BLACK LEADERSHIP IN UNITED STATES AND ITS ROLE IN BUILDING THE BLACK MOVEMENT — BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND W. E. B. DuBOIS

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CONTENTS

P R E F A C E

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This study is primarily an emphasis on the role of the black leaders during the period, 1875-1920, with a view to analyse their respective roles in serving the cause of the black masses. From the inception of the institution of slavery, around 1620, until the outbreak of the civil war in 1861, one major issue loomed large on the minds of American social reformers - how to abolish the institution of slavery from the South? But no sooner did the slavery come to an end (in the form of the 13th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution in 1863) than the issue of removing social, economic and political barriers of blacks became the major concern of these two leaders. Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois emerged as great emancipators of their brethrens. They directed the movement of the Black masses towards realizing their social, economic and political objectives in the white society. They spoke effectively and wrote extensively on behalf of their prople.

The present dissertation is an attempt in the interplay of societal forces that came to determine the fate

of Blacks in the latter part of the 19th century as well as early part of the 20th century. The racial discrimination and segregation and several such other legal tactics on the part of the white majority against Blacks, assumed new dimensions. Hence, both of the Black leaders, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois took their respective positions in deterring the racial bias from the minds of white people.

However, both, had their limitations in fulfilling their goals. Booker T. Washington served the Black cause at a time when the rigidity of southern whites as well as the racial bias of the white, in general, was uppermost. The period between 1876-1900 witnessed the worst of racial segregation in the form of lynching, social boycotts, Jim Crow laws, Ku Klux Klan and several other modes of political eliminations. Booker T. Washington projected his profile to his community in a sober manner. He advised them not to emulate his white men but to make themselves indispensable in the white society. Hence he was termed as an accomodationist.

On the other hand, W.E.B. Dubois who emerged as a great leader at the close of the 19th Century kindled in

Blacks the spirit of Pan-Africanism. DuBois was a man who lent a sense of racial pride to Blacks during the early part of the 20th century. DuBois was to become much more radical in his intellectual disposition but the present dissertation is confined to his role only in the first two decades of the 20th century.

The first chapter provides a historical sketch of the Black Leadership during the period of Slavery. The references have been made of Black Preachers, Black Abolitionists and a few prominent Black personalities including Frederick Douglass.

Chapter 2 deals with Booker T. Washington, his biographical details as well as his ideological stances. Washington's perception of the Black Movement as also the major issues emerging therein have been analysed.

Chapter 3 deals with W.E.B. DuBois and his biographical details. DuBois' contribution towards Pan-Africanism and his ideological predilictions have been analysed. His role in the Black Movement also remains a hall-mark in the chapter.

Chapter 4 deals with the similarities and dissimilarities of the two personalities, i.e., W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington. The organizations of the Black Movements have been discussed as also the activities that they pursued.

Chapter 5 reflects the ideological differences between the two leaders. However, the chapter does not go into details regarding the theoretical aspects of the ideologies of the two. Various viewpoints of scholars have been provided to analyse efficacy of their pronouncements.

The last is the conclusion which portrays the sum total of their contributions to the Black Movement. An assessment of these two leaders in terms of the impact that they left behind, has been focussed.

The methodology adopted in this dissertation is historiographical and analytical. The materials consulted are chiefly secondary source materials but some primary sources like the private papers and autobiographies have been consulted. For this purpose, the material available at the American Studies Research Center Library at Hyderabad have been of great help. Besides, the American Center Library, New Delhi, Jawaharlal Nehru University, the Indian

Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, Social Science Documentation Centre, New Delhi, Central Library, Delhi University have also been of immense help in carrying out this work.

This dissertation has been carried out under the supervision of Dr. R.P. Kaushik, Associate Professor in American Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. I am deeply grateful to him for his invaluable help, constant guidance and encouragement at every stage of my work. It was his patience and inspiration which helped me to complete this dissertation. I am also thankful to Prof. M.S. Venkataramani for his encouragement in my work.

Lastly, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to members of my family, especially my parents, who have helped in numerous ways to sustain me in my efforts to bring the work to its conclusion.

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Chapter - I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

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Black Leadership :

The issue of Black Leadership in the United States has long been a subject of controversy among historians. They are divided in laying their emphasis on the types of leadership available in the ante-bellum and the post-bellum periods, as also the role that the Black Leaders played in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In recent years the historiography on this subject has brought out notable dimensions. Some have tended to believe that there has always been a two-fold approach of Blacks in redeeming their position in the United States. The dichotomy of this approach is best represented by the trends of "assimilation" and "alienation". The ones who stood for assimilation regarded that America was the place where they could eventually resolve their crisis by assimilating in it. On the other hand, those who advocated that there was little that they could achieve while being in the white man's world and the ultimate solution lay in going back to Africa. Both the approaches had their followings in a continual fashion. However, none was supreme over the other.

No matter what labels one applies to describe the advocates of these trends, the note of protest underlay their respective approaches. Some have been called accommodationists and others as militants. Nathan I. Huggins tries to describe the leaders who have been customarily described as accommodationists, as "emblematic".[1] The author emphasizes their dependence on the whites who recognized them as emblems. Those leaders whom we associate with open protest have been identified as reformers. These protest leaders were apostles of an inter-racial reform movement. "The overpowering constrictions of the American caste system", Huggins argues, "diverted both types of leadership from any effort to mobilise the black masses along racial lines".[2] Another historian calls Negro leadership as an "issue leadership".[3] Due to the absence of strong institutional bases, these Negroes, who with great intensity called upon for race advancement, were dependent upon popular approval of their handling of issues of race advancement.

