FROM BLACK NATIONALIST TO PRAGMATIC ACCOMMODATIONNIST: THE EVOLUTION OF SUTTON E. GRIGGS

Harish Chander

Shaw University (ret)

"... man is not truly one, but two."

-- R. L. Stevenson, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde,* p. 82

"I believe that this is a white man's country, a white man's civilization, and a white man's government. We belong to a race that has never yet divided sovereignty and dominion!"

– E.W. Carmack, US Senator from Tennessee, upon the opening of his reelection campaign, quoted by Sutton E. Griggs in The *One Great Question*, Part I*,* Tennessee, Orion Printing Press, 1907, p. 8

"No legislative act… contrary to the Constitution, can be valid."

– Alexander Hamilton, *The Federalist Papers*, no. 78, New York: Dover Publications, 2014, p. 380

"Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with America's destiny."

-- Martin Luther King, Jr, "Letter from Birmingham Jail," included in *Black on Black*, Ed. Arnold Adoff. New York: Macmillan, 1968, p. 212

Sutton Elbert Griggs (1872-1933) was a notable African American novelist, Baptist pastor, and civil rights leader of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He was a

pioneer of African American political fiction that challenged the white supremacist narratives of the Jim Crow South.

Griggs grew up in the post-Reconstruction South and was deeply perturbed when the Southern states passed statutes and laws that systematically disfranchised Black citizens.
It was also the time when the ultra-radical Thomas Dixon Jr (1846-1964) wrote two best-selling novels, *The Leopard's Spots: A Romance of the White Man's Burden—1865-1900* (1902) and *The Clansman: A Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan* (1905). In these works, Dixon romanticized Southern white supremacy, endorsed the Lost Cause of the Confederacy, offered distorted depictions of Black people, and opposed equal rights for Black citizens. In *The Leopards' Spots*, Dixon likened Black Americans during the Reconstruction era (1865-1877) to predatory animals, prone to sexual aggression, violent and out of control, and whose involvement in government was a threat to white civilization. This is how Dixon attempted to justify the whites' cruel treatment of Blacks. The title of this novel is derived from a verse in Jeremiah 13.23: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin or the leopard change his spots?" In *The Clansman*, Dixon portrayed biracial or mixed - race people as clever and cunning manipulators, who instilled fear in white people. They had a corrupting influence on white people of the South, and their lynching was justified to protect white women. Here Dixon refers to the character Lydia Brown, (a mixed-race woman) as "yellow vampire" who seduced and corrupted a white Northern political leader, Austin Stoneman. Dixon thus justified the actions of the Ku Klux Klan and Night Riders, even hailing them as protectors of white women. Encouraged by the white public response, Dixon adapted *The Clansman* for the stage and later made it into a movie titled *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). This movie played an important role in reinforcing the racist ideology in the minds of Southern whites. In "An Open Letter to Thomas Dixon," published in September

1905, Kelly Miller denounced Dixon's propaganda of racial superiority: "Through the wide-spread influence of your writings you have become the chief priest of those who worship at the shrine of race hatred and wrath."

In his novels, Sutton E. Griggs gave a befitting response to these negative portrayals of Black people by portraying Southern Whites' atrocities against Black Americans in the post-Reconstruction period. He demonstrated the inequality of the criminal justice system that was heavily tilted against Black Americans. innocent Black Americans were often framed for crimes they didn't commit and were lynched. Griggs uses the narrative technique of the double personae in *Imperium in Imperio* and in *The Hindered Hand* (commissioned by the National Baptist Convention), and that of the divided self in *Pointing the Way*.

The opening epigraphs provide insight into understanding Sutton Griggs. The first quote, "… man is not truly one but truly two," reflects Griggs' approach to the complexities of racial issues he grappled with in his writings and activism. The second quote speaks to the concept of white man's supremacy and the speaker's belief in undivided sovereignty. The third quote affirms Alexander Hamilton's creed that the Constitution of the United States should be the supreme law of the land. Since the citizens' right to vote, regardless of their race, is protected by the 15th Amendment to the US Constitution, the federal government has a duty to enforce it. In *The Disgrace of Democracy: Open Letter to President Woodrow Wilson*, Kelly Miller said, "[I]t is but hollow mockery of the Negro .... The Negro cannot get justice. The black man asks for protection and is given a theory of government" (p. 2). The black man sadly learns that it was the individual state's right to determine who was entitled to vote and who was not. The fourth quote reveals Dr. Martin Luther King's staunch belief in the common destiny of Blacks and Whites in the United States.

From 1899 to 1908, Griggs wrote five novels, which reveal his ideological shifts from a Black nationalist to a “citizen of the ocean” and from an Africanist to a person who promotes emigration, and ultimately to an accommodationist champion of interracial cooperation. 1n 1899, at the age of twenty-seven, Griggs published his first novel, titled *Imperium in Imperio* (Latin for "Empire within an Empire"), a Black nationalist novel that launched his literary career. As he faced discrimination everywhere, Belton Piedmont, the novel's protagonist, started a secret organization that aimed at establishing a sovereign Black state in Texas. Later, he invited his friend Bernard Belgrave to become the organization's president. However, the two friends disagreed over the question of the suzerainty of the projected Black state, Belton wanting it to be within the US, and Belgrave wanting it to be separate. The goal of creating a separate Black state within the US by violent means failed because of Belton’s realization that it was not tenable. The novel's ending leaves open the possibility of an armed revolt by Blacks in the future due to continuing racial injustice. The disillusioned Griggs’s protagonist gave up the idea of Black self-determination in favor of seeking interracial cooperation with like-minded whites.

Realizing that Anglo-Saxons have taught the Black Americans the doctrine of human liberty, Griggs’ protagonist Belton Piedmont wants to give the federal government time to change their stance on African Americans. Four years is the strategy he uses to bring the federal government to the negotiating table or to buy time for Blacks before they use militancy. When the protagonists' pleas for racial justice didn't yield positive results, the disheartened but pragmatic Griggs changed his strategy for racial advancement by advocating for upper-class white support. This is why in his final novel, *Pointing the Way* (1908), the protagonist, Baug Peppers, seeks the cooperation of Seth Molair, who aspired to be the Mayor of Belrose, for

