness.

On the other hand, we have to know that there are differences of strategies, positions, and views of America and whites among King and Malcolm X while both of them revolve around the double consciousness discourse. Before defining them just as integrationist and Black nationalist, it is necessary to explore their definitions of self and its symbolization of their view of America. As I argued in chapter 2, in defining double consciousness, Du Bois argued the need of retaining "the older selves"—selves as "an American" and "a Negro"—in establishing "a better and truer self" because "America has too much to teach the world and Africa," and "Negro blood has a message for the world" (*Souls* 5). Du Bois regards internalizing the American or whites' perspective in blacks' psychology as an advantage for blacks because the multiple perspective helps blacks to deepen an understanding of America. Du Bois did not define "white" or "whiteness" as the "enemy" as Malcolm X did in 1963: "He's an enemy to all of us" (*Malcolm X Speaks* 5). But he regarded it

as an opposite of blackness. In illustrating this psychological model, Du Bois argued the need of knowing or involving the other sides' demands, substances, and strategies.

Martin Luther King, Jr., advocated the phrase, "love your enemies," and the need of the Christian term, agape, in white and black relationships. King explains that "Agape means understanding, redeeming good will for all men" (*Stride* 104):

It is an overflowing love which is purely spontaneous, unmotivated, groundless, and creative. It is not set in motion by any quality or function of its object. It is the love of God operating in the human heart. Agape is disinterested love. It is a love in which the individual seeks not his own good, but the good of his neighbor. (I Cor. 10:24). Agape does not begin by discriminating between worthy and unworthy people, or any qualities people possess. It begins by loving others for their sakes. It is an entirely "neighbor-regarding concern for others," which discovers the neighbor in every man it meets. Therefore, agape makes no distinction between friends and enemy; it is directed toward both (*Stride* 103-104).

As Du Bois' reason for retention of the poles in one black mind signifies the need for understanding racial feelings, King's application of this Christian term, "agape" and the phrase, "love your enemies" that signifies the need of understanding and involving whites. In fact, one of King's characteristic activities was to get white activists involved

in his organization. In order to appeal to both white and black audiences and to find some strategies which are effective in American society, he had to know the feelings and demands of both sides. And in a sense Christianity functioned as a device that provided a common language that appeals to both whites and blacks.

Du Bois introduced "the waste of double aims" that is caused by blacks' double identity as one definition of double consciousness, and the difficulty for blacks to find the common language that is understandable to both blacks and whites. Du Bois argued that the discovery of a common language was the key for blacks to be successful in America. Since King's father was a minister of the Baptist Church, he did not intend to learn Christianity to use for his later activities. But, as a result, Christianity functioned as a good device to solve the dilemma of "double aims."¹⁰¹ As a strategy, his slogan "love your enemies" and term "Agape" indicates that he did not intend to attack white America. This functions as a practical strategy which does not threaten whites and attracts them. This white and black relationship model was the weapon for King as an integrationist. I argued in chapter 1 that the double consciousness concept can function as a political slogan, and

¹⁰¹ DuBois' assumed reader of the Souls and King's assumed audience involved both blacks and whites.

Du Bois intended to use the philosophical concept in order to change reality and to rescue the blacks' plight in a pragmatic way. In this sense, King's application of Christian beliefs was pragmatic, as was Du Bois'. King interprets Christianity as a belief that fits reality in a practical way. He argues that:

I can see no conflict between our devotion to Jesus Christ and our present action. In fact I see a necessary relationship. If one is truly devoted to the religion of Jesus he will seek to rid the earth of social evils. The gospel is social as well as personal (*Stride* 117).

Although Du Bois' concept is not formulated in Christian terms and beliefs, in the concept's practical application to political purposes, they share the same stance. Also, King's view, "love your enemy" and Malcolm X's view that "whites are the enemy" mark their difference.

Double consciousness discourse shows another implication of the relationship between blacks' (or the black self's) and whites (or the self as an American). DuBois' reasons for the need of retaining "the older selves"—that "America has too much to teach the world and Africa," and that "Negro blood has a message for the world"—signify not only devices for understanding both races and American society, but also symbolize complementary relationships between the two races (*Souls* 5). This idea relates to his idea that blacks' "ideal"

is that "some day on American soil two world races may give each to each those characteristics both so sadly lack" (*Souls* 11). In his model of white and black relationships, no one race is defined as more significant than the other (or another) race. To achieve the American democratic ideal, Du Bois' model demands that both races cooperate and complement one another.

King argued that "The mere fact that we live in the United States means that we are caught in a network of inescapable mutuality" (*Stride* 199). Also, in his assessment of Black Power's strategy, he argued that in "Where Do We Go from Here?" (1967):

In the final analysis the weakness of Black Power is its failure to see that the black man needs the white man and the white man needs the black man. However much we may try to romanticize the slogan, there is no separate black path to power and fulfillment that does not intersect white paths, and there is no separate white path to power and fulfillment, short of social disaster, that does not share that power with black aspirations for freedom and human dignity (*A Testament of Hope* 588).

King's complementary model of a black and white relationship calls forth a double consciousness discourse. Du Bois argued that mere blacks' effort would not solve problems surrounding them, and that whites' action or cooperation is necessary. On the other hand, Malcolm X rejected this relationship model. For

example, to the question, "Can whites join the Muslim Mosque, Inc.?" He answered, "Whites can't join us. . . The whites control all Negro organizations that they can join—they end up in control of those organizations (*By Any Means* 29). Although this answer is limited to his religious organization, it represents his view of whites. He did not assume the model in which blacks and whites cooperate with each other. The condition which he could assume was whites' exploitation of blacks.

As for the formation of blacks' selfhood, more implications can be found in Du Bois' double consciousness. As Du Bois reveals the African American dilemma in determining their identity by asking "What am I?" ("*Conservation of Races*" 105) or "One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a Negro; two warring ideals in one dark body. . .," King took up the blacks' question in America, "Who are we?" and argues that "In physical as well as cultural terms every Negro is a little bit colored and a little bit white. In our search for identity we must recognize this dilemma" (*A Testament of Hope*, 588).

As Du Bois avoided formulating the identity model which forced blacks to choose either black or white identity in his double consciousness concept, King revealed his dissatisfaction with the tendency in which many blacks tried to choose one identity:

The problem is that in the search for wholeness all too many Negroes seek to embrace only one side of their natures. Some, seeking to reject their heritage, are ashamed of their color, ashamed of black art and music, and determine what is beautiful and good by the standards of white society. They end up frustrated and without cultural roots. Others seek to reject everything American and to identify totally with Africa, even to the point of wearing African clothes. But this approach leads also to frustration because the American Negro is not an African (*A Testament of Hope* 588).

Here King shows the importance of the retention of Africanness as cultural pride and Americanness as a practical living place as Du Bois argues the need for retention of "America" and "the Negro blood" in one black person.

Based upon this idea, King introduced the identity model:

The old Hegelian synthesis still offers the best answer to many of life's dilemmas. The American Negro is neither totally African nor totally Western. He is Afro-American, a true hybrid, a combination of two cultures (*A Testament of Hope* 588).

As Du Bois and King link their definition of black identity or selfhood to the uplift in their respective times, Malcolm X also takes up the issue. He declares that he is not an American although he lives in America (*Malcolm X Talks to Young People* 56). His solution—separation of the black community from mainstream America—derives from his definition of blacks'

identity. This difference of the definition of the blacks' self between King and Malcolm X is shown in their ideals and solutions. This is an integrationist and Black nationalist argument between them.

As Du Bois' goal in terms of identity formation was "to merge his double self into a better and truer self," and his goal in terms of actual black and white relationship symbolized by the identity model was "some day on American soil two world races may give each to each those characteristics both so sadly lack," King argued that "I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood" (*A Testament of Hope* 219). On the other hand, Malcolm X denounces the integrationist idea arguing that "'Peaceful coexistence!' That's another one the white man has always been quick to cry. Fine! But what have been the deeds of the white man?" (*Autobiography* 375). Also, he argued that "It's just like when you've got some coffee that's too black, which means it's too strong. What do you do? You integrate it with cream, you make it weak" (*Malcolm X Speaks* 16).

Malcolm X further argued that "The black masses as represented by the Black Muslims will never be satisfied until we have some land that we can call our own" (Malcolm X at Harvard

127). He also argued that:

The only revolution in which the goal is loving your enemy is the Negro revolution. It's the only revolution in which the goal is a desegregated lunch counter, a desegregated theater, a desegregated park, and a desegregated public toilet; you can sit down next to white folks-on the toilet. That's no revolution. Revolution is based on land. Land is the basis of all independence. Land is the basis of freedom, justice, and equality" (*Malcolm X Speaks* 9).

Malcolm X's Black Nationalist idea is the antithesis to Du Bois' advocacy of the need of retention of two identities-American and African, and avoidance of a black or white alternative. In the era of Marcus Garvey after World War I, his solution was the "Back to Africa" movement.¹⁰² In the 1960s, Malcolm X did not advocate blacks' returning to Africa, but, in terms of rejection of identity as an American, Malcolm X's solution revolved around the alternative discourse also promoted by Du Bois and Garvey.

I argued in Chapter 1 that Du Bois' introduction of "the eyes of others" and its power to degrade blacks implies the need to escape from passivity as one seen to become an active and independent seer of Americans. In this sense, King and Malcolm X both advocated the need for an active stance. Their solution

¹⁰² Malcolm confesses in his autobiography that he did not understand his father's advocacy of going back to Africa (5).

looks different, but both require blacks' independent and active perspective.

In both Du Bois and King's cases, blacks were defined as active agents and their purpose is not defined as their accommodation to whites' logic, but "American ideals" which comprehend both blacks and whites. Although Malcolm X criticized King by calling him "Uncle Tom" who accommodated whites, King carefully rejects the logic—whites' superiority to blacks'—and blacks' accommodation to whites by declaring loyalty to America which did not just signify "white America."

On the other hand, Malcolm X's nationalist stance is also "active" separation from white America. Malcolm X assumed the inescapability of separation because America forced it on blacks, arguing that "South Africa preaches separation and practices separation: America preaches integration and practices segregation" (*Malcolm X Talks* 22-23). He also argued that:

Therefore, Mr. Muhammad has demanded that you and your government let us separate ourselves from you right here, into a separate territory that we can call our own and on which we can do something for ourselves and for our own kind. . . . I repeat, "Let our people be separated from you, and give us some territory that we call our own and where we can live in peace among ourselves (*Malcolm X Talks to Young People* 22).

Although Malcolm X emphasizes the inescapability of the

separation of blacks from white America (the "physical barrier" of his childhood memory), he regards his choice to be an active one. Malcolm X's solution—separation from white America—is not his surrender to "the eyes of others" of double consciousness, but another way of resisting Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of others." Later his emphasis on the need of blacks' active choice is shown:

In short, we don't want to be segregated by the white man, we don't want to be integrated with the white man, we want to be separated from the white man.
(*The End of White World Supremacy* 69)

For Malcolm X to be "segregated" means "the eyes of others"—whites' imposition of inadventagous conditions on blacks. On the other hand, "separation" requires the willful effort of blacks. As for the message for the world, one of the crucial points is the audiences of King and Malcolm X. Many scholars point out the difference of audiences for King and Malcolm X. But this is also a tricky issue. Malcolm X's wife, Betty Shabbaz commented that Malcolm X's message was to people. If it happened "to have been to black people and some people say, wow that's racist. No. You have to look at the need. Need." (*The Real Malcolm X*). So mere analysis of their audience will not enable us to find to whom they directed their messages.

CHAPTER 7

Double Consciousness Discourse in Film and Literature

In this chapter, I examine how Du Bois' double consciousness discourse is woven into narrative structures, images, concepts, and the construction of subjectivity. I also explore how certain kinds of texts portray conflicts that Du Bois regarded as double consciousness over time.

One of the purposes of the present study is to consider fully what Du Bois' sense of double consciousness is. Recall that Du Bois problematizes whites' perspectives as onlookers of blacks' condition or plight and provoked the readers' serious consideration of the race issue in writing *The Souls of Black Folks*. His famous line, "the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line," also signifies his calls of readers' modification of their onlooker stance on race issues. He appealed to both African-American and non-African-American readers in writing, "suppose *and* suppose" what the experience of the race problem is like. This chapter shows one way to fulfill Du Bois' wish—exposing various readers to the race problem, or making them abandon their (unconscious) bystanders' perspectives on problems that the concept illustrates. As far as we regard this concept as one of exclusively African American experience or "others," we cannot understand it. It is necessary

to show that the concept exists in seemingly unrelated places or forms, and that the analogy of dilemma or conflict that the concept reveals might be a familiar one for us.

In order to accomplish these aims, I consider literary and film texts. These texts are different from these I took up in Chapter 3. Around the turn of the century when Du Bois' introduced the concept, new kind of text-moving pictures-emerged. As time passes, media have become diverse and changed forms. Since the present study aims to establish a genealogy, it is helpful to see the discourse over time and to see film and literature as the products of cultural time. Both literature and film present slices of our daily lives or sense of values to us. These show us that Du Bois' double consciousness discourse, its fragmentary implication, and messages are embedded in our daily lives in familiar narratives. Motifs, conversasion, characterization, and images of these kinds of texts embed double consciousness discourse. In the case of films, not only words or plots, but also visual or audio signs and images, pacing, facial expression, time, and movement embed these values. Thus, we can expect that in the construction of images in film we should find the function of the discourses which we can not find in the exploration of texts that merely consist of words.