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1. Nathan Irwin Huggins, "Afro-Americans", in John Higham, ed., Ethnic Leadership in America, (The John Hopkins Univ. Press, Batlimore & London, 1978). pp. 91-118.

2. Ibid.

3. Everett Carll Ladd, Jr., Negro Political Leadership in the South (Comell Univ. Press, Ithaca, New York, 1966), p. 3.

Despite differences of class and culture, Blacks were viewed by Whites as a monolith and, for practical purposes, outside the body politic. Negro leaders might be persons of notable achievement, respect, and reputation who could be understood to speak for the race. Lacking mechanism for popular choice, such people simply "rose to the top".[4] A Black leadership was not expected to rise from the people or even selected and sustained by them.

Examining the leadership in the South, Ladd, says that the dominant form of Negro leadership in the South from the end of Reconstruction to World War II has been described as "Uncle-Tom-ism", as "conservative" or "accommodating" leadership[5]. The "Uncle Tom" was a leader -- or a decision-maker, because the White community, designated him a leader and supported his decision. This was the kind of political leadership that existed, based on the support and sanctions of a dominant outgroup.

While Gunnar Myrdal found Negro leadership as always related to the pattern of race relation in the United States,

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4. Huggins, n. 1, p. 96.

5. Ladd, n. 3, p. 115.

both with respect to time and pace. Others like Guy B. Johnson characterized Negro leadership as "gradualist" and "revolutionary".[6]

The references like moderate, militant, conservative, radical, should be judged in a particular historical context. They are a reflection of the popular polemical environment. Hence, the labels thus applied may not be an adequate expression of the leadership that could best be understood in the context of their stated goals. It is quite possible, therefore, to conclude that for either group to succeed some very radical changes were necessary in the American society. One would agree with Charles V. Hamilton's view that, "... any black political action that sets out to overcome white racist exploitative practices in this country has to be, by definition, out to effect some very drastic - radical - changes in the society".[7]

Historical Background :

When judged in the 'leadership context', the crusade

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6. Guy B. Johnson, "Negro Racial Movements and Leadership in the United States", American Journal of Sociology, XLII, (July 1937 - May 1938), pp. 65-69.

7. See Introduction, Charles V. Hamilton, The Black Experience in American Politics (New York, 1973).

against slavery was the most important and revolutionary wave of reform in the United States. Although, the Whites had a great deal to champion the cause of abolition of slavery from the early part of the 19th century, the Blacks did not lag behind in such a venture. The times were different; resources at their hands were meagre and only a small number had the opportunity to do so. Nevertheless, the crusade continually swept a number of such Negroes who had the avenues open to them. The Black man realized that he alone would have to fight for his cause, i.e. the abolition of slavery.

The establishment of separate houses of worship for Negroes, gave them an unusual opportunity to develop leadership. Cut off as they were from participation in the political life of the community and enjoying only a very limited amount of educational opportunities, their religious institutions served as a training ground for many types of activities.

Many of the Negro leaders in this crusade were former slaves and they contributed significantly to the platform that was engaged to the advocacy of their liberation. They marvelled their audience with the eloquence of

their speeches, despite their innate handicaps in English language and their expression. They sought integration into the political, social and economic life of the nation. They tried to achieve status in evolving American civilization.[8]

When the abolitionists began their fight against slavery the planters became more cautious with regard to Negro religious activities and undertook to control them. In Northern communities the opportunities for Negroes to secure education widened during the 19th century. The Black abolitionists were getting involved in a debate whether the free Negroes should seek a placeof freedom for themselves in West Africa.[9] The incident relates to late January in 1817. The leaders present on this occasion, debating the above issue were the three prominent black leaders, James Forten, Russell Parrott and Absalom Jones. There were quite a few clergymen who attended the meeting, John Gloucester of the African Presbyterian Church was also present. A society to this effect, by the name, American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color in the

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8. For details concerning the role that the Black preachers played, see J.H. Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, (New York 1967), pp. 162-165.

9. Benjamin Quarles, Black Abolitionists (Oxford Univ. Press, London, 1969), pp. 3-14.

United States had already been founded. The objective of the society was to rehabilitate free Negroes in West Africa. The proposition was mooted but did not get through. The abolitionists did not want to leave their slave brethren in lurch and separate themselves by settling down in Africa.

The attempts made thus reflected their desire to seek redress from slavery rather than excilement from America. They petitioned to the state and the federal governments to put an end to the slave trade and to embark upon a program of general emanicipation. The follow up of such activities continued to grip the attention of Blacks Organizations like the Free African Society of Philadelphia which passed resolutions for the abolition of slavery.[10]

The people who supported such a move of colonization and others who buttressed their policy were put to a considerable harrassment. The differences between those for colonizations and others opposed to it were sharply defined in their approaches too. The religious orientation and their religiosity brought a mild, moderate and conciliatory

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10. J. Hope Franklin, n. 8, p. 250.

tone which was particularly prevalent among the Southern Abolitionists (pro-colonizers). While even among the Southern Abolitionists, there were some who took a militant approach and defied vehemently any logic that tolerated slavery and its escape in the form of seeking colonization.