furtherance of the Black cause. Griggs's views evolved as he experimented with different strategies for racial uplift. We should not, however, infer that there was a sudden complete ideological shift from militancy to pragmatic accommodation. The reason is that Griggs himself clearly states that "we must meet and combat the *timorous* [my italics] conservatism that has hitherto impeded our progress" (*Unfettered*, p. 230). This statement reveals that Griggs is a progressive, not a conservative, thinker. A practical leader, Griggs assigns the "subversive" role of the trickster figure to his protagonists, especially in his two conspiracy novels, *Imperium in Imperio* and *The Hindered Hand*, to outsmart the “asymmetrically" powerful foe. In *Imperium in Imperio*, Bell Trout and Bernard Belgrave both exhibit trickster-traits. Bell Trout betrays the organization from within and justifies his actions as motivated by the greater good of all Americans. Bernard Belgrave also represents the “passing” phenomenon, as he easily navigates between both the Black and White worlds, and utilizes his light skin to advance his militant agenda to claim the presidency of the Black Nation. In *The Hindered Hand*, the light-skinned, blue-eyed Earl Bluefield passes as a white man, John Blue, from the North, who interviews the Radical Executives of the Southern States to know their views of the Black people and how they treat them. Even the heroine of this novel who comes from New York to the fictional Almaville gets a new name, Tiara Merlow, because she would like to forget her past identity. She says to Ensal, “I have come to Almaville to begin a new life” (p. 40). The mystery of her antecedents is revealed only when she herself tells the court that she has learned from her mother that her family is of mixed race. As for Eunice Seabright, who looks white, suffers a mental breakdown, when the presiding judge decides that she is Black. She is sent to a sanitarium for recovery, but her chances of her recovery are slim. For the light-skinned Blacks, passing was primarily a survival strategy not to become a target of white supremacists and Jim Crow laws, but it often

resulted in their isolation and alienation from their Black families. Black Americans who could pass as white did so to obtain gainful employment and access to opportunities for advancement. In the story titled "Passing," Langston Hughes gives a fine example of the experience of a light-skinned Black who goes by the name of Jack, in his own words. Jack is writing to his mom: "I felt like a dog, passing you downtown last night and not speaking to you" (Included in *The Ways of White Folks,* p. 51). The mother and the son showed no public recognition of their relationship. At times, whites also engaged in passing by coloring their faces black to move freely among the Black people to get important information, as exemplified by Raymon Mansford who passed from the Anglo-Saxon to the Negro race by coloring himself "a chocolate brown" to discover who murdered his fiancée, Arlene Daleman (p.112). Passing was, psychologically, a sort of death warrant for American Blacks, especially women. This is true of Clare Kendry in Nella Larson's novel titled *Passing*, wherein Clare, despite the material advantages she has, is not happy, tragically dying by falling from the open window of the high-rise apartment.

One of the signatories to the Niagara Movement Charter, Sutton E. Griggs, along with W.E.B. Du Bois, campaigned to secure full-fledged citizenship rights for African Americans. In addition to five novels in which he presented the plight of African Americans, he wrote several polemical tracts and self-improvement pamphlets. Griggs was born on Juneteenth in 1872, when Congress dismantled the Freedmen's Bureau. Griggs grew up in the post-Reconstruction era. In the years 1865 -1877, African Americans made political gains when free African Americans elected several persons to the US Congress, and even two persons—Hiram Rhodes Revels from Mississippi and Blanche Kelso Bruce to the US Senate; however, they soon lost their political clout when the defeated Confederates got back their right to vote, and eleven Southern States

incorporated Black Codes and Jim Crow laws to deny Blacks their constitutional rights. Black Codes determined where they could live and the kinds of work they could do. Jim Crow laws were devices of voter suppression that included such measures as White-only primaries, literacy tests, the Grandfather Clause, and other devices of voter suppression. Living under these harsh Black Codes and Jim Crow laws, African Americans lost their franchise rights. When President Rutherford Hayes ordered the withdrawal of federal troops from the Southern States in 1877, the reign of repression began in the South. Cases of racial oppression, racial harassment, and racial injustice ran rampant in the South. In 1898, Postmaster Frazier B. Baker of Lake City, South Carolina, was lynched by the white mob, and in the same year, the Wilmington Massacre occurred. It was also in 1898 that America went to war with Spain, triggered by the mysterious explosion of the U.S.S. Maine in Havana Harbor, which killed 266 American sailors, 22 of them Black Americans. In October 1898, at the Peace Jubilee address in Chicago, Booker T. Washington praised Black soldiers' heroism in the Spanish-American War, especially in the charge at San Juan, should be recognized by the nation (Washington, 1898). The nation at large was not yet ready to consider Black and white soldiers for full citizenship rights.

In 1895, Booker T. Washington in his famous Atlanta Speech assured the Whites of the full cooperation of Blacks: "In all things that are purely social, we are separate like the fingers of a hand, but one as a hand in all things essential to mutual progress*"(Up from Slavery,* p, *157).* Whites applauded the speech and lauded Booker T. Washington as a spokesperson for African Americans. It is worth noting that Booker Washington in his famous Atlanta Compromise Speech did not insist on Black participation in politics, civic rights, and higher education. Instead, Washington emphasized that Blacks concentrate all their energies on receiving industrial training, accumulating wealth, and conciliation with the South. This was done in part by

Washington to reduce racial tensions and get education funds for his vocational school (present-day Tuskegee University). It is no wonder then that Michael G. Cooke calls Booker T. Washington “a fiercely calculating conciliator” (*Afro-American Literature in the Twentieth Century*, xi).

In 1896, Justice Henry Billings Brown, reading the majority decision in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case, announced that Blacks were only entitled to “separate but equal" facilities, but not to the same facilities used by whites, thereby giving legal sanction to segregation and Jim Crow laws. Only in May 1954 did the Supreme Court overturn the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, when Earl Warren announced the Court's unanimous decision that "separate but equal can never be equal." It is significant that Griggs, in his novel *Overshadowed*, is critical of Washingtonian philosophy concerning the African American way to progress. Washingtonian Lanier pleads with the novel’s protagonist Astral not to leave the country but "accept conditions as you find them" and "beyond this point have no yearnings" (p. 215). Lanier remonstrates with Astral: "Develop character, earn money, contribute to the industrial development of the country, exercise your wonderful capacity for humility, move continuously in line of least resistance, and, somehow, all will be well" (p. 215). Astral cannot accept, however, that the Washingtonian path to African American progress will be the right path for him. He would much rather be a "citizen of the ocean" and bury his dead wife Erma and her brother Harry in the ocean than continue to live in US or any other land where Blacks do not have full citizenship rights. He wouldn't want to emigrate to his fatherland because it is no longer free, controlled by white colonizers. In his words: "It, too, is overshadowed. Aliens possess it" (216). With these words, Astral renounces citizenship in all lands and declares himself “A CITIZEN OF THE OCEAN” (217).