For example, Deliah in a film *Imitation of Life* (1934) and

Pierre in *Bamboozled* (2000) are different in terms of time, gender, job, class, and educational background, so they should not be compared in a simple way. But even a seemingly successful middle class black male, Pierre, survives in white America by degrading his black identity as Deliah accepts her image as an unintellectual black in the 30s. This shows the persistence of the waste predicted by Du Bois' double aims discourse, and shows that even hard work or the existence of a black middle class at the beginning of the 21st century does not fully solve the African American dilemma.

Although the world represented in the films is different from reality, the filmmakers' choice of topic and shots reflects values of the times when those were made. The present study does not focus mainly on filmmakers' intentions or personal ideology in making films, but on how images function for constructing values and how audiences could perceive them. The audiences' perception of the image might be different from what the directors intended, and audiences change our time. I use a French philosopher Gilles Deleuze's cinema theory in *Cinema 1* (1983) and *Cinema 2* (1985), which emphasizes the relation between images and the audience's perception of images, as a tool to analyze film texts. Among his concepts, I will deploy his theory of affection-image, time-image, and sensory-motor-schema. I will examine film texts of various subject positions,

directors, genres (such as so-called "race films"), over time. I also examine how white directors or black directors construct double consciousness discourses.

One of the definitions of Du Bois's concept of double consciousness is the "second-sight" function in which "the eyes of others" constructs one's self image. In Nella Larsen's novel, *Quicksand* (1928), the protagonist, Helga, is a twenty-four year old mulatto woman.¹⁰³ She is a teacher at Naxos, an elite institute for black youth. She repeats a journey seeking her racial identity and romantic love, but, as she encounters men, she is insulted as a black woman. At the end of the journey, she marries a black minister and dies in childbirth. Mulatto discourse in the literary and film texts have been explored by many researchers. The "Tragic Mulatto Myth" is named for light skinned people from African American communities who have difficulty in defining their own identity and usually come to a bad end. Among those difficulties, "passing"—as white—may be one of the central issues.

Du Bois takes up the double identity issue in discussing the concept of double consciousness where doubleness signifies black/white and black/American alternatives. Given the symbolic

¹⁰³ Deborah McDowell noted that DuBois admired it as the "best piece of fiction that Negro America has produced since the heyday of Chesnutt" in his *Voices of a Black Nation: Political Journalism in the Harlem Renaissance*, ed. Theodore G. Vincent, review of *Home to Harlem*, and *Quicksand* (San Francisco: Ramparts, 1973), 359.) (*Quicksand and Passing* ix).

dilemma between black and white, an exploration of the similarity and difference between divided race discourse and mulatto discourse should provide insight in understanding Du Bois's formulation of the concept.

Although the anonymous protagonist in James Weldon Johnson's *The Autobiography of An Ex-Colored Man* (1927) mainly experiences the ambivalent feeling caused by his dual identity, most of his annoyance at race is generated from his own inward feeling, his view of others (blacks and whites) and his environment.¹⁰⁴ But in the case of *Quicksand*, Larsen emphasizes how others see or categorize Helga, and how cruelly the others' judgment damages her mind as a woman.

Basically, "race" and "gender" are different things, but the combination of race and gender discourses enables readers to see the possibility that one's racial identity can devastate one's happiness as an ordinary woman.¹⁰⁵ As I argued in Chapter 1, the basis of Du Bois' formulation of double consciousness was the idea that judging people by the color of their skin is nonsense. Larsen transforms the feelings of race consciousness of African American people into a kind of universal feeling among all people by adding a romantic love element to the novel. Also,

¹⁰⁴ The protagonist looks like a white, so he could pass a white.

¹⁰⁵ For example, white men whom Helga meets shows their racist view of her. Helga has hard time in finding her partner with whom she can be freed from Du Bois's sense of "the eyes of other."

Larsen uses this understandable form, the romance form in *Quicksand*, and sets up Helga as an ordinary young woman. So even a non-black reader can sympathize with Helga and might be able to realize the tragedy caused by race in an understandable form.

Furthermore, Helga is characterized by detailed description of her beautiful facial features and fashionable clothes. These descriptions also help to differentiate Helga from the image of stereotypical or caricatured black women, and make Helga's race consciousness vivid and realistic. Larsen's use of color as a symbol of race helps to explain others' prejudice toward her—Du Bois's sense of "the eyes of others." For example, Helga's aunt in Copenhagen recommends that she wear primary colors, but Helga likes chic colors. Helga's aunt reveals her stereotypical view of "sorte (black)" who are believed to favor gaudy colors.

Nella Larsen's *Passing* (1929) takes up racial passing of two mulatto women.¹⁰⁶ Irene Redfield is a respected member of the black middle class of Harlem. She receives a letter from her childhood friend, Clare Kendry, a notoriously delinquent teenager who had disappeared from the black community twelve years earlier. Irene decides not to see Clare, remembering the

¹⁰⁶ Du Bois calls this novel "one of the finest novels of the year" in the book review of *The Crisis*, July 1929. Also, he argued that "If the American Negro renaissance gives us many more books like this, with its sincerity, its simplicity and charm, we can soon with equanimity drop the word 'Negro'" (*Du Bois: A Reader* 521-522).

time she accidentally re-encountered Clare in Chicago two years earlier. Irene finds that Clare had married a white man while passing as a white, and questions Clare's choice of passing for white. Irene does not answer the letter.

A mulatta, Clare is always conscious about how she is seen by others and is concerned that her original background would be disclosed by others. By passing, Clare could move on to white society and higher social and economic status. One of the definitions of Du Bois' double consciousness, "the eyes of others," explains her psychology. For Du Bois, this psychological mechanism is dominated by a "sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others" that offers no true-self consciousness. Clare succeeds in passing in white society, but in the whites only Drayton Hotel in Chicago, she is anxious that others will discover her secret, which renders her guarded and fearful, and demonstrates her difficulty of having "true-self consciousness" in her new world. Clare is self-conscious that disclosure of her racial identity would also expose her original class identity. If her white husband discovers her black ancestry, Clare will lose her current happiness available in the new world of white society.

In *Imitation of Life* (1934), a white widow Miss Bea (Claudet Colbert) asks her housekeeper, Aunt Deliah (Louise Beavers) to smile, saying, "Big One." Deliah's smile imitates

a "Mammy" image.¹⁰⁷ Although most of Miss Bea's manners toward Deliah are not overtly racist, what she makes Deliah do is to accept a stereotypical image of African-Americans. Deliah is induced to conform to the expectations of "the eyes of others." Bea's establishment of the "Aunt Deliah's homemade pancake" results in her economic success using blacks' stereotypical image. I argued in Chapter 1 that one implication of Du Bois' definition of "the eyes of others" is whites' economic exploitation of blacks. Thus, this film produces a fragmentary definition of double consciousness. In the 1959 version of *Imitation of Life*, Annie Johnson (Juanita Moore) remains a servant, but she does not conform to a stereotypical image. That is, while the coding of the image changes over time, the effect does not.

When Jessie, a white daughter of Bea, first calls Peola, a mulatto daughter of Deliah, "black," Bea admonishes Jessie, and Peola bursts into tears. When Jessie answers, "I didn't mean anything," a medium shot of her blank face watching Peola is shown. This is Du Bois's sense of the "eyes of others" in which Jessie deprives Peola of "true-self consciousness" and is a bystander who looks on. In his cinema theory Deleuze defines the "affection-image"—mostly close up— as having "quality or

¹⁰⁷ Donald Bogle argues that "Louise Beavers' Deliah was a combination of tom and aunt jemima magnified and glorified in full-blown Hollywood fashion" (59).

power," and explains that "it is potentiality considered for itself as expressed" (*Cinema* 198). Jessie's blank face has certain power and her white gaze deprives Peola's of "true-self consciousness" and alienates her by looking on her. Although Peola and Jessie have grown up in the same house and study together, they live with Du Bois' sense of "the veil" between them where racial oppression functions as an unseen power.

In *Imitation of Life* in the late 1950s—the time of the rise of the civil rights movement—visual construction of a white girl's "eye" toward a mulatto girl such as Sara Jane was almost absent.¹⁰⁸ When Susie Meredith (Sandra Dee), a sixteen year-old white girl, asks Sara Jane Johnson (Susan Kohner), an eighteen-year-old mulatta, if her boyfriend is "colored" or not, Sara accuses her of asking an improper question.¹⁰⁹ Susie withdraws her question regretfully. Her question proves that she has "the eyes of others" toward Sara Jane, but the absence of any visual construction of her "eye" toward blacks lessens the impact of the coldness or cruelty of white gaze found in the 1934 version. The rise of the Civil Rights Movement hindered the strong expression of those eyes. But, in *Mississippi Burning* (1988), a close-up of a white girl who slightly smiles watching the enthusiastic white speaker at a KKK meeting is inserted in

¹⁰⁸ In 1959 version, Sara Jane, a mulatta, replaces Peola.

¹⁰⁹ Sara Jane replaces Peola and Susie Meredith replaces Jessie in 1959 version.

the scenes of the KKK meeting at night, and as an affection image, the close-up of eyes that reflect the burning fire transmits the little girl's doubtless belief in what the speaker of the meeting says—the absolutism of white supremacy. The object of the girl's gaze is not the Other for her, African-Americans, but, in terms of use of shots of the child's eyes, their innocence and lack of a sense of guilt as white gaze, both *Imitation of Life* (1934) and *Mississippi Burning* emphasize the power of "the eyes of others" as the devastating one on blacks.

By the late 20th century filmmakers such as Quentin Tarantino had created scenes in which racial epithets appeared in casual conversations. For example, in his *Pulp Fiction* (1994), his black and white characters are comfortable in using racial slurs and we see a glimpse of the black wife of one of these characters as a counter-image coded as justification for freedom from restraint on racial slurs. Spike Lee's *Bamboozled* (2000) intervenes in this discursive situation.

Bamboozled (2000) also uses the technique of inserting a shot that reveals whites' "eye" toward blacks, but with a difference from *Mississippi Burning*. Dunwitty (Michael Rapaport), a network executive and boss of the protagonist, Pierre Delacroix (Damon Wayans), a Harvard-graduate working as a writer for a broadcasting network, asserts that he has a right to use the word "nigger" because he has an African-American wife

and "nigger" is just a word.¹¹⁰ Pierre replies, "Well, I would prefer if you did not use that word in my presence." Dunwitty says "Oh, really?" as if Pierre's comment is an unexpected one. In the next shot, from Pierre's point of view, Dunwitty ridicules Pierre, repeating "Nigger, nigger."

This technique portrays Dunwitty's ridicule through exaggerated acting, intensifying Pierre's imagination and his perception of Dunwitty's contempt of him and African-Americans. Dunwitty's use of the word "nigger" itself denotes his derogatory view of Pierre and African-Americans, and signifies "the eyes of others"—whites' contemptuous view of African-Americans. For him, political correctness is no longer fashionable and he is free to use the word as he pleases. So in terms of the meaning of Dunwitty's use of the word, the shot of Dunwitty's exaggerated ridiculing is reality.

Geneva Smitherman and Teun A. Van Dijk argue that:

Compared with many other forms of discrimination, that found in discourse may appear to be less harmful. However, though it differs from the kind of physical violence against blacks and other minorities that was outlawed (but hardly eliminated) only a few decades ago, its

¹¹⁰ In this scene, they are talking about Pierre's projects. Dunwitty turns down Pierre's proposition of having a show featuring a black middle-class family living in a white neighborhood. Dunwitty promotes Pierre to write situations that feature stereotypical images of blacks. Dunwitty's phrase signifies Lee's response to Quentin Tarantino's film *Pulp Fiction* (1994).

consequences are no less painful (11).

Dunwitty's comment that " 'nigger' is just a word" shows his white ignorance of the word's damaging effect on African-Americans.

The next shot is a time-image in which Pierre beats Dunwitty, saying, "Whitey, whitey, whitey," but since the following shot returns to the normalcy of their conversation scene, the audience realizes the shot portrays not an actual attack but the virtual attack that plays itself out in Pierre's imagination. In reality, Pierre does not beat his boss, and the shot reveals his unconscious desire or intense drive to strike back at "the eyes of others"—the other's contempt. The insertion of Pierre's imaginary shot breaks the "sensory-motor schema," mixing an interiorized impulse with exterior control. Sensory-motor-schema "grounds narration in the image," producing a series that leads the narratives flow (*Cinema 2* 32).¹¹¹ Dunwitty's racism is broken, even if only imaginatively this time. So by breaking the sensory-motor schema, audiences experience the sudden switching of their perception from an objective view of two men's conversation to Pierre's view.¹¹² This technique helps the audience experience "the eyes of others." Audiences may

¹¹¹ Deleuze explains the sensory motor image as one that "linked a perception-image to an action-image; it already modeled the first on the second and extended the one into the other" (*Cinema 2* 45).

perceive that Dunwitty's ridiculing-his close-up-is not directed toward Pierre, but toward the audience themselves. As I argued in Chapter 1, Du Bois advocates the importance of blacks' "message for the world." He suspected that the rest of the world is not aware of the racism in the U.S. and attempted to make them imagine what racism actually is. He appeals to the reader by writing "Suppose I have missed a Harvard scholarship?" or "Suppose and suppose!" (*Autobiography* 183). This film's technique responds to Du Bois' "Suppose and suppose!" and is "the message for the world" in the concept of double consciousness.

This technique also enables viewers to experience the dual structure of Pierre's perception of reality. But the boundary between the actual (his control) and virtual (his rage) images is blurred in this case because Dunwitty's use of the word "nigger" and his ridiculing mean the same thing. As Nella Larsen enabled readers to experience race consciousness and "the eyes of others" by writing a narrative romance novel in which readers might identify with the heroine, the film's technique enables the audience to experience what it is like being exposed to "the eyes of others." Du Bois problematized the white bystander's relation to blacks' plight. So the film's technique to make the audiences experience "the eyes of others" itself signifies double consciousness discourse.