Another significant crusade that is a subject of great academic interest, in this regard, is the rebellious activities of the free Black crusaders who lost their lives in the process of redeeming their vow to seek liberation. Chief among them are the Denmark Vessey revolt, Gabriel Plot and Nat Turner's Revolt. These represented early types of pure protest leaders.[11] They showed a certain sense of desperation on their part to rip off the fabric of this evil social institution.

These isolated incidents were not related to any organisational activities. Hence they do not constitute, strictly speaking, part of the Abolition Movement that was steered by the Blacks in one form or the other. One should not fail to tribute these small number of people, who were

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11. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, Vol. II (New York, 1972), p. 736.

circumvented by forces around them, and yet contributed significantly towards the uplift of their race. The result and success of such effort need not obliterate the judgement of a historian in not paying adequate tribute to their zeal and passion with which they worked towards helping their brethren. The situation that confronted the Blacks in the United States in the ante-bellum period was an extremely difficult and complex one. The Blacks never accepted the fact of their enslavement willingly, or easily. Herbert Aptheker and others have documented the many slave revolts that occured in the history of Black servitude in the United States.[12] It is apparent that the Black leadership that existed during this period had taken cognizance of its limitations and realized the futility of any armed insurrection. The uniform expousal of some form of Black nationalism by Black leaders like Martin Delany, Henry Highland Garnet, J.T. Molly and Frederick Douglass, seem to be a reaction to the events of the times.

It was not, however, until 1830's and a decade later that a great fillip was received by the Blacks in their

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12. Herbert Aptheker, American Negro Slave Revolts, (New York, 1974 /1943/).

crusade against slavery. The Black Abolitionists were soon joined by a host of White Abolitionists. The Whites attempted hereafter to channelise their support which fitfully conjoined with the aspirations of the Blacks. A very interesting reference on the Negro abolitionists which a scholar cannot afford to ignore is Herbert Apthekar, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States (New York, 1951). Apthekar has brought out the relevant source materials to provide an insight to the readers on the activities and achievements of such Black abolitionists. Equally significant is the collection of orations of the great Black pioneer orators in Carter I. Woodson, ed., Negro Orators and their Orations (Washington, 1925).[13] All these materials do indicate a great deal of uneasiness that existed among slaves and the ways they reacted to this institution.

In September, 1829, David Walker's Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World appeared. It was one of the

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13. The general works on this period include: James C. Curtis and Lewis L. Gould, eds., The Black experience in America: Selected Essays (Austin, 1970); Harold Cruse, Rebellion or Revolution (New York, 1968); and Engene D. Genovese, Red and Black: Marxian Exploration and Southern and Afro-American History, (New York, 1968).

most vigorous denunciations of slavery ever to be printed in the United States.[14] David Walker was a Black who had settled down in Boston. In his appeal he had issued a warning to the White Americans in the form of a pamphlet in which he said that it was high time for the whitemen that they got rid of their sins of keeping Negroes in bondage. His words had immediate effect on North Carolina and Georgia which enacted laws to prohibit the circulation of such inflammatory materials. The Blacks had begun feeling the impact of it. Now it was only with the passage of a few years that the Blacks and White soon got so thoroughly involved in the abolition of slavery that the importance of the White Liberterian, headed by the dynamic personality of William Lloyd Garrison, cannot be separated and underestimated.

Around this period, the Abolitionist Movement had dipped to a low key. "It was at this time", reports Louis Ruchames, "That William Lloyd Garrison appeared on the scene with a revolutionary philosophy". He challenged every basic assumption of the existing anti-slavery societies. He built "new foundations, and created a movement which ultimately brought about the destruction of slavery".[15] Garrison was,

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14. John Hope Franklin, n. 8, p. 243.

15. See Introduction, Louis Ruchames, The Abolitionists: A Collection of Their Writing (New York, 1963), p.25.

thus, regarded "the mastermind of the great revolution". Various types of activities began rebounding as a result of Garrison's fillip to the movement. On 6 January 1832, the New England Anti-Slavery Society was formed. Its constitution was avowed to the principle of immediate emancipation. Voices were heared in favour of forming a national anti-slavery organisation which should be based on the principle of immediate, unconditional emancipation.[16]

This showed a new direction to the Blacks in order to attain political, and social recognition of the cause. The funds were raised by such organizations and donations, no matter how small in amount, continued to flow in. Among the leading stars of the Black Abolitionists, Frederick Douglass was the most influential of the former slaves. Douglass had escaped from slavery from his master in Maryland in 1838. He settled down in New Bedford, Massachusetts. In 1841, he became an agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and lectured in the north of the United States as well as in England. Douglass' life was a moral crusade for the abolition of slavery and racial discrimination. He stood for the attainment of civil and political

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16. Ibid.

rights and equality before the law, as also for the assimilation of Negroes into the American society.[17]

The American Colonisation Societies aimed at resettling freed Negroes in Africa. The common feature of all these societies was their concerted effort towards political freedom a manly elevation in the attainment of a high level of civilized achievement which they thought the Negro had no opportunity to pursue in their country.[18] Frederick Douglass was a lifelong enemy of colonization schemes of, both, white's as well as that of the Negroes. As a solution to slavery, emigrationism, in his view, was simply an evasion of the problem, for one should strike at an injustice in the place where it existed.