Since the article's title contains two phrases, "black nationalist" and "pragmatic accommodationist," we need to clarify their meanings within a historical context. "Black nationalist" refers to an individual who urged Blacks to free themselves from their white oppressors and determine their own destiny, especially in the context of the post-Reconstruction era. A pioneer of Black Nationalism, Martin R. Delany counseled African Americans to leave the United States and exercise self-determination to form their own separate state, particularly in Africa. He raised the slogan, “Africa for Africans.” He was coeditor with Frederick Douglass of the *North Star*. In 1859, Delany wrote the first Black nationalist novel, titled *Blake, or The Huts of America.*

Henry Blake, the novel's protagonist, is a free-born West Indian who, as a young man, is kidnapped into slavery in the US. He ends up on Colonel Stephen Franks' Plantation in the Red River region of Louisiana, where he marries another slave, Maggie, but the Colonel sells her to a Northern judge's wife, who takes her to Cuba. Henry escapes from the Franks Plantation and makes a whirlwind tour of the South, visiting plantations and interviewing slaves to know their conditions and sharing with them his plan of unified rebellion to seek their support to get rid of the evil institution of slavery and create their own state outside the US. He himself sailed to Liberia and thereafter he also traveled to the city of Abeokuta in Nigeria, where he signed a treaty with the administration to establish a settlement for educated African Americans. In Part II, Henry sails to Cuba on an American ship, finds Maggie, and pays the manumission fee for her freedom. He becomes the head of the insurrectionary force to plan the overthrow of the slave-holding Cuban government. In his mission, he drew inspiration from the revolutionary verses of Placido, the Cuban poet. However, the appearance of Placido is anachronistic because he was not alive. The poet was executed, along with ten others, on June 28, 1844, for challenging

Spanish authority and participation in planning a slave revolt. The fate of the fictional insurrection is also unknown because the last chapters of the novel were lost.

In May 1859, Delany sailed to Liberia on the Mendi as part of an expedition of the two African Americans to explore the Niger Valley to find land for settlement of African Americans (Blackett 15). Since he was in Africa in (1859—1860), he was unaware of John Brown's October 1859 raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now in West Virginia). He returned to United States in 1861 at the beginning of the Civil War to assist in the Union war effort. The Civil War began on April 12, 1861, when Confederate forces opened fire on Fort Sumter in South Carolina. During his absence from United States, John Brown, a white man attempted to arm enslaved people for a massive revolt. Brown conceived of a plan for a Black State in the Appalachian Mountains, but he was apprehended, convicted of treason, and hanged on December 2, 1859. The other team member was a Philadelphia school teacher, Robert Campbell, who sailed from England to Abeokuta (present-day Southwestern Nigeria). The two met in Nigeria, and the local administrators, the chieftains, warmly received them. They were offered unoccupied land in the Ogun River region of Nigeria in exchange for American technology. (Nigeria was then a conglomeration of diverse kingdoms.) Delany also wrote *The Condition, Elevation, and Destiny of the Colored People of United States, Politically Considered* (1852). Here, he parted company with the abolitionists' anti-emigration stance by advocating Central American emigration. They had to emigrate for the following reason: “We love our country [US], dearly love her, but she don’t [*sic*] love us… and bids us begone” (Delany 207). It was also in 1852 that Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, titled *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was published. This novel tells the story of the merciless beating to death of the docile Uncle Tom by brutal

Simon Legree because Uncle Tom would not disclose the whereabouts of the two runaway slaves, Cassie and Emmeline.

The only so-called successful rebellion was engineered by Nat Turner, a fanatic preacher who saw visions, in August 1831, when he killed his slave master, Joseph Travis, his wife, and two sons in cold blood. Nat Turner claimed that he was charged by God to get rid of slavery. Turner, along with his compatriots, murdered 59 whites before he went into hiding. It took the police sixty days of searching to locate him. He was then convicted and, after a summary trial, hanged on December 2, 1859. As he told the lawyer, Tom Gray, in his November 1st interview from his jail cell, before his trial, said that he was divinely inspired; and he attempted to justify his killings by making the unbelievable claim that he was following God's orders. He emphasized that God had told him to do away with the slave-masters. (Styron 388). It is noteworthy that Gray insisted in his recorded historical "Confessions of Nat Turner" that he had presented Turner's narrative "with little or no variation from his own words" (4). Marcus Mosiah Garvey, an early twentieth-century Black nationalist who envisioned Africa as the future home of all African Americans, never visited Africa himself. Nor did Sutton E. Griggs, who was at the beginning of his literary career a proponent of emigration, visit any country in Africa. As Garvey was skeptical of black people ever getting equal rights in the US, he projected a "Back to Africa" movement to establish a black-governed country in Africa. In his famous United Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) speech delivered in 1919, Garvey declared that black men are going to be free, and "there must be a black republic of Africa" (Qtd. in *The New Negro* 94). However, Wilson J. Moses' view that literary Garveyism is plentiful in the novels of Sutton E. Griggs is not based on facts because Griggs believed in Anglo-Saxon values, whereas Garvey

did not mention any Anglo-Saxon values for Blacks to imitate (Qtd in Rudwick 219). Also, unlike Griggs, Garvey planned to liberate Africa from white colonial rule (Rudwick 216).

In the second phrase, "pragmatic accommodationist," the epithet "pragmatic" requires special explanation because it qualifies "accommodationist." "Pragmatic" derives its meaning from the term "Pragmatism." Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, and John Dewey are the classical proponents of pragmatism. Peirce (1839-1914) is considered the founder of pragmatism, and the other two further developed the philosophy. Charles Sanders Peirce was the first to coin the term "pragmatism" in the 1870s as a tool for testing the truth of a concept, much like an experiment in a laboratory by considering the conceivable practical implications of a concept. In Peirce's own words, "Consider what effects, which might conceivably have practical bearings, we conceive that object of our conception to have. Then the whole of our conception of those effects is the whole of our conception of the object" (293). The above statement means that to grasp any concept fully, we need to identify all its potential, observable effects. William James (1842-1910) was, however, the first to use "pragmatism" in print in 1898, and it was he who popularized it. According to William James, pragmatism is essentially a method for testing truth without being bound to any philosophical stance. In his lecture II, titled "What Pragmatism Means," William James emphasizes: "It [Pragmatism] has no dogmas, and no doctrines save its method" (380). Pragmatism is not a set of answers but a way of finding them. It is a practical set of tools for settling philosophical disputes by testing ideas and beliefs based on their practical consequences. The truth of an idea is determined by how well it works and whether it helps people to navigate their lives successfully in a good way. James viewed pragmatism as a democratic philosophy, as it values the opinions and experiences of individuals, recognizing that there is no single, final truth. If someone’s belief in God leads to a fulfilling and meaningful life,

the pragmatist would suggest that belief is valid for that individual, even without definitive proof. James is skeptical of fixed abstract truth. Truth is always evolving as we gain new experiences. It is important to note that W.E.B. Du Bois had studied pragmatism from William James at Harvard. James's pragmatism emphasized that the "truth" of an idea is determined by its practical consequences and usefulness in real-world situations. And this interpretation of pragmatism resonated with Du Bois as he worked on racial uplift and social reform. In *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Boi*s, Du Bois asserts that "William James guided me out of the sterilities of scholastic philosophy to realist pragmatism" (133). The third noted pragmatist, John Dewey (1859-1952), emphasized rigorous inquiry and problem-solving. It is worthy of note that Dewey, along with Du Bois and others, founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. (The Niagara Movement, discussed below, had helped lay the foundation for the NAACP.) Dewey considers only those beliefs to be true "which are the outcome of the best technique of inquiry in a particular field" available at that time ("The Problem of Truth" 28). Dewey was a vocal opponent of racial segregation and he characterized racism as "a social disease" in his 1922 article, "Race Prejudice and Friction," published in the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review,* where he fervently declares that "Race prejudice is a deep -seated and widespread social disease" (243). Dewey also advocated for equal rights, and educational opportunities for African Americans. As applied to groups, pragmatism is adaptable to their current environment.