¹¹² This scene is a cross-cutting of their bust shot.

The "eyes of others" are also constructed by remarks, reaction, and action. When as a small white child Jessie in *Imitation of Life* (1934) meets Deliah for the first time, she calls her "horsie." Deliah does not get mad at this contemptuous remark. Rather, she enjoys this small baby's remark. In this film Donald Bogle regards as "a conscious apotheosis of the tom spirit and unconsciously bitter comment on race relations in America." The characterization of Deliah is a submissive woman who did not resist "the eyes of others" (59).¹¹³

But, in the 1940s, conditions were different from the 1930s. The 1940s was called the peak of the black press. Several anti-discrimination activities were instituted such as prohibition of discrimination in the U.S. army during WWII (Hill and Moon 11). Donald Bogle points out that NAACP criticized the stereotypical portrayal of the Uncle Tom figure like the character in *Song of the South* (1946) (Bogle 136). In *Pinky* (1949) when the title role, Pinky Johnson (Jeanne Crain) confesses she is not a white but an African-American in front of her lover, Thomas Adams (William Lundigan), he says, "Poor

¹¹³ Bogle defines the year 1934 as a time "when a new social consciousness had infiltrated the motion picture industry. Already Roosevelt's election, the New Deal, the growing liberalism of the country, and the Depression itself had brought to American films a new world view and a new social order whereby many of the old racial proprieties were starting to be discarded." Also, Bogle calls *Imitation of Life* "an outgrowth of this new conscious liberal spirit" (57)

Pat."¹¹⁴ Pinky reacts, "I'm not looking for pity." This is Du Bois's idea that one of the characters of whites' eyes is pity on African-Americans, who need to reject the influence of this gaze on them. *Pinky* is the first feature film taking up interracial romance (Bogle 120). As Bogle points out, the use of a white actress for the mulatta character, Pinky, signifies a compromise (Bogle 152).¹¹⁵ But, the character of the heroine is portrayed as independent in order to reject the whites' negative assessment or pity on blacks.¹¹⁶

The film *Pinky* shows "the eyes of others" by the repetitive use of the same composition. The composition of the scene in which Pinky was torn by her grandmother Aunt Dicey (Ethel Waters) doing laundry is doubled by Pinky doing laundry in the background instead of her grandmother, with Tom watching her from the foreground as Pinky works. In this scene, Tom's face is not shown. He is seen only from the back standing quietly for a long time. This repetitive use of the composition signifies identification of Pinky with her grandmother and emphasizes Pinky as an African American woman. Confronting the reality that Pinky is an

¹¹⁴ Pinky calls herself Patricia in passing for white in the North.

¹¹⁵ The director of the film, Elia Kazan himself confesses in 1971 that he felt "there was some essential cop-out in casting a white girl in the lead" (131), and reveals his dissatisfaction of "the blandness of the leading lady" and "something black about that film" (Kazan 132).

¹¹⁶ The director Elia Kazan said that the film was "a conventional picture" and "there were a lot of cliches in it" in terms of treatment of blacks. He calls his film *Baby Doll* the best in terms of portraying blacks who scorn the whites (201).

African-American, Tom just stands there. After Pinky sees Tom, Tom asks Pinky why she is doing the wash, and she answers that she has to make money.¹¹⁷ The long shot of Tom's back before he questioned Pinky functions as "the eyes of others" which Du Bois calls "all, nevertheless, flutter round . . . an unasked question" and situates Tom as a bystander (*Souls* 3).¹¹⁸ When Pinky comes back from the North to her home in the South, she sees her grandmother as a bystander. Since Pinky lives as a white and has a white lover in the North, her African-American grandmother exists as "the other" for her. But after she lives with her grandmother again, Tom's view categorizes Pinky and her grandmother as others for him.

In the 1960s, a black FBI agent, Virgil Tibbs (Sidney Poitier), orders a white police man to call him "officer" in *In The Heat of the Night* (1967). In *Jungle Fever* (1991), when the boss of the protagonist, a black middle class architect, Flipper, says, "Afro-American," Flipper corrects it, "African American." When one of the white staff calls Pierre Delacloix "Pierre" in *Bamboozled* (2000), he tells the staff to call him, "Mister Delacloix." In these plots, blacks reject "the eyes of others"—whites' assessment of them—embedded in their way of addressing

¹¹⁷ Pinky needs to make money for the trial.

¹¹⁸ When Pinky first comes back from North to her home, the South, this shot of her back was used. She was the bystander of her grandmother's life as a black and now same composition and situation make Tom as a bystander.

blacks.

The "eyes of others" are expressed in acting too. In *Imitation of Life* (1934), when Deliah visits Peola's classroom, she quickly hides her face from her mother. The appearance of a black mother results in disclosure of Peola's passing for a white. A boy says, "Gee, I didn't know she was colored" and Peola walked to the door with heavily angry face being strongly conscious of other kids' eyes toward her. But in the 1959 version of *Imitation of Life*, which is made after the prohibition of public school segregation in *Brown vs Board of Education* (1954), when her mother comes into the classroom, Sara Jane Johnson (Karin Dicker) first looks around for other students' reactions to her and then hides her face with a textbook. Both 1934 and 1959 versions show the heroines' consciousness of themselves constructed by whites' gaze toward them. But in the later version, other students' remarks toward Sara are omitted.¹¹⁹ The white gaze in the 1934 version is portrayed in a more straightforward way than in the later version.

In *Pinky* (1949), when the police find that Pinky is black, she was taken to the police. Pinky tells the police officer that since she is colored, "You [the police officer] don't believe me." The police officer says to her, "You've had advantages

¹¹⁹ In the 1934 version, Bea suggests that Deliah send Peola to a school in the South where she does not need to suffer whites' reactions to her.

which are denied to most members of your race" such as a scholarship in the North. When a Doctor asks Pinky, "Have you ever given a Hypo?" she answers, "I am a graduate nurse." These whites' remarks suggest Du Bois' notion of a lowered expectation in "the eyes of others," and Pinky's reaction results in her resistance against their gaze. Whites' actions, laying false charges on Pinky and whites' remarks construct whites' values.

When Tom, Pinky's lover, hears Pinky assuming her black identity, the camera follows Tom's reaction—a medium shot of him walking slowly in Pinky's wooden house in the South. Tom does not see Pinky, but is looking at the floor while hearing her voice. The scene is drawn out for effect and portrays Tom's fear or hesitation about hearing some facts and makes the audience anticipate that he would not fully understand or respect her racial identity. Although Tom does not see anybody, the presentation of his attitude constructs his gaze. Pinky is given no reaction shot.

Double consciousness as "the eyes of others" discourse is also found in cross-cultural discourse. In a novel *Native Speaker* (1995) written by a Korean American writer, Chang-Rae Lee, Korean American Henry Park receives a list from his American wife Lelia. On the sheet her assessment of Park's character include remarks such as "You are surreptitious/B+ student of life/First thing hummer of Wagner and Strauss/ Illegal

alien/Emotional alien. . ." (*Native 5*).

Park did not know that his wife was making this list. In fact, his first impression of the list was that "it was a love poem," but it was not (*Native 5*). This means that Park was not always aware of Du Bois' sense of "the eye of others" on him, his wife's gaze toward him, or whites' negative evaluation of him. Lelia's gaze did not deprive Park of "true-self consciousness" in their relationship so far, but his wife kept the "eyes of others" on him. Lelia's gaze made Park an outsider in his own house.

Lelia's negative view toward Park mainly relates to her view of him as an immigrant. First, her calling him "alien" or "stranger" directly signifies his outsidership in American society.¹²⁰ Second, her use of words such as "traitor" or "overrated" suggest her distrust or contempt of him as an outsider or invader of the society.¹²¹ Lelia's expression of his character might resemble the mainstream Americans' (or old stock Americans) fear toward massive tides of immigrants at the turn of the 20th century. The anti-foreign feeling or xenophobia represented by KKK around the 1920s does not seem to have been modified in the 1990s.

¹²⁰ You-me Park and Gayle Wald take up double consciousness in terms of the similarity of outsidership between African Americans and Asian Americans (629-630).

¹²¹ This contempt also relates to his job as an industrial spy.

That the list maker, evaluator of an immigrant is his own "wife," that he did not know his wife was making the list, and that he trusted his wife's love—his belief that he could considerably assimilate to America—emphasize the inevitability of being assessed by whites, and also demonstrates the difficulty for outsiders to have "true-self-consciousness" or to assimilate to American society. This case illustrates the applicability of double consciousness discourse to ethnicity and immigrants.

Another construction of whites' gaze toward blacks is shown in the presentations of another stereotype in *Bamboozled* (2000). All commercial messages for Pierre's TV minstrel show feature stereotypical and negative portrayals of African-Americans. One of those, an appearance of a hypersexual woman is based on the directors' assumption about contemporary whites' assessment of African-American women. A shot of the President's back (Clinton) applauding her performance on TV signifies another characteristic of the white gaze. This shot is used to confirm that the white gaze toward a black in the previous shot and is an indirect indictment of American racism on a national level.¹²²

¹²² Spike Lee says both TV and cinema have been "guilty." He mentions that the motive for making *Bamboozled* (2000) was "to show that from their birth these two great mediums, film and television, have promoted negative racial images," and that "You have to understand that these mediums are not separate from society." He thinks "Racism is woven into the very fabric of American society..." ("Thinking about power of images: An interview with Spike Lee" 204). Lee does not link his view of functions of the medium and Du Bois'

Nella Larsen's *Quicksand* (1928) takes up this issue in terms of gender. Larsen portrays the unavoidability of a high school teacher, Helga Crane's fate. Helga is seen by whites as an exotic object based on the stereotype of African women as hypersexual and primitive. She suffers white men's views toward her. She is a teacher in a prestigious high school in the South, and has a beautiful outlook, delicate sensitivity, artistic sense, and intellect. But as she falls in love with men (white), her boyfriends reveal their view toward her. They saw her as a sexual object who does not have intellect or as a mythic figure nymphomaniacal black woman.

After deep disappointment, she meets another man, but she repeats her disappointment. In this novel, the eyes of others unavoidably lowers her self-esteem not only as an intellectual person, but also as a woman. At last the effect of these "eyes" of white men deprive her of the happiness of a whole life. Her long search to find true love results in the repetition of being betrayed and confirmation of the inevitability of the effect of

double consciousness. But, Lee's making *Bamboozled* itself signifies participation in Du Bois' double consciousness discourse, especially in construction of blacks' "message for the world" discourse. In showing how devastating the effect of media could be on blacks' minds, how media subtly fixes negative image of blacks on non-black audience, and in the way these discourses were made, Lee's film shows "the world" how injustice (Du Bois' sense of the "Devil" who "work" to make people believe that blacks are "the worst") is practiced under the guise of cultural productions in America. Although I discuss TV commercial scenes of *Bamboozled*, as Lee suggest "from their birth (of TV and film)," the last sequences of the film which succeedingly demonstrates minstrel or stereotypical black inferiority image in films fit Lee's intention most. Actually, this last sequence functions

double consciousness in terms of gender. The condition that the heroine is a teacher, and the plot in which she repeatedly confronts white men's views of her emphasize her difficulty of having Du Bois's sense of "true-self consciousness."

The title implies the novel's theme of the gender and race trap for African American women. There are stereotypes of black women that label them as hypersexed prostitutes or undesirable laboring machines. Helga is an educated, self-conscious, and intelligent woman. She is more than a beautiful object. But in the novel, both white men and black men try to categorize her in one of these two ways. For example, when she goes to Chicago for employment, both black and white men regard her as a whore and beg her services. Even when she goes to Denmark, where she expects that society appreciates variety and difference in various aspects of culture, Helga receives insulting words.

Frederick Douglass argues that he had been deprived of his life as an "idealistic man" and the heroine in Larsen's work is not allowed to be seen as an "idealistic woman" who has intellect, a good heart, and moral sense. As I argued in Chapter 3, in Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861), the heroine suffers whites' views of her, and the danger of being sexually harassed by her master. In Oscar Micheaux's film *Within Our Gates* (1919), the heroine, Sylvia Laundry, "a schoolteacher

as Du Bois' sense of "the message for the world."

from the South," also suffers the danger of being raped by a white man. Although their circumstances are different, Douglass, Jacobs, Michaeux, and Larsen portray the same plight of African Americans caused by the effect of "the eyes of others" in terms of gender identity.

But *Jungle Fever* (1991) reverses this structure. The interracial relationship between black middle class architect Flipper Purify (Wesley Snipes) and his Italian working class secretary Angie (Annabella Sciorra) revolves around the seer/seen problem in Du Bois's concept of double consciousness. When he finds Angie's attention to the color of his skin, their relationship starts, and when he says, "I don't love you [Angie]. I was curious," it ends.

Flipper and his secretary, Angie, work together every night at their office. One day, Flipper asks her if she is seeing his "color of skin." Flipper's awareness concretizes his awareness of "the eyes of others"—white gaze—in Du Bois' definition. But, against Flipper's words, the visual constructs Flipper as "the eyes of others" and Angie as the one who is seen. A medium shot of Flipper watching Angie starts the scene, and a medium shot of Angie typing (Flipper's point of view) without awareness of Flipper's cross-cut. Angie is shot from Flipper's POV, and the person who sees the other first is always Flipper. Angie finds Flipper's eye, and reacts to him every day. Henry Louis Gates,

Jr. points out that Flipper was an exotic object for Angie (Film Views II:20:1.). And at the same time, the film later makes Angie a white exotic object for a black man, Flipper.