Douglass refused to accept the fact of color prejudice in general as natural and hence, permanent. He boldly declared that the Negro could be politically assimilated and, indeed, would have to be if the republic were not

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17. August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, ed., Along the Color Line (Univ. of Illinois Press, 1976), p. 4.

18. A fair account of emigrationists is given in Howard Brotz ed., Negro Social and Political, 1850-1920 (Basic Books, Inc., Press, New York, 1966), pp. 1-8.

to destroy its principles. He refused to accept that justice for the Negro. His political assimilation requires his biological amalgamation.[19] It is important to understand what is meant by assimilation. In so far as assimilation is the acquisition of cultural, moral and political standards and habits, it is a learning, not a biological process. According to Douglass, assimilation was not simply a matter of legal or political justice but entailed the elevation of the Negro. He was not against racial intermarriage. According to him, such a thing would lead to the absorption of the Negro, theoretically and practically his goal was to affirm the irrelevance to public policy of such theoretical reflections about the future.[20]

Douglass was a middle-class orientation toward the solution of the problems facing American Negroes. The solution to race problems, he said, "... lay in a sincere effort to apply the moral principles upon which the Republic was founded".[21] In his 1848 article, "What are the Colored People Doing for Themselves", he asserted a thesis that

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19. Ibid, p. 7

20. Ibid, p. 8

21. Meier and Rudwick, n. 17, p. 9.

later became the basis of a controversy between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois. The question was whether the elevation of the Negro would take place through the creation of a distinguished elite or whether it required a general change in the people as a whole. Douglass opted for the latter. Douglass' interest in the welfare of the Negro led him to become an advocate of industrial education. He opposed Jim Crow wherever it appeared. To him, the struggle of the colored man was a cause of the larger human struggle.

The Marxist-oriented historian, Philip S. Foner, viewed Douglass as the personifcation of the struggle against evils inherent in the American Society of his day. Foner places him in a class he reserves only for Jefforson and Lincoln.

Douglass' public career during the abolitionist period may be divided into two parts: the 1840s when he followed the moral suasion tactics of the Garrisonians, and the 1850s when he espoused the cause of political abolition. August Meier has done a case study of the kind of Negro protest led by Douglass.[22] In this article Meier points out that from

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22. August Meier, "Frederick Douglass' Vision forAmerica: A Case Study in the 19th Century Negro Protest", republished in Quarles, ed., Black Abolitionists, n.34

1851 onwards, agitation for political rights and stress upon the value of political activity became one of the most important themes in Douglass' thinking. In the years from the founding of North Star to the election of Lincoln, Douglass' programme for the advancement of free Negroes consisted of three principal elements: a major emphasis on protest and citizenship rights, and secondary emphasis on self-help, race pride and racial solidarity on the one hand, and economic development on the other.

It is very significant to note that over a generation before industiral education became a major plank in Booker T. Washington's platform, arguments almost identical to these had been utilized by Frederick Douglass. Douglass emphasized training for the trades over education for the learned professions. For Douglass, the acquisition of morality and property was a supplement instrument in the struggle for equal rights. The similairty between these two great leaders can also be seen, while speaking at the 13th anniversary meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in December 1863, Douglass suggested, "the question is: Can the white and colored peoples of this country be blended into a common nationality....."[23] Both basically had a middle-

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23. Meier & Rudwick, n. 17, p. 15.

class orientation towards the solution of the problems facing American Negroes.

Douglass did not confine his activities to America alone. He went abroad and solicited the support for his cause. The object of publishing his famous journal was:

> ...to attack Slavery in all its forms and aspects; advocate 'universal Emancipation'; promote the Moral and Intellectual Improvement of the COLOURED PEOPLE; and hasten the day of FREEDOM to the Three Millions of our "Enslaved fellow Countrymen.[24]

Douglass made the Abolition Movement his primary mission. To that extent, he can be called a giant among his contemporaries. The Blacks certainly made great strides in their movement. The constitutional, political and social challenges from the White Society were far too stupendous. The Black problem was resolved only by the Civil War.

One would agree with August Meier when he writes, "In short, during his last years, Douglass was the protest and assimilationist leader epitomized".[25]

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24. Philip S. F. ed., The Life and Writings of Frederick (New York, 1950-1975), Vol. 5, p. 69.

25. Meier, n.17, p.23

Chapter - II

"...the man who bore the lashes", Booker T. Washington

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Early Life:

The Black history in America is full of its heroes. The names that figure during the period of slavery are numerous as discussed earlier. Among a few leading ones, Booker T. Washington has been a unique personality. He was born in 1856 on a plantation in Virginia. The Census Report of 1860 gives the year of Washington's birth as 1856.[1] The details furnished in this regard suggest that his mother who was a slave worked in the family of her master, called James Burroughs. She was in the custody of her master, James Burroughs when Booker T. Washington was born.