James' pragmatism prioritized individuals, but Dewey, known for his Instrumentalist School of Pragmatism, applied a pragmatic approach to social and political issues of the post-Reconstruction era. Booker T. Washington was impressed by the core tenets of pragmatism, and he implemented the pragmatic maxim in his religious teachings. As Washington's biographer,

Louis Harlan confirms, "His [Booker Washington's] approach in most matters was so pragmatic that he was capable of being a Unitarian among Unitarians, a Baptist among Baptists, and a doubter among doubters" (Harlan 83). That is why tenets of pragmatism appealed to many African Americans as well. In a 2024 article, titled "Race, Theory, Masking, and Pragmatism in Sutton Griggs's *Imperium in Imperio*," M.C. Hooper finds Griggs's pragmatic imagination at work as he "demonstrates the need for Belton's pragmatic, adaptable approach rather than Bernard's rigidly ideological one" (73). Belton realizes that Bernard's militant approach will result in a horrific race war, "a conflagration" that will consume the entire nation, turning it into "a mass of ruins as man never before had seen" (*Imperium in Imperio*176). Belton also saw racial solidarity through the lens of pragmatic fallibilism, a philosophical stance that focuses on practical effects while remaining open to revising the pragmatic approach as new knowledge emerges. Sutton E. Griggs uses pragmatism to challenge racism and white supremacy by exploring diverse and often conflicting tactics rather than endorsing a single ideological path.

Other important critiques of Griggs's fiction are by Robert E. Bone and Hugh M. Foster. Bone in *The Negro Novel in America* finds Griggs vacillating "between one pole which is fantastic and another pole which is realistic and accommodationist" (34). Foster repudiates the exploitation of the Black man in American politics. He avers that the denial of political rights is the chief factor which "causes the Ethiopian in America to feel that he is indeed 'the hindered hand'" (203). Addison Gayle, Jr. in *The Way of the World: The Black Novel in America* comments on Griggs's philosophy in the form of a rhetorical statement: "Whether Griggs is nationalist or assimilationist must be determined by reading his novels" (73). A careful reading of Griggs's novels provides the answer that the end goal of the protagonists in all his novels is to obtain equal rights for African Americans as citizens.

Griggs was internally divided over how best to attain equal rights for African Americans. A careful reading of his novels *Imperium in Imperio* (1899) and *The Hindered Hand* (1905) shows that Griggs seems to have wavered between the opposites of militancy and accommodation, considering both ways to be equally legitimate. These two novels have two protagonists, each having conflicting ideologies. In *Imperium in Imperio*, the two protagonists are the highly educated Belton Piedmont and Bernard Belgrave, who seek to create an autonomous state within the United States—an empire within an empire. One crucial difference: Piedmont, who has a narrow escape from being lynched to death, would like the Black Imperium to be within the Union, but Belgrave seeks a Black state outside the Union. In *The Hindered Hand*, the two co-protagonists are Ensal Ellwood and Earl Bluefield, wherein Ellwood overpowers the militant Bluefield, and then the latter uses the method of debate and discussion to promote the cause of the Black race for equal rights.

In his final novel, *Pointing the Way* (1908), Griggs' philosophical stance on the race problem had evolved significantly. He no longer advocated for militant approaches but offered a hopeful perspective. He suggested that the solution lies in the harmonious working together of the white and colored people. This novel, written after Griggs had tempered his militant tendencies, advocates for nonviolent means of discussion and debate by Blacks to achieve equal rights and harmonious cooperation between the two races for equitable partnership in government. This kind of evolution in Griggs' philosophical stance demonstrates his growth and changing perspectives.

The concept of ‘dual sovereignty,’ a legal theory that refers to the coexistence of powers between the federal government and the states, is relevant to Griggs' work, providing a

theoretical framework for understanding his approach to race relations. Belton Piedmont, the protagonist of *Imperium in Imperio,* points out that there is a flaw "in the Constitution of the United States [regarding] the relation of the General Government to the Individual state." The General Government says to the citizen: "I am your sovereign and not the citizen of only one state... But while I am your supreme earthly sovereign, I am powerless to protect you .... Your state may disfranchise you with or without law, may mob you; but my hands are so tied that I cannot help you at all" (181). Can there be limited sovereignty? In the article titled "Of Sovereignty and Federalism" published in *The Yale Law Journal,* Akhil Reed Amar says, "To try to divide or limit sovereignty in any way was to create the 'political monster or hydra of imperium in Imperio'" (1430). Or, as Samuel Johnson puts it, "In sovereignty there are no gradations .... [T] here can be no limited government" (401; 423).

Fiction is perhaps the most effective medium for writers to voice their intrapsychic conflicts. This mode enables novelists to disguise and distance their personal problems and inner struggles without admitting them as their own. Fiction writers often present their conflicts through pairs of characters with opposite viewpoints or the schism in the protagonists' souls. In *Fiction and the Unconscious*, Simon Lesser observes, “In fiction, which engages us, characters with the qualities we have stunted and those we have cultivated are likely to be present. Indeed, many famous pairs of fictional characters are so closely linked that … they seem to represent different parts of one person” (202). Since people are influenced by the milieu and moment, to use H. A. Taine's terminology, the intrapsychic conflict became a national characteristic of African Americans toward the end of the nineteenth century. W. E. B. Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk (1903)* calls it the "double consciousness" and describes it as follows: "One ever feels the twoness, -- an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two

warring ideals in one dark body" (215). Bernard Bell, in *Afro-American Novel and Its Tradition*, gives a comprehensive exposition of the concept of "double consciousness" as applied to African Americans:

> ...double-consciousness" signifies the biracial and bicultural identities of Afro-Americans, ... "socialized ambivalence," the dancing of attitudes of Americans of African ancestry between integration and separation, a shifting identification between the values of dominant white and subordinate black cultural systems as a result of institutionalized racism; and "double vision," an ambivalent, laughing-to-keep-from-crying perspective toward life as expressed in the use of irony and parody in Afro-American folklore and formal art (xvi).