In reversing this seen/seer situation between two races, Spike Lee's film shows the reverse of power relations between the two races. While portraying race things, the reverse happens most by anti-essentialist criteria in this film. In terms of class, educational background, ability, marital/single status, work place pecking order, and gender, the film defines Angie as having inferior status to Flipper, and in all aspects black characters humiliate or attack her, as do her father and brother.

Du Bois advocates the fairness of a merit system. In a sense, this value works in this film, but as a reason for despising Angie. In *Quicksand*, Helga is portrayed as a smart woman, so the alleged black inferiority myth and hypersex stereotype intensely frustrate her and emphasize how nonsensical the criteria by color of skin is. But the superiority of Flipper's social status to Angie forbids her to defend herself. In fact, one of Flipper's wife's frustrations after knowing her husband's extramarital affair was that Angie did not graduate from high school.¹²³ Near the ending of their relationship, Flipper rejects Angie's whiteness, does not allow Angie to call his wife and daughter "white" and rejects having a baby who has white blood.

Then, does the film present the successful case which Du Bois advocated in formulating the concept of double consciousness? Is Flipper successful in terms of becoming an active seer or assessor of whites or of surpassing "the eyes of others"—white gaze? The point is that the protagonist, Flipper does not choose his position as an overseer, but is forced to be in the situation where he is an assessor of a white secretary.¹²⁴ Even though he becomes a boss of a white woman, becomes her lover and abandons her, the visual construction portrays his surrender to her.¹²⁵ The more the plot, setting, and words emphasize Flipper's higher status, the more the visual construction of Angie's predominance over Flipper becomes impressive. Thus, this technique presents the protagonists' surrender to the massive power of "the eyes of others"—a white supremacy discourse.

As noted in Chapter 3, Frederick Douglass wrote letters to his ex-master after he escaped from slavery, revealing that he was not only to be watched or dominated by an overseer, but also

¹²³ She calls Angie "nothing."

¹²⁴ Flipper wanted an African-American secretary, but his boss finds an Italian woman. When Flipper claims, his bosses refuse it because it will result in "reverse discrimination."

¹²⁵ In later scene, a medium shot of Angie and a close-up of Flipper (back light) are shown. The succession of these two shots, Flipper as shadow and Angie as shining white emphasizes the difference of conditions between two. As for Lee's use of lighting, Michele Wallace commented on. Bell Hooks points out Lee's beautifying white woman (128). But the present study does not regard not only regard it as Lee's beautification of white woman, but as differentiation of two races and whites' advantageous point in contrast to blacks.

that he watched his master and assessed his ability ("A letter to Thomas Auld" 102). In presenting the reverse of seen/seer dichotomy, Douglass declares his victory and rejects blacks' assumed passivity. But in the case of *Jungle Fever*, Flipper's compelled reversal of the seer/seen power relationship emphasizes the power of "the eyes of others" as Du Bois originally defines it, and that the merit system does not overcome "the eyes of others" discourse.

In *Imitation of Life* (1934), the mulatta girl, Peola says to a white girl, Jessie, "You gonna get 'D' again." Two girls are talking about the coming exam at school. After this, Peola cries because Jessie calls her "black." As Du Bois experiences, Peola and Jessie first reside in the world where a merit system works while they are talking about studying. But different criteria—biological distinction, race—hinders Peola from being recognized as meeting the rational criteria of a merit system, and makes her assessed by Jessie. In other words, race reverses their relationship between being assessed/assessor.

In *Guess Who's coming to the Dinner* (1967), the protagonist (Sidney Poitier) waits for father's judgment on his proposal to his fiancée. But, *Jungle Fever* creates a black who assesses whites in a harsh way. In constructing a white woman's passivity and blacks' contempt of her, *Jungle Fever* reversed the seer/seen power game which films in former periods did not construct.

At the same time its visual construction betrays the power relationship and affirms whites' advantageous status in contrast to blacks.

Camera angle also constructs Du Bois' sense of seer/seen relationship. In *Bamboozled* (2000), after Pierre sits in the conference room, a montage of high-angle shots of him (which is close to a crane shot) and low-angle of his boss, Dunwitty, starts. Dunwitty accuses Pierre of being late to the meeting. As this plot explains, the director's choice of angles of two characters determines their relationship, Dunwitty having Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of other," assessor or seer, and Pierre as the one assessed or seen.

Toni Morrison's novel, *Beloved* (1987) also takes up the seer/seen relationship. The heroine Sethe lives with her daughter Denver after escaping from slavery. Sethe kills her baby daughter Beloved in order to avoid returning her baby to her cruel master, "school teacher." But, twenty years later, the baby ghost of Beloved haunts Sethe's house and appears as a twenty-year old woman. Sethe, Denver, and Beloved live together, but Beloved gradually begins to annoy, accuse, and destroy Sethe physically and mentally. In the relation between Beloved and the present Sethe, Sethe is passive. Sethe is first portrayed as someone to be influenced or invaded by Beloved. Du Bois argued the need for blacks to have active subjectivity,

independence, and an eye to see or assess by themselves. Beloved's attack on Sethe represents the negative effect of "the eyes of others" on Sethe's psychology. Sethe killed her own baby because she does not want her daughter to experience the cruelty of slavery as she has.¹²⁶ But, Beloved who appears as a grown-up maiden does not know why Sethe killed her. Beloved's accusation of Sethe is a product of the cruel system of slavery. The power which made Sethe kill her own daughter is white oppression. In this case, Sethe can be a sort of victim of "the eyes of others," and Beloved functions as white gaze. However, Du Bois argues that "the eyes of others" does not attack actual guilty people, but people upon whom are imposed the alleged "worst" existences. So Sethe's awareness of Beloved's gaze toward her in her own mind—Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of others"—creates her sense of guilt. Through Sethe's struggle to survive from Beloved's challenging her—Du Bois's sense of "strife. . . to attain self-consciousness manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self"—Sethe's old self is vanquished. Instead, her second-daughter, Denver emerges as a representation of the rebirth of Sethe's new self that has active subjectivity, an eye to see herself, and independence. The weakening of Sethe and Denver's integration with other blacks occurs at the same time.

¹²⁶ The cruelty of the slavery which Sethe experiences is portrayed in various ways. One of those is that she is raped by masters.

Also, the gradual ripening of Denver's personality represents the gradual establishing of Sethe's new identity.

Du Bois' definition of "integration" suggests integration between blacks and whites, within the black community, establishing active and independent subjectivity freed from the influence of white's negative assessment of blacks. In this sense, Denver fulfills Du Bois's sense of integration.

Also, in the ending, Sethe tried to kill the image of "Schoolmaster," a past slavemaster of her, and with Paul D's help and the community women's magic to sweep away Beloved, she succeeded in removing Beloved, and could establish an independent self that affirms her own "self-worth."¹²⁷ In doing this, Sethe tried to kill "the eye of other," Beloved. The story ends in Sethe's victory. Sethe acquires what Du Bois defined as a goal. In this sense, Du Bois's concept schematizes Sethe's life.

Not only Sethe, but also Paul D and members of her community hated Beloved and tried to get her out. For them, Beloved represents a memory or trauma of the slavery system. After the Emancipation, they fight the influence of the power Beloved represents. In this sense, Morrison's *Beloved* portrays an individual and collective desire to overcome Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of others."

Outsider discourse which "the eyes of others" brings is also found in some texts. In *Imitation of Life* (1934) when Deliah first introduces her young daughter, Peola to Miss Bea, Peola is outside of a screen door (the left end of the screen) of Bea's house. A horizontal dividing line of the door covers part of Peola's face, so only upper half of her face is shown. Miss Bea welcomes Peola, and her small daughter Jessie eagerly approaches her from inside the house, but the visual image—Peola's position, half hidden face, and a blank face—symbolizes her position as an outsider of the house.¹²⁸

Also, the transparent screen door functions as Du Bois' sense of "veil" which distinguishes two worlds—the worlds of the African-Americans and the whites. As I noted in Chapter 1, Du Bois discovered the existence of the veil when he was a child. So before he perceives, the veil had not existed. The scene of Peola's first appearance fits this concept. Nobody excludes Peola verbally, but as the transparent screen door represents, an unseen barrier exists between Peola, a mulatta, and whites, Miss Bea, and Jessie.

Another complexity is found in this scene. Peola's mother, Deliah is also inside the house. Thus, Peola's situation is not only different from whites, but also from her own mother, an

¹²⁷ Paul D is Sethe's lover.

¹²⁸ Pinky also keeps her blank face until she finds the importance of self-respect, and escapes from being outsider.

African-American. This emphasizes the complexity of Peola's racial identity as a mulatta and that she is alienated in America where she is born. Once she enters the house, Jessie smiles at Peola and tries to touch her, but Peola does not react to Jessie, and stands still keeping a blank face. The contrast of these two girls' facial expression and acting illustrates the existence of the unseen veil between them.

As Peola becomes a high-teen (Freda Washington), the existence of the veil and the outsidership of her are expressed in an other way. When Miss Bea has a dance party in her house, Peola and Deliah are on the balcony. While Deliah cheerfully looks into the inside of the house, Peola looks in the opposite direction. Although nobody excludes them from the dance party, this visual image and contrast of brightness of inside and darkness of outside constructs Peola as an outsider in her own house.

Next, a sequence of shots reveals Peola's outsidership. After the shot of the dance party on the second floor, a medium shot of Peola's back looking up the second floor from the first floor is shown. On the shot of the second floor, Miss Bea is talking with a guest about her daughter Jessie, and Peola hears it from the first floor. The difference of the floor signifies the two worlds and Peola's outsidership. Dance music and Miss Bea's voice link the two worlds, so the two worlds are not

completely separated. Sound is only an index of the material world, however, and a weak connection at best. Instead of the screen door, the difference between the second and the first floor functions as "the veil" in this scene. On the other hand, in the 1959 version of *Imitation of Life*, a little mulatto girl Sara Jane asks her black mother, "Why do we have to be in the backyard?" Verbally, Sara resists against whites' marginalizing of blacks.

The outsidersness discourse of double consciousness is also found in recent films. In *Bamboozled* (2000), the difference of two successive scenes emphasizes the protagonist's isolated position in white America. Both scenes center on walking Pierre. In the former scene Pierre is walking on the street horizontally and two African American dancers come from different directions. They meet in the middle of the screen, and the dancers accept Pierre. After the three have cheerful conversations, this scenes ends. The latter scene is in the corporation where Pierre works. First, a middle shot of Pierre and a white colleague standing side by side in the elevator appears. The white man ignores Pierre, saying, "Have a great day." Next, Pierre's back walking from foreground to background in the hallway appears. As he walks by, many white colleagues with blank faces come from the opposite direction and pass by him ignoring his greetings to them.

While Pierre and two dancers encounter after walking, Pierre and his white colleagues have neither a face to face situation nor conversations. While Pierre's face was shown in the former (street) scene, his back is portrayed in the corporation. While he keeps a calm or normal attitude on the street, Pierre dramatizes his way of speech with high tone voice in the corporation. This contrast shows the two worlds in which Pierre is residing and emphasizes the difference of these worlds, between himself and his position in the white society. Du Bois' emphasis on the importance of self-respect closely relates to his emphasis on blacks' need for retention of Africanness in establishing a better identity. Acting constructs this discourse. In *Imitation of Life* (1934), a mulatta Peola abhors her black ancestry, and separates from her black mother in order to pass for white.¹²⁹ In *Pinky* (1949), also a story about a mulatta, Pinky (Jeane Crane) reveals her mind that she does not want to go back to the South from the North. Throughout *Imitation of Life*, Peola does not smile at all, nor does Pinky smile after the first scene. Her blank face and unhappy facial expression when she re-encounters her black grandmother at her home town emphasize her firm rejection of her black ancestry. But, after

¹²⁹ S.V.Hartman and Farah Jasimine Griffin argues on the convention of "the passing narrative" in which "via the black mother that one return home" that "The black mother is of pivotal importance not only because she is the site of racial origin, but because she would induce the white daughter to give up the passing charade, return home, and accept the limits of Negro

Miss Em (Ethel Barrymore), the old white woman whom Pinky serves as a nurse says "Nobody deserve respect as long as she pretends she's something she isn't," implying Pinky's passing for white in the North, she starts showing a smile. The contrast of her blank face and smile emphasizes the importance of self-affirmation of her racial identity for her.

In *Imitation of Life* (1934), Peola's rejecting her black mother saying, "you made me black," signifies her denial of black identity. But her regret of abandonment of blackness in the ending and Deliah's death caused by Peola's discard of blackness fit Du Bois's retention of Africanness discourse. In *Pinky* (1949), her grandmother calls Pinky's passing for white in the North a "sin." Also, a black doctor, Pinky's colleague in the ending, tells Pinky that he wanted to go to the North, but he regards working for a black neighborhood in the South as his job. Pinky chooses to open her clinic in the South. These plots affirm the importance of retaining Africanness.¹³⁰ These movies are also problematic, finally, in that they end up reaffirming the importance of race in separating the culture. None of these stories about resist passing, after all, show a woman "passing"

life" ("Julie Dash's Illusions," 367).

¹³⁰ S.V. Hartman and Farah Jasmine Griffin define Pinky as one "cease[s] to aspire toward power and authority in the white man's world" ("Julie Dash's Illusions" 371). At the same time this ending emphasizes Pinky's active choice of being proud of her African heritage. Since Miss M is the first white person who tells Pinky the importance of self-respect, that Pinky opens "Miss M's Clinic" in the Deep South is revelation of her pride as a descent of

into a difficult part of the culture and happily forgetting her past. Because of the nature of the stories they can't show a white "passing" into the black culture, so there is always an imbalance based on "race," which is a white supremacist concept. So the stories are tragic (exposure of loss of African culture) or happy (return to African culture).