Then came the tumultuous years of the Civil War (1861-1865). By the famous proclamation of 1863, Abraham Lincoln made the historic decision to set all slaves free.

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1. According to the 1860 census, Washington's year of birth is 1856; though in his autobiography he gives, "1858 or 1859" as his birth year. No date is mentioned. Census Report taken from Louis R. Harlan, et. al., The Booker T. Washington Papers, Vol. 2 (Univ. of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1973), p. 3.

Booker T. Washington and his mother, as the story goes, were called to the "big house" by their master, Burroughs and they were told that they were free and were no more slaves.

Washington recalls in his autobiography: "This act was hailed with joy by all the slaves, but it threw a tremendous responsibility upon my mother, as well as upon the other slaves".[2] Hereafter, they were supposed to lead their lives independently. There was nobody to provide them the basic necessities of life. Nor were they skilled in any profession. Washington confesses: "Although I was born a slaves, I was too young to experience much of its hardship".[3] Washington paid a compliment to his master when he said that his owners were "not so cruel as were many others".

After the Declaration of the Emancipation Proclamation, Negroes wanted to change their names and leave the plantations of the South so that they felt sure that they were free. During the 1870's, his mother left South Virginia

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2. Booker T. Washington, The Story of My Life and Work (J.L. Nichols & Co., 1900), p. 13. This book was reprinted in The Booker T. Washington Papers, Vol. 1, ed. by Harlan, (Univ. of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1972).

3. Ibid., p. 12.

and went to Malden county in West Virginia. There she married a man known as Washington Ferguson.

Booker's inquisitiveness as a slave child was immense. He had no access to School, but he always carried the books of his master's children as an attendent. He was not allowed to enter the School as he was a slave child. But he learnt a good deal at the doorsteps of the School, while he awaited for his Master's children. This is how he gradually developed an interest in reading and writing. His curosity did not stop here. Working in the salt industry with his step father, Booker continued his intense desire to learn to read.[4] His mother who had a deep impact on him provided him with lessons in virtue of thrift. She managed to get hold of a book for his son. She continued to aid him fully and helped him fulfill his educational ambition.

It was during this time that a school was opened for the colored children in the village. Booker was admitted to this school. A black man, called William Davis became Booker's first teacher. This school was owned by the freedmen of the Malden area. They evolved an ingenious idea to

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4. Booker T. Washington, UP From Slavery (New York 1901).

pay him the tution fees by a small subscription which each family would contribute monthly. He would eat and sleep one day with one family and the next with another.[5] In 1867, Davis felt that the black schools in the Malden area, were not well received by the whites, whereas the Freedmen's Bureau encouraged them. It is the same school about which Washington mentions in his autobiography, Up from Slavery, but does not mention his teacher's name.[6] He could not continue regularly attending the school for too long. Somehow, he was able to manage with some education studying at night and on Sundays. Then one day, he heard about a great school for colored people somewhere in Virginia. Without having any knowledge about it, he decided to go to the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia.

For about a year or little more, Booker had to work as a house-boy in the family of General Lewis Ruffner, the owner of the salt-furnace and coal-mine. Mrs. Ruffner, known for her strict behaviour, soon became one of his best

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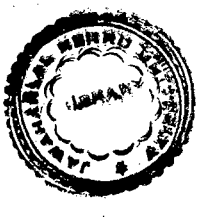
5. Details about the School have been taken from, Harlan, et. al., n.1, pp. 17-18.

6. Booker T. Washington, n. 4, p. 36.



friends. Here too, Booker did not leave any moment to keep up with whatever little he could grasp, even though the opportunity came at night. He received full encouragement of Mrs. Ruffner to get education. In the fall of 1872, Booker decided to leave for Hampton.

However unwilling, Booker's mother was to part with her son. She gave her consent to his decision to go to Hampton. In his journey from Malden to Hampton, Booker realised the subtleties of the racial difference being practiced by the Whites toward his race. After reaching Hampton Institute, Booker presented himself, with all his humble background, to the Lady Principal, Miss Mary F. Mackie. She asked Booker to clean a room and also asked some questions. After clearing his "sweeping examination",[7] Booker was given admission in the Hampton Institute. The difficulties that he faced in his boyhood made Booker a man with stoic courage and a determined person in the pursuit of his ambition. He was also influenced by General Samuel C. Armstrong, who guided him at every step uhtil his death in 1893. General Armstrong was the Principal at the Hampton Institute. It was he who helped Booker, a great deal,

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7. Harlan, et. al, n. 1, p. 21.

morally and spiritually. While giving due credit to General Armstrong's influence, Booker says that, "He was a man who could not endure for a minute hypocrisy or want of truth in any one. This moral lesson he impressed upon every one who came in contact with him".[8] Booker inherited this idea of General's social philosophy as the guiding principle of his life.

Nathalie Lord who influenced Booker as a teacher besides the other great personalities, was the most helpful lady whom Booker respected. He attended her Sunday-school classes and studied the Bible under her direction. She also taught him the art of public speaking and later helped him prepare his post graduate oration - "The Force That Wins" at the 1879 Hampton Commencement. The advantages of industrial education and the ideas of puritan values were also stressed by Miss Lord. Throughout her career she gave Booker frank and cogent advice and encouraged him to continue the Hampton approach to educational and social philosophy.