During the post-Civil War years and the Reconstruction era, the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866 and the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 gave the newly freed Black people the right to vote and the equal protection of the laws, sending many African Americans to state legislatures and twenty African Americans to Congress. Between 1869 and 1880, fourteen African Americans got elected to the US House of Representatives, and two to the Senate. Both these Senators, Hiram R. Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, were from Mississippi; Senator Revels served for one year, filling the seat vacated by Jefferson Davis, and Senator Bruce served for the full term of six years. The political gains made by Blacks proved ephemeral. With the removal of restrictions on political participation by the defeated Confederate leaders, the dismantling of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1872, and the retreat of federal enforcement of Reconstruction policies, the promise of emancipation quickly eroded. Over and above these two events, the declaration in 1883 of the unconstitutionalities of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which had forbidden racial segregation in public places, Southern whites effectively reduced Blacks to second-class

citizenship status (though arguably better than the pre-Fourteenth Amendment Constitution's three-fifths of a person for representation purposes). In the period between 1890 and 1910, eleven Southern states adopted special requirements for voting, such as poll taxes, grandfather clauses, and white-only primaries, to deny Blacks the franchise. Also, Southern whites, in general, and the white supremacist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan (sometimes known as the Invisible Empire) resorted to intimidation and violence to prevent Blacks from registering and voting. As reported by the Tuskegee Institute's Department of Research and Records, in the three decades from 1882 to 1911, as many as 2,563 Negroes were lynched (Marden and Meyer, 247).

Deprived of equality and full-fledged citizenship, the African American community of the post-Reconstruction period became sharply divided into opposite camps--conservatives and radicals--the former seeking opportunities through conciliation and the latter demanding equality as a matter of fundamental right. Whereas the conservatives favored constitutional means and interracial cooperation, the radical group advocated a militant approach to equal rights. In the person of Booker T. Washington, the conservatives found their chief spokesman. Washington espoused a policy of accommodation between Blacks and whites and tempered the demand for political and social equality by emphasizing duty and preparation before rights and privileges. In his autobiography, *Up from Slavery* (1900), Washington writes about his spring 1895 meeting with the congressional committee to obtain federal support for that year's Atlanta Exposition, “I tried to emphasize the fact that while the Negro should not be deprived by unfair means of the franchise, political agitation alone would not save him, and that back of the ballot, he must have property, industry, skill, economy, intelligence, and character ...." (148).

While Booker T. Washington united the conservative Blacks, the radical element was divided into two camps--one struggling for Black rights by the power of the pen and the other seeking racial justice by violent means. W. E. B. Du Bois belonged to the radical group that chose the path of agitation through intellectual power, and then, in 1905, launched a civil rights movement at a meeting on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls. The Niagara Movement sought to carry on the work of John Brown through negotiations instead of militancy. Its main charter of demands reads as follows:

> We shall not be satisfied with less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every right that belongs to a free-born American, civil and social, and until we get those rights we shall never cease to protest and assail the ears of America with the stories of its shameful deeds toward us. We want our manhood suffrage, and we want it now. Second, we want discrimination in public accommodations to cease. Third, we claim the right to associate with such people as they wish to associate with us. Fourth, we want the laws enforced against the rich as well as the poor, against capitalists as well as laborers, against whites as well as blacks. We are not more lawless than the white race; we are more often arrested, convicted and mobbed. Fifth, we want our children educated. (Jack 2)

At the second annual meeting of the Niagara Movement at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, which John Brown and twenty-one followers had raided on October 15, 1859, members passed closing resolutions:

> We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid nor the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob, but we do believe in John

> Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice, that hatred of a lie, that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation, and life itself on the altar of right. (Aptheker 909).

Our novelist Sutton Elbert Griggs actively participated in the Niagara Movement, along with William Monroe Trotter (who graduated from Harvard College in 1895, the same year Du Bois received his doctorate from Harvard), Reverdy Ransom, and J. Milton Waldron.

Another group of Black Radicals advocated separation. Of these militant radicals, Du Bois writes in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903): [T]hey represent the attitude of revolt and revenge; they hate the White South blindly and distrust the White race generally, and so far as they agree on definite action, think that the negro's only hope lies in emigration beyond the borders of the United States (247).

In *Imperium in Imperio,* Griggs presents an alternative to emigration. While signing the Niagara Charter, Griggs demonstrated his commitment to the movement to secure social, civil, and political equality for Black Americans; he was not of one mind about the means towards to that goal. In this regard, we can compare Griggs with Reverdy Ransom, who found it difficult to reconcile the warring elements: one counseling the example of Christ and the other calling for bloody retaliation. In his oration titled "The Spirit of John Brown," Ransom observes the division among the African Americans of his time, "as to method and the choice of ways leading to the coveted goal" (p. 22). In the centennial oration titled "John Greenleaf Whittier," Ransom advocates at one moment emulating the "spirit and power of Lord Jesus" and at another meting out to whites "a white man's measure in all the relations of life" (p. 37). Griggs, too, voices such opposite feelings; only his medium is different.

Sutton Griggs dramatizes this conflict between his two selves by employing the fictional device of pairs of characters, representing different aspects of his personality and the

personalities of many Black intellectuals of his day. Both *Imperium in Imperio* and *The Hindered Hand* feature two protagonists each and *Pointing the Way* employs characters with divided consciousness. He pairs opposite protagonists in his conspiracy novels, *Imperium in Imperio* (1899), and *The Hindered Hand* (1905); in his last work of fiction, *Pointing the Way* (1908), he changes his strategy by depicting the conflict of individual minds.

Imperium in Imperio

*Imperium in Imperio a*nd The *Hindered Hand* deal with the conflicting ideologies of the middle class, highly educated pairs of Belton Piedmont and Bernard Belgrave and Ensal Ellwood and Earl Bluefield, respectively. Tired of racial injustice and oppression at the hands of whites, the central characters of the first novel join Imperium in Imperio, a secret Black organization with its own constitution, legislature, judiciary, and army. They seek to create an autonomous state within the United States--an empire within an empire. The possibility of dual sovereignty was not as foreign in the nineteenth century as it has become in the twentieth century, as evidenced by the State of Ohio's adoption of the phrase "imperium in Imperio" as its motto in 1865, sixty-odd years after being admitted to the Union. This Ohio state motto became controversial because some people interpreted it to mean the center of the universe, and consequently, the state legislature dropped it in 1867. The state functioned without a motto till it got a new one in 1959. The new state motto, "With God all things are possible," comes from the Bible, Matthew 19:26. The conflict in *Imperium in Imperio* centers on the issue of the Black Imperium's status. Belton Piedmont, who has a narrow escape from being lynched to death, believes that the Imperium should be within the Union, and Bernard Belgrave seeks a separate Black state outside the Union. The conflict in *The Hindered Hand* revolves around the means to

be adopted by Blacks to gain their full citizenship rights. Ensal Ellwood advocates nonviolence, while Earl Bluefield calls for violence. *Pointing the Way* deals with the internal struggles of a mixed-race woman, Eina Rapona, and those of a poor, "illiterate" man, Uncle Jack.