In *Jungle Fever* (1991), when Flipper's wife was consoled by her friends in terms of Flipper's relationship with a white woman, one of them says that successful black men tend to choose white women, and that it signifies "self-hate going on." Flipper says to his black friend, Cyrus (Spike Lee) that sisters are beautiful, and calls himself "Pro-black." When Flipper talks to Angie, he suggests her to go to Harlem because many good people live there. This short line proves his pride as a black. Through the interracial relationship motif, the question if black affirms or denies his/her racial identity is meditated.

In *Boyz N' the Hood* (1991), the protagonist, Tre Styles (Cuba Gooding Jr.), is asked by his white teacher to lecture on his class.¹³¹ Indicating Africa on map, Tre emphasizes the pride

Africans.

¹³¹ *Boyz N' the Hood* (1991) was directed by a black director, John Singleton. The film portrays life in South Central Los Angeles. Donald Bogle calls it "the most successful black genre films in movie history at that time," and Singleton was the first black director nominated for an Academy Award as Best Director (347). Columbia Pictures made \$60 million in domestic gross sales. George Hill and Spencer Moon point out in *Blacks in Hollywood* that "These year end figures are based on a budget of \$6 million for production" (22).

of his heritage and introduces Africa as the place where all people come from. This is what his father had told him, and this lecture is a reaction against the teacher's correction of the word from "Indian" to "Native-American."

The lyrics of songs construct discourses of self-respect in the concept of double consciousness. *Bamboozled* (2000) starts with Stevie Wonder's song. At the end of the song, he sings slowly emphasizing the phrases, "We have been a misrepresented people. You must never be a misrepresented people." In Lee's *Get on the Bus* (1996), the opening song of Michael Jackson emphasizes on need of self-respect in "You see yourself in the mirror and you don't like what you see and things aren't getting much clearer. Don't you think it's time you go for a change?"

As I argued in Chapter 1, one of the dilemmas of the concept of double consciousness illustrates an alternative—either life as a black or an American (white)—dilemma discourse. If blacks want to live in white society, they experience isolation from the black community, and if they limit them within the black community, they can't make a good living in America. Also, he implies the difficulty of finding a common language which can appeal to both blacks and whites. This enables blacks to express their genius and to be successful in America. But the dilemma is that the device which pleases white America in this film is

harmful to the cultural pride of African Americans. Appealing to a broader audience without sacrificing black cultural pride has been a significant theme in black history.

Bamboozled (2000), *Jungle Fever* (1991), *Imitation of Life* (1934, 1959), *Pinky* (1949), and *Quicksand* (1928), *Passing* (1929), and *The Great Gatsby* (1927) incorporate these discourses.

In *Quicksand* (1928), Plots about love explains Helga's race consciousness. For example, Helga's breaking up her engagement with a black man, James Vayle, signifies that her race consciousness as a mulatto woman cannot be understood by even a person who has a black identity. Vayle does not understand why Helga hates Naxos. This plot emphasizes that blacks and mulattos are different, and how complex is the psychology of mixed race.

Both of Dr. Anderson, a teacher at Naxos, and Axel Olsen, a portrait painter in Denmark, reveal their sexual desire for Helga and their contempt for her ethnicity at the same time. As a result, she refuses their love for her. When Helga experiences heartbreak, she chooses to go back to New York to see black friends again. Finally, she settles down in Alabama and lives among black people. As Thadious M. Davis comments that Helga is "satisfied by a black cultural identity that includes an awareness of her physicality separate from an object-state" in

the African American environment (267), that Helga longs for black people and Harlem signifies that the place where her black heritage is acknowledged is the good place for her. Also, at the place where her blackness is acknowledged, her dignity as a woman is secured. But ironically she cannot be happy in the "black South" at the end. In the exhausting routine of homemaking and childbearing, she becomes sick and desperate. This ending implies the never-ending homelessness of mulatto's race consciousness.

In terms of the historical context of this novel, we should not forget what Helga's hatred for Naxos means. Hazel V. Carby points out that Helga's critique of Naxos as a black college was a critique of the policy of racial uplift and of black intellectual leadership (170). Davis points out that "Larsen detached her protagonists from their class perspective. This critique of the black middle class is continued in the section of the novel set in Harlem" (267). Thus, Helga's hatred for the hypocrisy of the racial uplift movement around the 1920s reflects Larsen's race (and class) consciousness that racial uplift is a self-enslavement of African Americans. In terms of class, Helga's class at the end is lower than her original class. That her class comes to be lower than before as a result of her serious quest for her racial identity also suggests Larsen's pessimistic view that African Americans' various activities to

raise their racial and class status results in a self-enslavement of themselves. All in all, race consciousness of African Americans in *Quicksand* consists of mixture of race, gender and class issues.

In *Passing* (1929), Clare entered white society by passing and interracial marriage. But, she experiences isolation and alienation in the society where her redefined self hopes to live—a white society. Clare's handwriting, which is "out of place and alien" in her letter to Irene, symbolizes her isolation (143). The text's emphasis on Clare's alienation signifies the discourse that excludes "aliens." In the 1920s, massive racism or xenophobia (or anti-foreign feeling) were revival in the renaissance of the KKK and the immigrant acts, and those produced discourses that exclude various kinds of "aliens" or "others." Clare represents "aliens" who are excluded by mainstream Americans. Clare's isolation explains why Du Bois' raised up a slogan in the double consciousness concept: avoidance of isolation. But the historical context of the 1920s strengthens the tendency of exclusion of aliens.

Clare bridges two worlds. She has two kinds of perspectives. Passing as a white provides her with a chance to raise her social status and to live in white society. As long as Clare is within black community, she could not get a chance, but she misses black people strongly. In this sense, Clare can not completely choose

living as a white. She cannot help moving back and forth between seeing black people and trying to settle down in white society. This stance explains Du Bois's need to introduce the subjectivity model of blacks—fluid identity—which allows blacks to move back and forth between identity as a black and an American (or a white).

Also, Clare matches Du Bois' advocacy of avoidance of alternatives—either black or white (or Americans). Knowing how cruel choosing an alternative is for blacks, he presents a solution, to have the freedom to be blacks and whites as needed (this does not mean a middleground or an amalgamation of black and white identity). Irene has the same desires as Clare. Irene is interested in passing as a white. Irene longs for the wider society that Clare lives in by passing because she is confined to the black community in a sense. So Irene represents Du Bois's sense of alternative—either black or white. I argued in chapter 1 that Du Bois's double consciousness concept includes discourse that blacks are outsiders of the society. In *The Great Gatsby* (1927), the protagonist Gatsby is not concerned with racial identity issues, but he is treated as a "black." Tom Buchanan, Daisy's husband, is a racist. When he meets Gatsby in front of Daisy, he tells Gatsby:

I suppose the latest thing is to sit back and let Mr.

Nobody from Nowhere make love to your wife. . . Nowadays people being by sneering at family life and family institutions, and next they'll throw everything overboard and have intermarriage between black and white (56).

Jay Gatsby in *the Great Gatsby* also confronts the difficulty of having "true-self consciousness" in high society and his hiding his dialect and his mastering high societal manner of speech represents Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of others" on him—the high society's assessment of Gatsby who comes from lower class. Tom uses the word "black" as an alien. Gatsby's association with Daisy is treated as interracial love, and Gatsby is regarded as an alien in the 1920s. The 1920s was an era when racial intolerance and anti-foreign feeling were widespread. The migration of blacks from the South to the North caused by industrialization brought many black people to communities outside of the South.

Thus in the background of the 1920s, the same discourse which excludes the outsider exists. In case of Gatsby, what determines Gatsby as "outsider" was the class into which he was born. Although he becomes rich, changes his name, and passes into high society, his original background still hinders him acquiring a secure position in the new world, high society in New York.

Du Bois presented the black dilemma in introducing the

double consciousness concept. As long as blacks stay within the black community, they confront poverty and have to give up acquisition of basic rights as Americans. But if they try to move into a new world, the white society, they are excluded by whites and experience isolation. In Gatsby's case, if he remains in the midwest, he cannot realize the so-called American dream, financial success, and getting back his past lover, Daisy. He cannot help being excluded by high society.

Thus, both blacks around the beginning of the 20th century and Gatsby in the 20s experience a similar dilemma, though obviously, different in degree. What brought their dilemma is their original background, "race" and class. Du Bois argues that the criteria of judging human beings should be hard work or a good heart, and that distinction of people by race is nonsense. In this sense, the values of blacks in Du Bois' time and Gatsby are judged by criteria that they cannot change by their effort. So the people who experience "outsiderness"—immigrants, blacks, and lower class people—are excluded by whites' criteria, which Du Bois regards as nonsense.

When Pinky goes to Miss Em's house, a V shaped road in front of the house is seen in the foreground of the screen. Although her grandmother orders Pinky to take care of Miss Em, Pinky does not want to do it. Pinky remembers her childhood memory in which Miss Em expelled her from the garden. Pinky interprets this as

Miss Em's racist attitude.¹³² Miss Em's house is at the end of the left side of the fork of the road. Pinky stands at the edge of the fork and considers. The camera captures a long-shot of her back. Then, she tried to walk on the right fork of the road (she tried not to go), but comes back to the edge and walks on the left side to Miss Em's house. This visual image signifies double consciousness' alternative discourse. In this case, the alternative which Pinky confronts is whether she keeps her pride as an African-American (the right side) or not (the left side).

Another visual pattern to signify alternative discourse is shown. When Pinky's lover, Tom visits her, he pulls her hand. A long-shot of Pinky's back sees her grandmother surrounded by laundries in the background. Pinky once tries to go to the grandmother's place, but Tom pulls her to the foreground. Pinky is taken in the direction which she does not see. Here Pinky's identity is torn in opposite directions—grandmother on the background and Tom on the foreground. The grandmother who is washing represents Pinky's life as an African-American in the Deep South, and Tom who takes Pinky away in a car represents Pinky's life as a white in the North.

The protagonist of *Bamboozled*, Pierre Delacroix, a black TV writer is ordered by his white boss to write a "coon" show

¹³² Later Pinky finds this is her misunderstanding. Miss Em reminds Pinky of the importance of self-respect as an African American.

for TV in order to raise audience ratings. If he does not, he breaks his contract and will be sued by the company. He makes the show because he needs the job, but Pierre is condemned by his black friends. Flipper's having affair with the white secretary results in the loss of her job and his wife's rejection. Flipper's dilemma is also caused by his economic needs to keep his place in the white firm. But *Imitation of Life* (1934) does not present this dilemma. Deliah and Miss Bea's cooperation in selling pancake flour using Deliah's imagery as a black woman of the South secures her financial condition. The film does not portray her black folks' exclusion of her. Although the picture of pancake flour is her "big smile," and her smile shines as a neon sign on the streets, no blacks condemn her permission of whites' consumption of a black stereotypical image in the Great Depression years. Instead, Deliah asks Miss Bea to have a gorgeous funeral in order to surprise her black folks, to nurture cultural pride and conceal or erase black condemnation. This ending would satisfy Booker T. Washington.

Lack of a serious black or white dilemma in *Imitation of Life* (1934) tells us that the serious dilemma and isolation of the protagonists in *Bamboozled* and *Jungle Fever* present the dilemma of new generations—black middle class called Buppies (black yuppies) that emerged since the civil rights era as a result of polarization between the middle and lower classes.

Desire for upward social status provides the key to solve this difference. Deliah in *Imitation of Life* (1934) does not hope to earn big money and own her house from the pancake business. Her hope is to serve Miss Bea. Without resisting against the whites' stereotypical view of blacks, she creates a milieu where she can coexist with whites.

But both Pierre and Flipper originally find their place in white company by demonstrating their ability high educational background and successful employment. Their position fits Du Bois' assumption in double consciousness—belief in a merit system and the importance of hard work, education and rejection of Deliah's way as accommodationist. In terms of harmony with whites, Deliah is portrayed as more successful than the other two protagonists. In the 1959 version, a comparison between the two daughters, white and mulatto in terms of ability is erased. *Jungle Fever* and *Bamboozled* use the same technique in showing the protagonist's conflict with other white bosses, their liminality and the difficulty in finding a place in white companies. When Flipper asks his boss to replace a white secretary with African American secretary and his boss rejected it, the scene is a montage including a close-up of standing Flipper and medium shot of two bosses sitting calmly. When Pierre resists his boss, Dumwitty turns Pierre's scenario into a derogatory one, and the boss refuses to correct himself, the

same montage close-up of Pierre standing and medium shot of Dumwitty and his white follower sitting and speaking mildly is used. This technique—one black and two white—emphasizes the isolation of the protagonists among the majority whites. The protagonists' standing and speaking with emotion while whites' sit with comparative calm are effective in leading to the protagonists' inescapable resignation to their fate, and portrays whites as winners who do not need to struggle to win over blacks.

The black characters' inability to escape from an accommodationist stance or from outsidership in their own country, and the absence of a solution to the problem of the waste of double aims is portrayed in another way. *Jungle Fever* (1991) culminates in Flipper's long cry, "No" on the street. Although multi-faceted values are assumed to be constructed in this ending, one of those is despair, absence of solution for Du Bois' sense of the "twoness" dilemma of blacks, or limitation of middle class blacks' possibility for winning a satisfactory place in white America. Also, the cry signifies Du Bois' sense of a "message for the world." The high-angle crane shot signifies his cry to the world which is not particularly America, and seeks Du Bois' definition of "hope," the "assurance of boundless justice in some fair world beyond." Flipper is appealing to the world to see what is going on in America. He laments the fact

that the little girl is prostituting, and seems trying to inform the world of this tragedy as Du Bois tried to make his reader "Suppose and suppose" about racism in America.