Even when Booker left the School, he owed sixteen dollars to the institution. This clearly showed the difficulties he feced in financing his education.

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8. Ibid.

The self-less regard for human values by his teachers at Hampton made a deep impact on Booker T. Washington. The Protestant virtues: "industry, frugality, cleanliness, temperance, order, decorum and punctuality, became the virtues of his life too".[9] This kind of education mentally prepared Washington to function within the existing social system a trait that was to go a long way in his life. The success that one could attribute to him was in his ability to make the most out of the prevailing social ethos.

> '... I repeat for emphasis that any work looking towards the permanent improvement of the Negro South must have for one of its aims the fitting of him to live friendly and peaceably with his white neighbors both socially and politically.[10]

His was the schooling which was somewhat limited in the context of its pragmatism where even the smallest success and achievement became his objective. But it was a training that knew no limits to challenges in life.

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9. Harlan, et. al., n. 1, p. xxvi.

10. "The Educational Outlook in the South", by Booker T. Washington, in Howard Brotz, ed., Negro Social and Political Thought, 1850-1920, (Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, New York, 1966), p. 353.

After having experimented with other careers, for several years, including politics and the Baptist Ministry, Booker returned to Hampton in 1879 as a teacher and a dormitory supervisor when he helped the students community a great deal.

In May 1881, Gen. Armstrong received a letter from a gentleman in Alabama asking him to recommend a person who could take charge of a school which was to be set up for the colored people, in the little twon of Tuskegee. Booker T. Washington became the obvious name to Samuel Armstrong. The authorities agreed, after a slight hesitation in appointing a coloured teacher. Tuskegee was a town which was well known as the Black Belt of the South. In this county the whites were outnumbered by the Blacks. Booker founded the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute on the Hampton model. To preside over the Tuskegee Institute, Washington had to combine all of his ability as a shrewd politician and a preacher.

Booker T. Washington took with him to Tuskegee not only educational methods but also the basic assumptions regarding the Negro race in America. Since he had an intimate knowledge of his own race, he did not regard that emancipation brought the millennium, and that the freedmen

could not get a position of equality. He found to his dismay that the Negroes in America tended to believe as did the whites, that a Negro was inferior in his cultural, social and economic heritage. Washington wanted to stem such a feeling of inferiority among his brethren. He felt that unless a Negro feels innately confident about himself, he cannot face the white world. This plan called for a long-phased orientation. Washington felt that too much emphasis was being laid on the importance of securing the political rights and getting the Blacks on voting lists and their holding political offices. He, instead, wanted to prepare them for the highest qualities of citizenship.

The Negro must prove his worth, became the advocacy of Washington. That he should prove worthy of his freedom became his focus. His shortcomings could be remedied through education. The accomplishment in the realm of education would require much more than a mere academic training. A systematic method of education was to be imparted. After he had made his foundations secure, could he think of "cultural" training. Learning how to make a living was much more necessary than learning to enjoy life. His strategy was to gain more for his cause by praising the virtues of

the White South than by condemning its faults. The school was transformed from an "experiment" into "an established fact" during the next fifteen years.[11] This was indeed a remarkable success of Washington's strategy.

Self-help - Self-reliance :

At Tuskegee, lessons in self-help and self-reliance were given to all the students. They practically had to do everything that they needed in their everyday life - from tilling their land to erecting their own buildings. Relating to the importance of being self-reliant, Washington said, "The individual who can do something that the world wants done, will in the end, make his way regardless of his race."[12]

To fight off his critics and to retain his power, however, Washington showed a different personality. He felt the need to assume a certain public role no matter what he himself believed in. Any action that might offend the whites, Washington tried to do it clandestinely. During the period of 1880's and 1890's he had to face several political and economic challenges.

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11. Samuel R. Spencer, Jr., Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life (Boston and Toronto, Brom and Co., 1955), p. 68.

12. Washington, n. 1, p. xxv.

His Ideological Stance :

It has usually been suggested that the Civil War was fought for the liberation of Blacks from the human bondage, and the Reconstruction that followed after the war, held a great deal of promise for Blacks to restore themselves, economically, politically and socially. But very little improvement was discernible either in the economic or in the social status of the Blacks at the end of Reconstruction. Moreover, whatever political gains they had achieved were taken away by the vindictive attitudes of some of the southern terrorist societies, famous among them being, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK).

However, in the field of education some progress was made. Many schools were started at that time and it was hoped that Negroes would make some progress through education. To escape from the indignities imposed by the southern whitemen, the Negroes viewed education as a means to escape their inhumanity.

Many church organizations tired to help the Negroes. The philanthropists too contributed substantially in improving the status of the Negro. But education brought many

problems for the Negroes. Many people felt that the success or failure of the Negro in adjusting himself depended on the type of education, he was exposed to.

The role of Booker T. Washington in the history of American education and of race relations, infact, is the most significant one. The years that Washington spent at Hampton Institute brought about transformation of his life and thought. These years at Hampton have also been called as "the years in which he was born again". Washington found a father figure in General Samuel C. Armstrong, his teacher at the School. Armstrong's idea of social philosophy became the beacon that guided Washington throughout his life. Washington became the most eloquent exponent of the ideals he enunciated. He emphasized on Negro achievements by acquiring vocations and skills, which would in the long run be found useful for the world.