The conflict resolution in these novels gives us a clue to the author's frame of mind. In the first novel, the relatively gentle Belton Piedmont and the revengeful Bernard Belgrave die, the former executed by the latter's orders, and the latter betrayed by Beryl Trout, one of his fellow conspirators, who also happens to be the novel's narrator. In the second novel, contrary to the action of the first, the gentle Ensal Ellwood overpowers the militant Earl Bluefield, who is converted to the method of debate and discussion to promote the cause of the Black race. In Griggs' last novel, given the choice of racial alignment between the two races, the heroine, Eina Rapona, chooses her lot with the Black race and finally marries the like-minded Baug Peppers over the white lawyer, Seth Molair. Concerned as they are about the "laws as do not bear equally upon the people of both races," Eina Rapona and Baug Peppers want "harmonious working together of the white and colored people" (174-5). Uncle Jack, whose wife, two-year-old son, and one-year-old daughter were all killed by the Ku Klux Klan, has to wrestle with an inner conflict between his desire for freedom and sense of responsibility as he takes care of Massa’s wife and children during the Civil War and later dies in his attempt to exercise his franchise in Alabama.

Griggs's first novel emphasizes the aspirations of African Americans for a voice in the government. Belton Piedmont and Bernard Belgrave, the novel's protagonists, are members of a revolutionary underground organization seeking to secure African Americans’ rights. The two men represent two opposing aspects of Sutton Griggs' personality. Berl Trout, the novel's narrator, Berl, calls himself "a warm personal friend of both Bernard and Belton" (1), the author

editor vouching for Berl's truthfulness. The narrator refers to them as the "two most conspicuous representatives of all that was good and great in the [Black] race" (188). Furthermore, Belton and Bernard are deep thinkers and gifted orators. They have given their days and nights to find a solution to the race problem. But while Belton believes in the philosophy of accommodation and compromise, Bernard believes in the way of militancy and retaliation. It is true, however, that Belton is the first to join the secret organization (252), and it is he who invites Bernard to it. For the revengeful Bernard, however, the Imperium only serves to further his own idea of seizing Texas to form a separate state for Black people. The moment Belton learns of the shift in the policy of the Imperium, he resigns, knowing that the price of this betrayal under the laws of the Imperium is death.

To understand the solutions to the race problem advocated by Bernard and Belton, we need to examine their addresses to the Imperium. Bernard recites a long list of grievances regarding the inequities, injustices, and oppressions perpetrated against Blacks in their two hundred and forty-four years of history in America, followed by demands for vengeance for the wrongs done and appeals for the use of force to obtain rights. Bernard's violent anger manifests in his comments on Whites: "Woe unto that race, whom the tears of the widows, the cries of the starving orphans, the groans of the innocent dying, and the gaping wounds of those unjustly slain, accuse before a righteous God!" (217).

Bernard proposes a subversive and militant strategy to attain a separate nation for Blacks: Encourage all Negroes who can possibly do so to enter the United States Navy. Enter in a night; the United States will then be prostrate before us and our allies. We will demand the surrender of Texas and Louisiana to the Imperium. Texas, we will retain. Louisiana, we will cede to our foreign allies in return for their aid. Thus, will the Negro enter into secret negotiations with all *of*

[sic] the foreign enemies of the United States, acquainting them with our military strength and men [personnel] aboard the United States warships. We can, then, if need be, wreck the entire navy of the United States have an empire of his own, fertile in soil, capable of sustaining a population of fifty million people (251-2).

While Bernard proposes Black subterfuge and rebellion, Belton asks for a "peaceful adjustment" to be achieved through the power of the pen (246). Belton clarifies that he shall never prove false to the American flag and reminds his Black audience that the "Imperium was organized to secure our rights within the United States" (252). He declares that he would resort to war only if it is forced on him (246), but finds great virtue in peaceful struggle:

> [I]t would be a worthy theme for the songs of the Holy Angels, if every Negro, away from the land of his nativity, can, by means of the pen, force an acknowledgment of equality from the proud lips of the fierce, all-conquering Anglo-Saxon, thus eclipsing the record of all other races of men, who without exception have had to wade through blood to achieve their freedom. (pp. 246-7).

Belton deals with Bernard's denunciations of the Anglo-Saxon race one by one, seeking to defeat them by pointing out that there is some good hidden even in things inherently evil. He even goes so far as to see a positive effect from the institution of slavery: "... when we calmly survey the evil and the good that came to us through American slavery, ... we find more good for which to thank God than we find evil for which to curse man" (232). He further points out that "by enslavement in America, the negro has come into possession of the great English language," thus "made heir to all the richest thoughts of the earth (232). Perhaps, Griggs is here at his most provocative and outrageous stance in support of the peculiar institution of slavery.

On the question of civil rights, Belton seems to echo Booker T. Washington's call for duty and preparation: "For our civil rights we are struggling, and we must secure them. But if they had all come to us when they first belonged to us, we must frankly admit that we would have been unprepared for them" (234-5). He argues for a "New Negro": firmly demanding every right granted him by his maker and wrested from him by man (244).

Belton proposes to the Imperium that African Americans spend four years trying to impress on the Anglo-Saxon race to give them their rights. However, if this strategy does not yield the desired results, they should emigrate en masse to Texas and, by their majority, capture the state government (p. 245). It seems that asking for four years is a strategy that Belton uses to buy more time to negotiate with the Anglo-Saxons. On the other hand, Belgrave would like to take immediate military action against the US government.

The Hindered Hand

Whereas Belton fails to convert the revolutionary militant Bernard to his own ideology and dies a martyr in the cause of peaceful change, Ensal Ellwood of *The Hindered Hand*, Griggs's other important conspiracy novel, can restrain the militant radical Earl Bluefield. Ensal and Earl, representing the conservative and radical elements among Blacks of the time, are at the center of the novel's action. The authorial narrator calls them "friendly enemies" (46). Like the Bernard/Belton pair in *Imperium in Imperio*, they both espouse the cause of full citizenship rights of the Black people, but their approaches are very different. The saintly and altruistic Ensal Ellwood contrasts the revolutionary, radical Earl Bluefield, who picks up a band of five hundred desperadoes and hatches a foolhardy martial scheme to capture the state capitol at night and perish fighting to awaken the conscience of the American people to the repression of the

Black community. Ensal Ellwood is, however, able to overpower Earl physically, injuring him but thereby preventing the loss of life. Ensal Ellwood then nurses Earl back to health and persuades him to give up the path of force and violence, and Earl then uses debate and discussion. Changing his mind about militancy, the light-skinned Earl then goes incognito as a white man named John Blue, traveling through the South, interviewing white people in positions of power and conferring with the radical leaders there. Earl also challenges the Washingtonian belief that industrial training would solve the racial problems of the South:

> What worker in iron can fashion a key that will open the door to that world of higher activities, the world of moral and spiritual forces...? What welder of steel can beat into one the discordant soul forces of willing Negroes and unwilling whites, the pivotal point of the problem? Really pressing is the need for industrial training for our people, *but my peculiar case calls for something that must come from Lincoln, the emancipator, rather than Lincoln, the rail-splitter* (p. 254; my emphasis).