The film repeats Flipper's walk with his daughter, Ming (Veronica Timbers) on the street. Their horizontal move and a drug addicted black girl, Vivian's (Halle Baily), vertical move intersect at the corner. Vivian tries to seduce Flipper and he escapes crying, "Get off from me!" These two streets visually signify the difference of class and morality between lower and middle class blacks in Harlem. The corner is the intersection of them, and there Flipper has tried to escape from what the other street represents. He struggles to distinguish himself from other blacks and the power that limits him to the black community. As Henry Louis Gates, Jr., regards Lee's creation of Flipper as "a mordant commentary on the new black middle class, the post-1970's generation of buppies and wannabees," and argues that "To be black and middle class was to betray, some how, one's black heritage," Flipper's desire to separate himself from other blacks signifies his denial of his racial identity ("Film View: *II:20:1.*"). But in the ending, when he encounters a different drug addicted girl at the same corner, he shows surprise in reacting against her seductive remark, and suddenly hugs her and cries, "No." A crane shot closes in on and captures them and a freeze frame close-up of Flipper end the

film.

Michele Wallace points out that Vivian signifies a grown-up Ming (*Black Popular Culture* 129). Certainly, after he crosses the street, he says to his daughter Ming, he would kill her if she uses drugs. Then, what does the other girl at the end signify? Since the prior scene is a conversation between Flipper and Ming, this succession of two scenes might link Ming and the other girl as grown-up. If so, why did Flipper not escape from her? This girl plays his daughter role and at the same time himself. His look at the girl signifies his look at a mirror.¹³³ Also, his hug implies his identification with her and what she represents, and the unavoidability of his identity as a black. Flipper and the girl are under the same power. What makes her an immoral drug addict teenager and what chokes his position—an interracial relationship, loss of his position in an office with whites, and the break down of his family are the result of the same dynamics and links them.¹³⁴ The use of the crane shot

¹³³ I agree with Benjamin Saltman that Flipper faces "the black condition from which he has been escaping through personal ambition and cross-racial dalliance" in this scene (37). But this scene means more than that. That he first watches her face seriously and that he hugs her signifies disappearance of his view of her as "Other" and his understanding that he cannot escape from racial oppression. The crane shot does not only aim at Flipper, but includes both of them, categorizing them as one.

¹³⁴ Among critics who take up interracial love motif as the central theme of the film, Benjamin Saltman regards "the real theme" of the film as "the power and persistence of racial oppression" and conditions of blacks such as drug, economic problems, and the black middle class problem, and argues that "Lee's concern transcends "romance" (37). I agree with his interpretation. Although Saltman does not mention the reason why he thinks so, I think that Lee's repetitive use of the intersection of Flipper and drug addict girl (black) and the last scene which also takes up their meeting

features them as similarly small and powerless in the world, and the sudden fast movement of the camera itself from high up to them on the street with Flipper's intense shout represents the existence of an unseen powerful dynamism which violently swallows them. The freeze frame of Flipper's face represents his inability to escape from the influence of racial oppressions. The crane shot moves as if the crane itself has personality and is an eye. Flipper crying on the street also seems a victim who is. Here Spike Lee portrays the existence of unseen power.¹³⁵ The ending credit shows the flows of captions of lyrics of Stevie Wonder's song. Captions move accompanying the song and the size of the letters of each line differs. Among them one of the biggest letters features the line, "Agree or war has been our way of compromising." If this choice of the size of letters is to emphasize the line as a core value of the film, it also constructs the absence of a solution.

In *Bamboozled*, when Pierre receives an Emmy, he plays several black personas who are assumed to be favored by the audience—white America. Du Bois points out that the blacks' eye toward themselves are mostly whites' eye or an assessment of them, and he advocates the need for blacks to have an eye which can

proves his emphasis on the power of racial oppression. The interracial motif could be a variation of the effect of this bigger racial dynamism of blacks.

¹³⁵ In *Malcolm X*, before Malcolm was assassinated, he stops walking on the road as if unseen power hinders him walking. Lee's visual construction of the unseen power fit Du Bois' and Douglass' observation of unseen power.

see themselves by their own criteria in order to keep self-respect. While Du Bois assumes that this degradation of black psychology occurs on an unconscious level, Pierre intentionally makes use of this function for his image, making of successful black in the new century. In other words, assuming how whites would see him, he calculates how he should behave. After he receives the Emmy, he gives his statue to the presenter. Although the presenter refuses, Pierre gives it again, and the presenter sobs. While conversation between Pierre and the presenter (bust shot of two on the same screen) on the stage goes on, a voice-over of Pierre, "the Grateful Negro" comes up in a dramatic way. This voice-over signifies his assumption of the audience's assessment of him at the moment—Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of others."

When Pierre receives the Emmy, (slight) aerial and long shot captures his romping about on the stage, tap dancing, and imitating Michael Jackson's moon walk on the left side of the screen. The two presenters see him from the right side. While Pierre is dancing and talking to the presenter, Mira Solvino (real actress Mira Solvino) who graduates from the same university (Harvard) as he does, Pierre's voice-over, "Dancing Fool. Hollywood's favorite Negro" is heard. Again, this voice-over signifies his assumed or desired audiences' assessment of him—Du Bois's "the eyes of others." Aerial and

long shots emphasize the audiences' psychological distance from Pierre or their view of him as the "other" or their bystander discourse in double consciousness. The distance between Pierre and the two presenters on the stage also emphasizes the distance between black and white.

This scene explains Pierre as a contradictory presence. At the beginning of the scene, Pierre's narration about his feeling that he anticipates an award as a reward for his long overlooked talent, as "vindication of hard work" and for his demonstration that he is graduate of Harvard suggest, this scene is to appeal to his success as a proof of America's application of a fair merit system to blacks. Du Bois' belief in the importance of hard work, a merit system, and growing intellectuals as the solutions for uplifting the race is embodied in his receiving an award here on a verbal level. But his use of the word "Negro" in "the Grateful Negro" in assuming an audience's view of him proves his ironical view of a white world that does not fully accept blacks' dignity and limits blacks' role as a submissive one, and his assessment of himself as an accommodationist. He defines his stage persona as a "dancing fool," which represents his acceptance of a stereotypical image of blacks.

The camera and voice over technique proves Du Bois' sense of the "twoness" dilemma—his isolation in the world he should

feel his home ground and his limitation in fulfilling Du Bois's sense of double aims—getting opportunity and avoiding isolation in white America. The alternative discourse—a life as a black or a white—closely relates to Du Bois' sense of a "common language" problem in art. In order to enter white society and be socially and economically successful, blacks should acquire a common language which appeals to both whites and blacks, especially in the field of the arts. As Du Bois advocates the need to present a counter discourse to the value which denies blacks' contribution to arts and letters, "art" is the trump card which limits and offers blacks' opportunity. The dilemma is that black art should take a favorable form for whites and it tends to take a form which affirms negative black stereotypes.

In *Jazz Singer* (1927), a Jewish immigrant uses black face, the stereotype of a "darky jester" and jazz music as devices to capture the so-called mainstream audience (Bogle 26). This choice reflects the double-edge aspect of the 1920s that features black culture in the Harlem Renaissance and shows massive racism. The protagonist of James Weldon Jonson's novel, *Autobiography of An Ex-Colored Man* (1927) dreams of creating "American music" using a black musical motifs and his white friend calls it a too ambitious dream. This dream is to fulfil keeping black cultural pride and recognition of it as high art by a broader audience. *Bamboozled* (2000) takes up the case of

a TV show which badly needs to catch a wide audience in order to save a failing company. Black face and the 19th century minstrel show were used as a "common language" which is expected to appeal to both black and white audiences. The title, "Millennium Minstrel Show" reveals the persistence of the same dilemma of a common language in a new century. When Dumwitty changes Pierre's scenario, he says, he just made it "funnier." Pierre asks, "for whom? And at whose expense?" in his mind. This question is visualized with the succession of an extreme close-up of the smile of the black face of Eureka (tap dancer), a close-up of Pierre's head (Pierre is tearing his hair out on air during the minstrel show) sighing, and a medium shot of Pierre's back while he is looking at the picture of a slave ship on the computer screen at his home. The big smile signifies Pierre's success in white America, and Pierre's suffering signifies that a "common language" results in the degradation of blacks and his own racial identity. In the next shot, the irony of the two shots reminds him of the inevitability of what the slave ship symbolizes—whites' exploitation of blacks and the persistence of this structure so far. When a DJ on a radio show condemns Pierre's restoring the Minstrel show which affirms alleged black inferiority, Pierre calls himself an "artist," and insists on the freedom of artistic expression. But here "art" does not function as a milieu of blacks' art expression or proof

of their contribution to American culture or genius. The word "art" is used as an excuse for restoring an offensive form, the minstrel show.

Visual images construct Du Bois's divided self discourse. In *the Jazz Singer* (1927), when the protagonist Jack Robin (Al Jolson) painted black face is seen in the mirror, another image that does not wear make-up appears.¹³⁶ This signifies his double identities—One as a Jew, the other as an American—. Also, it shows his dilemma of having Du Bois' sense of a forced alternative—either a life as a Jew or an American. In *Pinky* (1949), at night when she comes back from the North to her home, the South, Pinky has a nightmare hearing somebody calling, "Tom, Tom." A medium-shot of Pinky's face on the bed shows her pain. The voice finally shouts, "Tom!" and awakens her. This scene concretizes Pinky's divided self. Two kinds of Pinky's voice, the groaning voice and the voice calling "Tom" are simultaneously used. Although she comes back home, her other self seeks for her white lover in the North, Tom, and her life as a white.¹³⁷ In passing, Pinky has two racial identities, and the two kinds of voice implies her identity torn between herself as an African-American and herself as a white. The voice

¹³⁶ The protagonist's name is Jakie Rabinowitz. When he starts working in New York as a performer, he changed his name into more Americanized one, Jack Robin.

¹³⁷ In the North, Pinky passes for white and Tom regards her as a white. Pinky tells to her grandmother how good it was to live as a white in the North

signifies Pinky's other self, and Deleuze's sense of "time-image." Deleuze argues that there are "two possible time-images, one grounded in the past, the other in the present" (*Cinema 2* 98) and that:

The past is not to be confused with the mental existence of recollection-images which actualize it in us. It is preserved in time: it is the virtual element into which we penetrate to look for the 'pure recollection' which will become actual in a 'recollection-image.' The latter would have no trace of the past if we had not been to look for its seed in the past (*Cinema 2* 98).

Pinky's other self expressed by voice-over is a "time-image" which is "grounded" in the present. This is not "the mental existence of recollection-images," but "the virtual element" that "would have no trace of the past." Although Pinky's life in the North was past, her other self's crying for Tom is "present." As far as we see the scene, there is no element which signifies that her voice is her past voice. This film's technique brings the voice-over-Deleuze's sense of "time-image"-as signifier of coexistence of different spheres and Pinky's desire.

Deleuze argues on the symbiosis of two different spheres in the film in discussing Bunuel's cinematic techniques

in the first scene.

developed in "Obscure Object of Desire":

instead of having one character play different roles casting two characters, and two actresses, as one person it is as if Bunuel's naturalist cosmology, based on the cycle and the succession of cycles, gives way to a plurality of simultaneous worlds; to a simultaneity of presents in different worlds. These are not subjective (imaginary) points of view in one and the same world, but one and the same event in different objective worlds, all implicated in the event, inexplicable universe. Bunuel achieves here a direct time-image which was previously impossible for him because of his naturalist and cyclical point of view (*Cinema 2* 103).

Pinky constructs "a plurality of simultaneous worlds" and both of two worlds are "present." Also, in the case of *The Jazz Singer*, the two images, Jakie (as Jew) and Jack (as an American) on the mirror are "present." The plurality of two selves is "the same event in different objective worlds" in an "inexplicable universe." The answer to the question, "Who am I?" in these films provide two different answers. As I argued in Chapter 5, pluralist discourse was the basis of the formulation of double consciousness discourse. Du Bois uses Arthur Symmons's poetry as the epigraph of the chapter 1 of *the Souls of Black Folks*, and signifies the relationship between "I" and "the water" as African Americans' discovery of themselves. As "I" perceive "O water, crying for rest, is it I, is it I?" *Pinky* also finds her

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unconscious desire, her life in the north as a white. One definition of Du Bois' double consciousness is internalization of the plurality of "different objective worlds." As I argued in Chapter 3, Douglass had the multiple worlds and perspectives—his self under the slavery and that after escaping. Although his experience under slavery is past, his identity as a slave functions as Douglass' current "other self" or other perspective. Thus, all of these narratives have simultaneous coexistence of multiple worlds and perspectives as ongoing existences.

I mentioned in Chapter 1 that Du Bois wrote that "The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife—this longing to attain self-consciousness manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self" in the succeeding part of his direct definition of the double consciousness concept (*Souls* 5). But Du Bois' proposed solution is not just combining two selves, but to "conform" blacks' selves to the ideal of America. He rejects the alternative—either a black or an American. In *The Jazz Singer* (1927), when the protagonist confronts the alternative—to go back to his Jewish father in order to sing in the synagogue or to sing in the theater as a black face singer—his white girlfriend Mary tells him to escape from the alternative. His father represents his ethnic identity and Mary represents his success in America. Mary recommends

that he to think about himself. This suggestion makes Jack transcend the either or-discourse. To choose one racial or ethnic identity cannot be a solution. To look at oneself or to think for oneself was proposed as a solution. This signifies the rejection of alternative-either or-discourse.