In 1881, Washington went to Tuskegee. He did not find any of the equipment to develop an educational institution. He promulgated a two-fold task to secure the necessary resources by which he could conduct the school. At the same time, he felt an urgent need to conciliate with

the white south. In his task, Washington received full cooperation of the students. They helped in constructing the building. They produced and cooked their own food. Washington wanted to assure the Southern Whites that the education of the Negroes would serve the interest of the South.

Booker T. Washington saw the effects of such a programme to his advantage. He became convinced that he could provide a panacea to the deteriorating conditions in the South by elevating the status of the Negro in the economic sense. He contended that the basis of race advancement should be economic and moral rather than political. Economic prosperity and economic independence was regarded as the vital need of the hour. This would, in turn, make the Negro acceptable in the white society.

The doctrine of "self-help" was a mixture of traditional Puritan gospel of work and Emersonian self-reliance.[13] Booker T. Washington preached the dignity of labor, and emphasized the importance of self-reliance. Washington said that the Negro be, "himself, not a second - a third-rate imitation of someone else".[14] For the problems of the

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13. Samuel R. Spencer, n. 11, p. 94.
14. Ibid.

Negro could be solved neither by the Freedmen's Bureau nor by the federal government. The Negroes could not even seek the aid and protection of the northerners.

Booker T. Washington justified the need for a programme of industrial education for the blacks as early as 1882. In a speech before the Alabama State Teacher's Association, he said :

> I think that three distinct advantages may be claimed for such an education. First - under wise management it aids the student in securing mental training; secondly, it teaches him how to earn a living; and, thirdly, it teaches him the dignity of labor.[15]

Although, Washington very rightly accepted the fact that he was not the first person to lay stress on industrial education. He gives Napolean Bonaparte the credit of putting into practice the idea of combining mental and manual training.[16]

It has been maintained that Booker is accredited for

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15. Harlan, et. al., n. 1, pp. 191-92.

16. Edward W. Farrison, "Booker T. Washington: A study in Educational Leadership," South Atlantic Quarterly, XLI (July, 1942), pp. 313-17.

developing a new theory of education. Edward W. Farrison, an historian, who has extensively worked on the type of educational leadership provided by Washington. While rejecting this view, contends that the lessons Washington taught were the same as the "gospel of work" preached by Thomas Carlyle. The lessons in economy and thrift were put fourth by Benjamin Franklin.[17] Though the idea was not new, but the novelty lay in the way he moulded it by the pressures of his time.

At the time when Tuskegee was only three years old, Washington delivered a speech before the National Education Association in Madison. He spoke nothing against the South. In his address, he laid the grounds for a policy of cooperation to be pursued between the two races. He said, "Any movement for the elevation of the Southern Negro in order to be successful, must have, to a certain extent, the cooperation of the Southern Whites."[18]

Speaking for the first time on the broad question of Civil Rights, Washington emphasized that, "brains, property,

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17. Ibid.

18. Harlan, et. al., n. 1, p. 257.

and character for the Negro will settle the question of Civil Rights. The best course to pursue in regard to the Civil Rights Bill in the South is to let it alone."[19]

He further said in the Madison Address that it was in the South that the Negro can achieve considerable success. "It kills two birds with one stone, ... secures the cooperation of the whites, and does the best possible thing for the black man".[20] It appears from his speech that he was appealing to his Northern audience to assist the South, in general, and Negroes, in particular. Washington sought to produce a moral man in a society where all men would be considered men.

In all the speeches, that Washington addressed, "his concern for his race seems as consistent as his attention to what he considered primary issues".[21]

Washington stressed the solidarity of interest between Negro and White man in a gradual, evolutionary approach.

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19. Ibid, p. 259.

20. Ibid, pp. 260-1.

21. A Young, "The Educational Philosophy of Booker T. Washington: A Perspective for Black Liberation", Phylon, Vol. 37, Fall, 1976, no. 3, p. 231.

He was invited to speak before a biracial audience gathered for the opening of 1895, Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition, Georgia. Though this address was not his first public speech but it made him the Negro leader of the hour. He was the first Negro ever to address such a large group of Southern Whites. He reasserted his conviction that the Negro must help himself through economic development rather than political agitation. As one writer put the novelty of this address: "First, he talked specifically about social equality, a matter he had not mentioned before. Second, he consciously attempted to set forth in integrated fashion what the South, and the entire nation, had been searching for a practical programme of Negro - White relationships".[22]

Louis R. Harlan another eminent writer on this subject says that Booker T. Washington had traced an analogy between the conditions of American Negroes with those of the African colonies. Both were politically disfranchised, socially subordinated, and economically exploited. His cooperation with white colonial authorities and promoters

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22. Samuel Spencer, n. 14, p. 10.

in Africa was in harmony with his public acceptance of most of the Southern white racial practices and his partnership with American White elite groups of both North and South.[23]

Washington was an advocate of Black nationalism, Harold Cruse, Black Social Critic and Historian, argued that the Tuskegee principal was "...the Negro bourgeois prophet par excellence" who "laid the basic economic foundation and motivation for Negro nationalism in America".[24]

Perception of the Black Movement :

The question of the improvement of the status of the Negro in America created much dissension and debate in black communities. In the period before 1895, no Negro leader of eminence ever floated the idea of submission to the will of the white ruling class.