It is noteworthy that Earl Bluefield rejects the idea of Black people getting mere industrial training. In his address "To the People of the United States of America," Ensal Ellwood makes a passionate appeal for "equality of citizenship," equal opportunity for Blacks, and the "principle of equality before the law" for African Americans (150-9). Whereas Earl denounces the behavior of Blacks during the Civil War, Christ-like Ensal pays a glorious tribute to their behavior "in caring for the wives and children of the men fighting for their *enslavement*" [my italics] (49). In addition, Ensal Ellwood proposes a new Black policy of supporting candidates from different parties for different offices in the people's best interests, thus seeking the cooperation of the best element of Southern whites (286-7). He declares unequivocally: "The best interest of the people, and not party loyalty, shall be our creed" (287).

Ensal Ellwood rejects the idea of Black assimilation into White America, as well as the violent Black nationalist Gus Martin's unpatriotic stance to the US flag and A. Hostility's scheme of releasing yellow fever germs, to which, purportedly, African Americans are immune, to kill Southern Whites. To Hostility, Ensal exclaims: "Let the Anglo-Saxon crush us if he will and if there is no God! But I say to you, the Negro can never be provoked to stoop to the perfidy and infamy which you suggest" (212). Soon thereafter, Ensal Ellwood and Tiara Merlow set sail for Liberia "to provide a home for the American Negro,'' preparing for the day when African Americans would decide to leave America. It is significant to note that Griggs, in the "Notes for the Serious," added to the novel, points out that the "assigning of the thoughts of the race to the uplift of Africa" is presented as more of his own "dream rather than as representing any considerable sentiment within the race, which ... seems at present thoroughly and unqualified American" (297). This addendum on the author's part leaves no doubt that Griggs has expressed his double identity here through the characterization of Earl Bluefield and Ensal Ellwood.

Pointing the Way

Unlike *Imperium in Imperio* and *The Hindered Hand*, which employ the double personae, Griggs' *Pointing the Way* focuses on the divided self of Eina Rapona, a beautiful girl of English, Spanish, and Indian ancestry, and the divided worlds of the honorable ex-plantation enslaved person, Uncle Jack. Eina, the novel's heroine, is a troubled soul, and the illiterate Uncle Jack is a creature of two worlds--the old and the new. Notably, there are no Black revolutionary militants in this novel.

Eina Rapona is a young woman standing on the borderline, debating within herself whether to identify socially with the Whites or the Blacks of the South. She can choose her own

racial alignment because she is "light enough of a complexion to permit her to *pass* (my italics) among the whites for a white girl [and] had just enough of the dark in her complexion to permit her to *pass* (my italics) as a colored woman" (21). Rapona goes to meet the white lawyer Seth Molair, whom his Black Mammy, Lucy Martin, has treated, when the latter contracts the contagious smallpox. Based on his interviews with Seth Molair, who believes in political cooperation between Blacks and Whites and his mother, as well as talks with Uncle Jack, she decides to identify herself as Black, thereby casting her lot with people who have "kindliness of spirit" (61). A Virgin Mary figure with a strong maternal instinct, she chooses to associate with Blacks partly because the Black community needs her care more than whites, notwithstanding the numerous advantages of joining the white race.

As for Uncle Jack, he tells Eina how he found himself in a fix when the Civil War broke out. He says that he experienced a "mighty wrestling" in his heart (57), between his desire to be a free man and help those who were trying to set themselves free and his sense of responsibility for the family of his master during his master's absence. He decided to stay: "I stayed behin an' looked atter der wimmins wid er eagle eye" (59).

Uncle Jack is a transitional figure between the Old Negro and the educated, politically conscious New Black. He realizes that times have changed, and the Black race must stand up and directly confront the new challenges (145). As a result of his interaction with the politically savvy younger Blacks like Baug Peppers and Eina Rapona, Uncle Jack realizes that laws should apply equally to whites and blacks. He tells Aunt Merlissa that he has learned from "culled young uns" that it is not right to disfranchise "ill-littered culled folks' without disfranchising "ill-littered white folks" and "ill-littered white folks an' ill-littered culled folks ought to ter hab one law' cordin' ter de constitution" (150). While all his life he has gotten along with white folks

without contention, allowing them to deal with him as they saw fit, he is now ready to play an altogether different role by "tryin' ter git ekal show in life fur a cullud an'er white boy" (150). And, true to his newly awakened consciousness of his constitutional rights, Uncle Jack dies a martyr's death as he attempts to exercise the franchise in Alabama.

This theme of "the divided existence" pervades Sutton Griggs's art as a novelist. *Imperium in Imperio*, *The Hindered Hand*, and *Pointing the Way* are masterly studies of the Black psyche. As already shown, the achievement of the first two lies in their deft handling of contrasting standpoints on the race problem, accommodationist and revolutionary ways out of the race problem through fictional pairs. Initially drawn equally to both sides in this debate, the narrator and the author seem to conclude in favor of nonviolent means of discussion and debate by Blacks to achieve equal rights and harmonious cooperation between the two races for equitable partnership in government. By the time he wrote *Pointing the Way,* Griggs had effectively killed the militant tendencies in him; that is why this novel does not even consider militancy as a viable option but presents a moving spectacle of agonizing inner conflicts in Eina Rapona and Uncle Jack.

The foregoing discussion clearly shows Sutton E. Griggs's change in outlook from a Black nationalist to a pragmatic accommodationist. Griggs realizes that there is a common bond between whites and Blacks that is indestructible and which will not be broken under normal conditions; as such, he concludes that he needs to be a persuader rather than a denouncer. It is important to note that, in the spirit of compromise, in *Wisdom's Call*, published in 1911, Griggs asks that "the white people of the South meet *halfway* [my emphasis] the efforts of the worthy Negroes to influence the political thought of their race that the *better* elements of the two races may be found working healthily for the common good" (103). Griggs, thus, turns out to be a

peacemaker between the two races. Griggs is a champion of human rights, deserving of a permanent place in the literature of race relations, self-identity, Black empowerment, and racial justice. In his autobiography, *titled The Story of My Struggles* (1914), Griggs upholds literature as a powerful instrument of social change and exhorts his fellow African Americans "to resolve to put literature in the hands of ... the white race" to seek racial harmony and cooperation (21). In both his essay titled “The Laws of Race Adjustment” and his *Guide to Racial Greatness*, *or, The Science of Collective Efficiency*, Griggs emphasizes that Blacks should exhibit "social efficiency," to win "the esteem of others as a race," “regardless of questions of abstract right” (“The Laws of Race Adjustment” 77-8). And finally, in his tract titled *Paths of Progress* (1925), Griggs seems to clinch the issue when he declares that the race war is “over” (19) and the two races should seek close cooperation for “our good and the good of the country at large” (65).