In this sense, Toni Morrison's *Beloved* (1987) touches these themes—"merging double selves into one better and truer identity" and whether blacks confront this theme consciously or not. This work takes up one African American woman's struggle to get over the theme Du Bois took up—"merging double selves into one better and truer self."

Beloved is the symbol of Sethe's other selves in her own psychology. Sethe has double selves as Du Bois defined, and in Du Bois's term, *Beloved* is "the eyes of other" and Sethe's past self. As Du Bois lamented the influence of the "eye of others," Sethe suffers the influence of "the eye of others" on her. *Beloved* represents Sethe's assessment of her present self. For example, *Beloved*'s accusation of the present Sethe represents Sethe's accusation of herself or her guilty feelings on her murder.

Sethe represents the need of integrating double selves. Sethe, twenty-year-old *Beloved*, and Denver skate on ice. This scene is famous as the representation of unity. In fact, this scene shows the reconciliation between mother and murdered

daughter, and the resolution of past problems. Sethe seems to be able to accept her own assessment of herself—Beloved's assessment of the present Sethe—. But as the fragile ice represents, this is not real unity and Sethe does not establish her independent subjectivity which is free from the other's eye—Beloved's eye toward her, her past trauma, and her identity as being oppressed.

Sethe's lover Paul D, an ex-slave man, discovers Beloved's negative effect on Sethe and tries to get her out of Sethe's house (He removed baby ghost). Since he has experienced slavery, what he tried to remove from Sethe was the memory of the cruelty of the slavery system. He is also vexed by horror of the memory of slavery. In this sense, Beloved represents the horror of slavery. Paul D does not analyze the psychological mechanism of Sethe, but what he tries to do for Sethe in fact is bring about Du Bois' sense of "merging" two selves into one self. He knows the prescription for Sethe's recovery of the "true-self consciousness" which Du Bois presented his removal of Beloved represents Sethe's removal of the influence of "the eye of others," on her and his help for Sethe's discovery of "self-worth" represents her establishment of independence, autonomy, and active subjectivity—Du Bois' sense of "true self-consciousness."

The merging of two selves discourse may exist in films

which do not take up race issue. The heroine of *The Piano*, Ada (Holly Hunter) is a mute woman. She expresses her feeling by playing the piano. The piano is defined not only as a substitute for her voice, but as the core component of her identity as an artist or her divided self. When her newly married husband leaves the piano on the beach she goes to visit it on the seashore. The extreme close-up of Ada's face watching the piano, and the long-shot of the piano shows Ada's two selves. Also, the micro-movement of her facial expression, Deleuze's sense of *deci-sign* (perception image of character who is seeing) transmits her suffering caused by her torn self. This shot of Ada's face and the piano on the shore is repeatedly used. After Ada could reach and play the piano, she walks on the shore diagonally from the left bottom and her footsteps draw a bold line. The aerial shot captures the line. Nextly, her daughter (from the right bottom) and a man, Baines (Harvey Keitel), who enables Ada to access the piano (from the left bottom) follow Ada. Two lines are merged into one line which Ada initially drew. In chapter 1, Du Bois' word in the epigraph of the final chapter of *Souls*, "And my soul and thy soul shall meet that day" represents his synthesizing solution (204). Although this film does not deal with racial issues, this visual image signifies the synthesizing of two selves as a solution.

In the "Forethought" of the *Souls of Black Folks* (1903),

Du Bois declares that his aim of writing this book is to "educate" black and white readers. As I argued in chapter 1, we should know that basis of his formulation of double consciousness is perspective. So the concept functions as slogan for uplift. In *Boyz n' the Hood* (1991), Tre's father, Furious Style (Laurence Fishburne) starts to lecture for Tre (Cuba Gooding, Jr.) and his friend, Ricky (Morris Chestnut) under the big sign of the Korean estate office in the Compton suburbs. When they get out of the car, Furious walks to the sign (bottom of screen), and Tre and Ricky look in the opposite direction (up screen) at the street people in Compton. As Furious calls the boys, "Amos'n Andy," or "knuckle heads," and says, "it's 90s. We can't afford to be afraid of our own people anymore, man," the difference of physical direction between Furious and the boys signifies the difference of what they see. The direction which Furious sees signifies the future and what the boys see is past. Furious plays a role as leader or even predictor of the future of blacks. The youths in Compton see Tre and Ricky as others, and Tre and Ricky's looking back toward the youth shows their awareness of their gaze toward them. Originally, Du Bois's "the eyes of others" signifies white gaze toward blacks. But this scene shows that among blacks, the "eyes of others" discourse exists. Tre and Ricky are others for the youth in Compton. The difference of classes creates this discourse.

Once Furious starts talking, people in Compton gather in front of him. A montage of a medium shot of Furious, that of a group of young people in Compton, and that of two boys signifies Furious' role as leader or preacher and others as audience or his disciples. When the medium shot of an old black man is inserted into this montage, this scene becomes a conversation that bridges three generations of blacks, and a call and response-like rally starts among them. Furious tells his audience on the street that "They (whites) want us to kill ourselves. The best way you can destroy our people is to take away your ability to reproduce themselves. Who's it dying out on these street every night?" The old man indicates young people. The young audience asks, "What am I supposed to do? Fool try to smoke to me? I'm going to shoot motherfucker if he don't kill me first?" Furious says, "You [black youths] are exactly what they [white Americans] want you to do. You have to think about your future." Furious told his audience that the bad habit of black youth would demolish themselves. The construction of a liquor shop is the example in which white Americans skillfully manipulated them to kill one another. As I argued in Chapter 2, Du Bois proposed several solutions in order to overcome whites' oppressions of blacks. Characteristically, he advocates that knowing the mechanism in which whites try to degrade blacks is one of the crucial solutions. He also argues

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that "the suicide of race" is skillfully attempted (*Souls* 10). Here Furious' perspective is father (of Tre and other young people) and as Ricky's brother, Doughboy's (Ice Cube) comment implies "Your pap is like Mother fucking Malcolm Farrakhan"—he is a black leader.¹³⁸ He laments the young generation's lack of morality and its self-destructive habits.

Spike Lee's *Jungle Fever* (1991) does not show an apparent black leader's role like Furious in *Boy N' the Hood*. But the portrayal of the protagonist Flipper embeds the perspective of father/black leader/educator of younger generation. Flipper has a drug addict brother, Gator (Samuel Jackson). Flipper is asked by his mother to look for the missing Gator. Flipper starts walking on the streets crowded with drug-addicts, drug sellers, prostitutes, and delinquent teenagers. This scene starts with a close-up of a fundamentalist woman preaching loudly on the street. The camera is situated at her feet and the low-angle shot of her signifies Flipper's viewpoint. This technique results in emphasizing Flipper's psychological distance from this woman, and constructs Flipper's view of her not as his people but as "other." After the camera catches him looking up at this woman, there is a close-up of Flipper's surprised face and moves its position 45 degrees following him turning toward

¹³⁸ Ending credit shows "Nation of Islam." Furious' separationist philosophy might be that of Nation of Islam.

the street. Flipper's exaggerated facial expression (surprise at or contempt for the street people) and the camera's following his change of direction emphasize his shock and how he is amazed to see the corruption of the street people. Although Flipper is a black, his view of these street people is close to Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of others"—white gaze—toward blacks. The gaze signifies his contempt and bystander stance. The class difference between Flipper and other blacks produced new kinds of seer and seen relationship among blacks. This technique also shows his hesitation before he starts walking on the street and the difference between Flipper and other people.

As Flipper walks by in a medium shot from left to right diagonally, a drug-seller talks to him, and teenagers on the sides of the street try to seduce him. The camera reveals Flipper walking in the foreground and street people in the background, people's reaction to Flipper with Flipper's viewpoint, and a close-up of many discarded drug syringes on the ground. Stevie Wonder's lyric about a boy born and "surrounded by four walls that ain't so pretty" in Mississippi, and his parents' trial to make him go in a good direction explains the landscape of the street. This technique distinguishes Flipper from street people in terms of moral, job and class, and defines them as the "other" for Flipper. Also, as the divide between Tre/Furious and Compton people shows, polarization of blacks

after the civil rights movement—middle class and lower class (street people)—creates a new dichotomy within blacks in the scene, and the film portrays “the eyes of others”—street people’s eyes on middle class blacks who are called “wanna be white” or “buppies.”

In Spike Lee’s *Malcolm X* (1992), Malcolm walks on the streets in Harlem as Flipper walks. The direction of walking—from left to right—the pace of walking, and Malcolm as Foreground/street people as background relationship are exactly same as in *Jungle Fever*. Malcolm (Denzel Washington) does not show surprise when prostitutes try to seduce him with overly sexual words, but keeps a blank face and is quiet. Instead, a voice-over of Malcolm’s address on the problem of prostitutes and its influence on their children is heard simultaneously with the prostitutes’ seductive voice. This scene turns into Malcolm’s preaching scene.

In the last scene of *Jungle Fever*, Flipper hugs a drug addict teenager girl, saying, “No.” As I argued before, this girl might be a symbol of his daughter’s future. But at the same time this girl links to Flipper’s tour on the street scene which also features a teenage girl who tries to seduce him. Flipper’s perspective constructs the father of a daughter and young street girl as well as black leader—like the perspective of a figure who laments the lack of morality of the young generation and

criticizes the condition of his own race.

In *Boyz N' the Hood* (1991), the black leader's name is Furious Style, and in *Jungle Fever* (1991), his name is Flipper Purify. If naming signifies their character, Furious is an angry father or angry leader who is frustrated with the status quo of blacks in America, and the self-destructive nature of the young generation. Flipper is not directly angry at the corruption of street people, and does not bear a leader-like character at all. But, his name "Purify" functions as an effacement of his ego to distinguish him from other blacks who are in a different class. I argued that his "No" and hug of the girl suggests the absence of a solution or his inescapability from the twoness dilemma, but at the same time it constructs his hope to be a savior of the young generation and his culture. Some reviewers point out that his nature shown in the whole film does not provide any cue to the reason why he yells "No" at the end. Certainly, as Henry Louis Gates Jr. points out, he is not sympathetic and is a rather egoistic character (Film Views II:20:1.). But the film carefully constructs his role and value with repetition of his encounters with drug addicts, the portrayal of his brother's problem, his direct walk on the street, and the drug factory, Taj Mahal. These scenes construct his role as different from that of a mere black guy who falls in love with a white woman.

Tours of Tre, Ricky, and Furious in Compton, and the tour

of Flipper in Harlem provides them with a look at other black people and their lives. These tours result in constructing their motivation of saving black people or their perspectives as black leaders of people who meditate on the future of their folks. Du Bois, who was grown up in Great Barrington, first visits the South-Tennessee-when he was a student at Fisk University. He was then sent to the South as a school teacher of black children. He visits his students' houses and talks to their parents. He first experiences poverty and ignorance of black parents in the South. It was difficult for him to persuade them of the importance of education. Josie, one of his students, a twenty-year-old girl, hopes to study. In the chapter, "Of the Meaning of the Progress" in *The Souls of Black Folks*, he notes:

. . . and Josie, hearing my errand, told me anxiously that they wanted a school over the hill; that but once since the war had a teacher been there; that she herself longed to learn,-and thus she ran on, talking fast and loud, with much earnestness and energy (*Souls* 52).

He helped her accomplish her dream, but when he returns to Tennessee several years later, Josie's parents tell him of her death. In order to support her family, to supplement for lack of male work in her family (her brother was arrested after being falsely charged with stealing flour and took revenge on the

person who accused him) in her family, she works hard. Du Bois writes, "Josie grew thin and silent, yet worked the more" (*Souls* 58). Her hard work away from home in Nashville helped her family and even enabled them to repair their broken house.

But when her sister, "bold and thoughtless," was seduced by "the tempter," and "brought home a nameless child," Josie had to work more, and her "vision of schooldays" disappeared while she kept working. When she crept to her home, she died.

Du Bois concluded this chapter, saying:

My journey was done, and behind me lay hill and dale, and life and Death. How shall man measure Progress there where the dark-faced Josie lies? How many heartfuls of sorrow shall balance a bushel of wheat? How hard a thing is life to the lowly, and yet how human and real! And all this life and love and strife and failure,—is it the twilight of nightfall or the flush of some faint-dawning day? Thus sadly musing, I rode to Nashville in the Jim Crow car (*Souls* 62).

Du Bois' intense sorrow is found in Tre's "Furious" father facing self-destructive young people, Flipper's cry, "No!" and Malcolm X's walking on the street in the 1990s. Josie's tragedy and her sister's lack of morality or "thoughtlessness" was brought by poverty. The relationship between Du Bois and Josie is educator and student and father and daughter. All three father/educators/leader-like men, Furious, Flipper, Malcolm

and Du Bois hurt their hearts with the tragedy of their children or the next generation, and shows their stance—admitting negative sides of the lives which their people experience.

Among them, Du Bois, Malcolm and Furious think that they are victims of America and criticize what made them degrade themselves. They advocate the importance of knowing unseen whites' strategy to oppress blacks, and education as one of the solutions. What Flipper did in the film first was to ban the use of drugs by his daughter. Then, after he hugs the drug addict girl, what will he present as a concrete solution? Besides the lyric, "Agree or war has been our way of compromising," only the milieu for meditating or finding the solution is presented (or remains) in *Jungle Fever*. And the construction of this blank space with Flipper's role as leader/saver of young generation in the 90s film proves the persistence of the soil which embeds various implications of Du Bois's double consciousness concept functioning as a slogan.

Sethe does not know what she is fighting against, and what vexed her. Then, does Sethe's removal of old selves represented by her ice picking School master or the community's magic on getting out of Beloved miss Du Bois' sense of retention of "older selves"? He argued that the blacks' retention of blackness and whiteness in their merging "two selves." Sethe erased the past represented by Beloved. But is she really free from whites' or

slavery's influence on blacks? Douglass made use of the memory of his past self as data to analyze what race meant to America and black people. On the other hand, Sethe suffers these two selves.

Du Bois argues that "the Negro blood" of the "twoness" of the double consciousness discourse throws "message for the world," and it signifies the blacks' voice seeking for "hope," "justice," and "truth" (*Souls* 215). In *Souls*, Du Bois takes up the Negro spiritual as an example of "the message for the world." But literary and film texts also embed these discourses. Soliloquy in literature and direct address in film function as Du Bois' "Gentle Reader," who tries to make the readers consider "the strange meaning of being black" (*Souls* 1). When Harriet Jacobs calls to the "reader," she also tries to make the readers imagine her sufferings under slavery. In *Imitation of Life* (1934), Deliah talks to the audience "Nobody knows why (racism exits)" by direct address. In *Bamboozled* (2000), Pierre considers whether he lives like his father who affirms a racist joke or not. When he finds the answer "No," the film uses direct address. In *Get on the Bus*, the direct address of the bondswoman in the opening scene does not say anything, but throws out questions on what America does to blacks and black women. In Du Bois's own case, as the passage "This meaning is not without interest to you" shows, he points to the need to think about

racism. Jacob's case also signifies her appeal to the world and disclosure of injustice in America. Deliah asks the world the reason why racism matters in America. Pierre in *Bamboozled* declares his stance in seeking for Du Bois's sense of "justice."

As Du Bois predicted in 1960 that although blacks' acquisition of the right to vote, "equal rights to education," civil rights, and "social equality" is "in sight," this situation would bring "not as many assume an end to the so-called Negro problems, but a beginning of even more difficult problems of race and culture" (*The Education of Black People* 193), the films portray a persistent dilemma illustrated in the concept of double consciousness after the 60s, the civil rights era. Alienation of a black elite in *Bamboozled* (2000) in white America, and polarization of blacks in terms of class in *Jungle Fever* (1991), and *Boyz n' the Hood* (1991), creates a new kind of "eyes of others" among black community. Double identity or divided self discourses are expressed by coexistence of different spheres in films.

Conclusion

Chapter 1 examined the multi-faceted structure, implication, and messages of the concept of Du Bois' double consciousness. I argued that in formulating the concept of double consciousness, Du Bois originally tried to deconstruct the power structure and social relations surrounding African-Americans and whites, and to demonstrate the unseen or subjugated mechanism that embeds certain values in the minds of both whites and blacks. In Chapter 2 I found that his illustration of blacks' subjectivity and psychology in double consciousness closely relates to his proposal of resolutions to the plight of African Americans. I emphasized double consciousness as a pragmatic tactic to uplift blacks. Chapter 3 focused on if or how my findings in Chapter 1 and 2 existed or functioned before 1897 when Du Bois first introduced the concept. I found double consciousness discourse and its fragmentary appearance in slave narratives, autobiographies of slaves, and the pamphlet of an abolitionist. Double consciousness discourse existed not only in race, but in other conflicts. In examining the concept as an intersection of several different discourses, I found that it existed in several black leaders' experiences and resolutions. Chapters 4 and 5 showed what social and intellectual discourses paved the way for

Du Bois' formulation of double consciousness. Since I regard double consciousness as an intersection of several discourses, I examined several plural discourses circulating around the time when Du Bois introduced the concept. The change of academic trends around the turn of the century made examination of academic trends necessary. Various events and discourses that justify and support white supremacy were prevalent that led Du Bois to present counter discourses to those oppressive discourses.

To separate Du Bois' ideas and his cultural experience as an African American is impossible. His duty as a public spokesman was necessarily a revelation of why racism is a hindrance to democratic social organization. Characteristically his proposed solution to race-related problems contains something that transcends race issues. This seems to be paradoxical. For example, while introducing the unique difficulties of African American experiences such as the pain in which an African American's identity or consciousness is split in two or presenting the serious dilemma caused by being forced to choose between an African-American and an American identity, Du Bois rejects limiting this discussion to a discussion of racial identity. Although he had grappled with "race" issues, his concept of how people and society should behave are informed and perhaps enriched by his particular

background and the "race" problem. While responding to the historical and cultural background of the social constructions of race, he did not retreat from the basic principles that people need to survive in society.

The study explored the multi-layered definitions, implications, and messages in Du Bois' concept of double consciousness, and established the genealogy of the discourse and its fragmentary emergence before, after, and around the year when Du Bois first introduced the concept. I found that the discourses function differently over time. Although studies of the relationship between double consciousness and literary or film texts have been done, this is the first study of the concept using Foucault and Deleuze to demonstrate how the concept addresses the deep embeddedness of selected cultural issues. The study emphasizes the concept of double consciousness as a pragmatic slogan for liberation and uplift of blacks and other oppressed peoples.

The study shows that Du Bois' illustration of African-Americans' psychological model relating to oppression emerges from black and white relationships in reality. Du Bois defines the white gaze—"the eyes of others"—in various ways. He problematizes not only the "pity," and "contempt" of whites' gaze, but also their bystanders' stance toward blacks' plight, or their perspective as assessors of blacks' abilities. Du Bois'

careful positioning of "twoness"—an African one and American one—in one identity shows the complexity of his logic. In terms of racial identity, he defines twoness as equal, but the directions toward which each identity looks is subtly different. This unbalanced juxtaposition embeds resolution for the survival of African Americans. Du Bois' resolution transcends choosing either a black or an American alternative. He advocates the need for having two identities or perspectives as distinct forms. The retention of these two identities relates to his promotion of anti-accommodation in demanding equal economic opportunity and political rights.

Du Bois links blacks' psychological adaptation and provides a key for a solution to problems that African-Americans confront. For example, blacks' self-degradation mechanism that whites' gaze imposed on them directly relates to lowering their ideals and giving up on the acquisition of rights, but their resistance enables multiple perspectives on social conditions. This capacity for becoming is necessary to an emergent democracy. In the nineteenth century, Frederic Douglass lamented that under slavery he cannot get freedom and opportunity, but after escaping he felt intense loneliness in being far from his friends and excluded from whites in the North. In this sense, Douglass is compelled to confront a dilemma that Du Bois illustrated in double consciousness.

The study demonstrates that double consciousness discourse and its fragmentation functioned during the slave period, as seen in slave narratives where people confronted the situations that double consciousness illustrates. Their perception of the white gaze's exploitation of their dignity and Du Bois' sense of "true self-consciousness" were found in their relationship to slave masters. Under slavery, blacks' awareness of the gaze as power enabled them to more successfully escape from oppression. Although Douglass is famous, the examination of slave narratives shows that not only in leaders, but among anonymous people as well there were glimpses of solutions for fighting against oppression.

The present study also considers discourses circulating in Du Bois' own time. To promote his basic principles on how human beings should live and true democracy should emerge, Du Bois first fought against the hindrance called white supremacy and "accommodation." Whites kept blacks' from gaining political rights and advancing their prosperity, and promoted laws and public discourses to justify their actions. When these strategies failed, and often when they did not, violence was common. Du Bois called for black people's recognition of the fact that they deserve all basic human rights. His so-called anti-accommodation stance asserts basic principles of freedom and democracy as well as the pursuit of enlightenment and better

employment.

The academic trends and intellectual discourses around the end of the nineteenth century, the rise of new disciplines such as sociology, psychology and anthropology, all aided and provided challenge for Du Bois' formulation of double consciousness. The popularity of Social Darwinism especially functioned to justify white supremacy discourses and the oppression of blacks. Du Bois needed to present counter discourses to it. His pragmatist logic helped and he deployed scientific methods in order to refute the black inferiority myth that affirms blacks as the cause of social exploitation.

Black leaders have tried in different ways to address the problems of living in a historically white supremacist society. Slogans or tactics such as need for self-respect are based on an illustration of psychological mechanisms, so it might seem metaphysical or abstract, but in the leaders' solutions, these function as the practical tactics.

Although expression of black leaders' solutions varied, the present study found that the concepts of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X revolve around Du Bois's double consciousness discourse in different ways. For example, as Du Bois emphasized the importance of self-respect as the counter discourse to the dominant accommodationist discourse around the turn of the century, black leaders in the civil rights era also brought up

the theme in order to persuade blacks not to give up acquisition of basic human rights, equal education, and civil action. Their dilemma in choosing an alternative—either black or American—constructs one of the aspects of double consciousness discourse.

Literature and films embed or hide fragments of discourse of what Du Bois observes as the promotion or hindrance of democracy. The study of these texts identifies discourses of double consciousness in seemingly unrelated or unexpected places. The interactions characters experience and the solution to their problems are often the conflict and solutions that Du Bois defines as double consciousness. His definition, "the eyes of others," represents discourses related to social problems. Characters' remarks, action, and the visual composition of films construct the function of social situations. As Du Bois predicted in 1960, a new kind of dilemma emerged and new kind of double consciousness discourse arises. For example, the polarization of blacks after the civil rights era creates a new kind of "twoness" and "eyes of others" in terms of class, and visual images construct this discourse. In the 1990s and 2000s, films construct the dichotomy in double consciousness, black and white as seer/seen discourse. In literary texts, "the eyes of others" discourse is shown in whites' remarks on blacks and their assumptions about them. The need for the modification of whites' perspectives as bystanders toward the dilemma of most

blacks persists in 1990s and 2000s. Black directors often use specific film techniques in order to make audiences experience what receiving Du Bois' sense of "the eyes of others" is like. Compared to the construction of the white gaze in the early twentieth century, the technique succeeds in forcing audiences to conceptualize race problems in more sophisticated ways.

One of Du Bois' key assertions is the importance of retaining a perspective as African American in establishing "a better and truer self." He thinks that blackness has a "message for the world"—action in overcoming adversity, notification of injustices, and cultural pride. The "message for the world" discourse creates threads before, after, and during the time when Du Bois formulated double consciousness. Early in the nineteenth century (1829), an African American abolitionist, David Walker appealed to the world about the injustice that blacks experienced in the U.S. In the early 1830s a Native American, William Apess, lamented that Native Americans have no press to inform the world of their plight. Although Walker and Apess belonged to different "races," they confronted the common need of Du Bois' sense of "the message for the world." In Clarence Muse's film *Broken Strings* (1940), music functions as "the message for the world" as Du Bois defines African American folksongs as "the articulate message of the slave to the world" (*Souls* 207). The mass mediation made possible by television in

the 1950s and the 1960s, became the new device for black leaders and common black people to transmit their "message" to the world. As the protagonist of Harriet Jacobs' slave narrative, Linda Brent, used the public gaze toward her slave master to escape from his violation of her, black people in the Civil Rights Era made use of the television viewers' gaze toward the whites' oppression of blacks. The new visual device functioned to move the world. The results of the Civil Rights Movement and the rise of the black middle class have not erased this discourse but have changed it. The crane shot of a middle-class architect, Flipper, as he cries "No" in *Jungle Fever* (1991) constructs a black voice demanding justice, solution, "some fair world beyond" America, and the absence of a definite solution in the 1990s. A black middle class has emerged that mediates between the larger society and the oppressed mass represented by Taj Mahal.

The present study juxtaposes various kinds of discourses representing shared experiences, ideas, solutions, and the rancor between oppressors and oppressed. All of these cases take different forms, but their common need to confront these issues and questions link various kinds of people over time. When hindrance does not exist, people might not need to confront these questions, to meditate the answer, and to squeeze out the solutions.

As the basic solution Du Bois advocates conforming to the

principles of democracy—"the greater ideals of the American Republic". (He did not trust America as a country, but he trusted its principles.) His view of American democracy fits his answers to the question, how should people live. I wanted to avoid easy application of Du Bois' concept to other social issues, but many people have experienced cultural exclusion over time. In Du Bois' case, one of the major hindrances to democracy was racism. In cases of others, it has been gender or class or a combination of several factors. The present study establishes several threads that bridge the common ideas among those who experience double consciousness and their solutions for overcoming their struggles.

I found that discourses related to the concept of double consciousness exist in the problems or events that are not necessarily race related issues, but have also to do with cross-cultural identity formation, gender, and class related issues. In other words, in the problems that do not directly relate to race issues, double consciousness discourse emerges to define the situation and provide concepts for resolutions.

Recognition that not all of Du Bois' struggle and his proposed solutions in double consciousness are exclusive for African-Americans offers us some clues or chances to understand the concept. His solution for overcoming race problems would provide some clues for our overcoming other kinds of social

problems. Du Bois provoked modification of both whites' and blacks' positions in facing the race problem are introducing double consciousness. White readers are offered a chance to know the burden for black people, and black readers are offered a chance to know what deprived them of their own important parts of identity—dignity, opportunities, and life experience. In his illustration of the seer/seen relationship, he did not demand changes on one side alone. Seers can be the seen and the seen can be seers. Who would take the seer role or seen role will not be predictable. The contemporary multicultural world will make this relationship more complicated. A multicultural world is a place where interactions of self and others multiply. Class, gender, race, and ethnicity would turn one person into seer and seen. This is a sense in which having multiple identities or perspectives is an advantage for blacks. Now at the beginning of the 21st century, Du Bois' call, "suppose and suppose," might be heard from unexpected or hidden places, people, or groups. This might not only come from those who feel oppressed. Realizing the pain of being seen would contribute to the elimination of oppression and "other." Du Bois' illustration of the second-sight and torn identity of African Americans itself signifies his "message for the world"—notification of pain of African Americans to the broader world and indictment of oppression in the U.S. So understanding the situations of

others illustrated in double consciousness will enable us to eliminate unnecessary divisions among people—a hindrance to democracy.

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