Works Cited

Amar, Akhil Reed. "Of Sovereignty and Federation." *Yale Law Journal*, vol. 96. no. 7, June 1987.

Aptheker, Herbert, ed. *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*. New York: Citadel Press, 1951, p. 909. The Niagara Movement section is covered on pages 897-915.

Bell, Bernard W. "Introduction" to *Afro-American Novel and Its Tradition. Amherst: U. of Massachusetts P., 1987.*

The Birth of a Nation. Directed by D.W. Griffith. David W. Griffith Corp, 1915.

Blackett, Richard. "Martin R. Delany and Robert Campbell: Black Americans in Search of An African colony." *The Journal of Negro History.* Vol. 62, no.1, pp. 1-25.

Cooke, Michael G. *Afro-American Literature in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1984.

Delany, Martin R. *Blake, or The Huts of America*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1970

----. *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States*, included in *Black Writers of America: A Comprehensive Anthology*, eds Richard Barksdale and Kenneth Kinnamon. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice Hall, 1972, pp.194-208.

Dewey, John. "The Problem of Truth." *Old Penn. Weekly Review of the University of Pennsylvania,*1911, included in *The Middle Works of John Dewey (MW)*, vol. 6. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois UP.

---. "Race Prejudice and Friction." *Chinese Social and Political Science Review,"* vol. 4, no.4, 1922, included in *MW*, vol. 13, Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois UP.

Dixon, Thomas. *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan.* Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1970.

… *The Leopard's Spots: A Romance of the White Man's Burden, 1965-1900. Doubleday*. Doubleday Page & Co., 1902.

Du Bois, W.E.B. *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois***.** New York, NY: International Publishers, 1968.

… "A Negro Nation Within the Nation," included in *Speeches and Addresses, 1920-1963*. Ed. Philip S. Foner. New York" Pathfinder, 1970.

…" The Souls of Black Folk" in *Three Negro Classics*, with an introduction by John Hope Franklin. New York: Avon Books, 1971.

Garvey, Mosiah, Marcus. "The United Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) Speech (1919)." Included in *The New Negro: Readings on Race, Representation, and* African American *Culture*, *1892-1938*, eds. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., and Gene Andrew Jarrett. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2007, pp. 92-96.

Gayle, Addison Jr. *The Way of the New World: The Black Novel in America* New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976.

Gloster, Hugh Morris. *Negro Voices in American Fiction*. Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina P. 1948.

Harlan, Louis R. *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1900-1915.* New York: OUP, 1983.

Hooper, M. Clay. "Race Theory, Masking, and Pragmatism in Sutton Griggs's *Imperium in Imperio." College Literature, vol. 51, no.*1 *(Winter 2024)*, pp. 54-83.

Hughes, Langston. "Passing" included. in *The Ways of White Folks*. New York: Vintage Books, 1990, pp. 51-54.

Jack, Robert L. *A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*. Boston: Meador, 1943.

James, William. "What Pragmatism Means" in *The Writings of William James*. Ed. John J. McDermott. New York: The Modern Library, 1968.

Johnson, Samuel. *Works of Samuel Johnson*, vol. v., pp. 401, 423. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1969.

Larsen, Nella. *Passing*. New York: W.W. Norton& Company, 2007.

Miller, Kelly M. *The Disgrace of Democracy: Open Letter to President Woodrow Wilson*. Washington, DC, 1917.

… "An Open Letter to John Dixon, Jr." Washington, DC: Hayworth Press, 1905.

Moses, Wilson Jeremiah. "Literary Garveyism: The Novels of Reverend Sutton E. Griggs." *Phylon* vol.40. no.3 (Fall 1979) 203-16.

Griggs, Sutton Elbert. *The Hindered Hand*. Third edition. Nashville, Tenn: Orion Publishing Company, 1905.

---. *Guide to Racial Greatness;* or The *Science of Collective Efficiency.* Memphis, National Public Welfare League, Memphis, Tenn., 1923.

---. *Imperium in Imperio.* New York: Arno, 1969.

---. "The Laws of Race Adjustment," in *Life's Demands; or According to Law.* Memphis, Tenn: National Public Welfare League, 1916.

---. *Light on Racial Issues.* Nashville, Tenn: The National Public Welfare League, 1921.

---. *The One Great Question, Part I,* Tennessee, Orion Printing Press, 1907.

---. *Overshadowed,* Nashville, Tenn: Orion Publishing Co., 1901.

---. *Paths of Progress; Or Cooperation Between the Races*: Memphis, Tenn: The National Public Welfare League, 1925.

---. *Pointing the Way*. New York: AMS, 1974.

---. *The Story of My Struggles*. Memphis, Tenn: The National Public Welfare League, 1914.

---. *Unfettered.* Nashville, Tenn: Orion Publishing Co., 1902.

---. *Wisdom's Call. Nashville, Tenn. Orion Publishing Co., 1911.*

Lesser, Simon. *Fiction and the Unconscious*. New York: Viking, 1957.

Marden, Charles F., and Gladys Meyer. *Minorities in American Society*. 2nd ed. New York: American Book Company, 1962.

Peirce, Charles Sanders. "How to Make Our Ideas Clear," *Popular Science Monthly*, Jan 1878, vol 12.

Ransom, Reverdy C. "The Spirit of John Brown" and "John Greenleaf Whittier," in *The Spirit of Freedom and Justice: Orations and Speeches*. Nashville: A. M. E. Sunday School Union, 1926.

Rudwick, Elliott M. *W.E.B. Du Bois*. New York: Athenuem Press, 1969.

Stevenson, Robert Louis. *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde and Other Stories*. Ed. Jenni Calder. Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1981.

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; *or Life Among the Lowly.* Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1852.

Styron, *The Confessions of Nat Turner*. New York: Random House, 1967.

Turner, Nat. "The Confessions of Nat Turner (1831)." Edited by Thomas R. Gray. University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2012.

Washington, Booker T. “Chicago Peace Jubilee Address,” *Indianapolis Recorder*, 1899.

… *Up from Slavery*. Introduction by Louis Lomax. 3rd ed. New York: Dover, 1986.