"The accommodationist wing of Negro leadership, where it existed prior to 1895, was generally impotent and reduced

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23. Louis R. Harlan, "Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden", American Historical Review, Vol. 71, no. 2, Jan. 1966, pp. 441-67.

24. f.n. quoted in Manning Marable, "The Pan African of Booker T. Washington: A Reappraisal", Claflin College Review, (Place of Publication not mentioned), (May 1978), p. 1.

to a shadowy existence" commented the noted author, Jack Abramowitz.[25] He contends that Frederick Douglass' death in 1895 cleared the way for leadership of the Accommodationist.

Washington's leadership can be best analysed if the times in which he lived are taken into consideration. The Blacks and the Whites were plagued with the glaring problems of an industrialized, urbanized, and disorganised society. The nation was gripped in the mid 1890's, by the hollowness and despair of the economic depression. The business people, farmers, and destitute Black and White share croppers searched a way out of this gloom. There were riots, bloodshed, strikes, property damage and bitter race conflicts. The worst to suffer were the Blacks. Direct political agitation had proved to be painful and costly for the Blacks in the mid-1890's.[26] They wanted a new doctrine, a new movement, or a new leader to lead them out of the depressed economy.

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25. Jack Abramowitz, "The Emergence of Booker T. Washington as a National Negro Leader," Social Education, XXXII (May, 1968), p. 445.

26. D.J. Calista, "Booker T. Washington: Another Look", Journal of Negro History, Vol. 49, no. 4, Oct. 1964, p. 242.

The time was ripe for new black leadership, new doctrines and new "solutions". The nation was in need of a rhetoric of compromise and Black people were in need of a leader who could gain the respect and ear of the government. The leader needed to be virtually all things to all people, his rhetoric to be successful, could not be extreme in any sense.[27]

In the midst of these conditions, Booker T. Washington was invited to deliver the famous Atlanta Speech. The prestige that White acclaim gave Washington, together with his shrewdness and his tireless capacity to organize, made him the leading spokesman of the blacks in America.

There could be a number of factors that accounted for Washington's success. One of the most important was the timing. The Atlanta Speech in the Fall of 1895, came at the peak of the Negro's troubles. By the mid-1890's, the forces working against the Negro suddenly came to the fore: depression raged on, he was deserted by the government, friends disappeared, disfranchisement picked up steam,

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27. For details, see, M. Cummings, "Historical Setting for Booker T. Washington and the Rhetoric of Compromise, 1895", Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 8, no. 1, (Sept. 1977), p. 76.

lynchings ran rampant, and then Frederick Douglass died. Washington gave a new hope to the Negroes at Atlanta.

The question that arises is : How did Washington become so prominent a Negro leader on the occassion of the Atlanta Speech. The historian, Jack Abramowitz, surveyed the Negro press for Sept. 1895 and found no mention of the speech prior to its delivery.[28] The blacks responded to the speech in ambivalence as compared to the response by the Whites. This was due to the fact that he proposed to barter their Civil and Political Rights for inter-racial peace and economic opportunities. Perhaps, Washington's obscurity before 1895 was overstated by Abramowitz, but one agrees with him that blacks had no significant role to play in making Washington an established Black leader. It is possible that Washington's racial compromise of 1895, as August Meier noted, "... expressed Negro accommodation to the social condition implicit in the earlier compromise of 1877.[29]

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28. Jack Abramowitz, n. 26, p. 447.

29. August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington, (Univ. of Michigan, 1963), p.25.

Washington's advocacy to Blacks was to stop seeking social and political equality. He, instead, emphasized on their attainment of economic respectability. "Whites were urged to lessen their antagonism toward Blacks if they expected to get rich, for it could not be done without Black people's help...."[30]

A Representative of the New York World, wrote, about Booker T. Washington that he "... must rank from this time forth as the foremost man of his race in America".[31] The same year Hon. Clark Howell, Editor of the Constitution wrote to the Editor of the World:

> "It was an epoch-making talk, and marks distinctly a turning point in the progress of the Negro race, and its effects were immediate in bringing about a perfect understanding between the whites and blacks of the South. The address was a revelation. It was the first time that a Negro orator had appeared on a similar occassion before a Southern audience."[32]

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30. M. Cummings, "Historical Setting for Booker T. Washington and the Rhetoric of Compromise, 1895", Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 8, no. 1, (Sept. 1977), p. 77.

31. Harlan, et. al., n. 1, p. 78.

32. Ibid, p. 79.

Washington believed that educational qualification were very essential to achieve the political rights of the Blacks. In a letter to John Elbert McConnell, Washington wrote, "It will tend to lessen the political animosity between the black and white races since the leading whites now claim that the Negro is thwarted".[3] His goal was this, a complete and unqualified integration of the Black into American society. He could realize that the Black could do little at that time to block the current of discrimination, and hence emphasized on the practical and the feasible aspects of those times. He based his hope for the elimination of discrimination. He firmly believed that successful competition with whites in the economic realm would raise the Black in the estimation of the white man and thereby break down their long held prejudices.

Washington always wanted assimilation of his race into the White America, but not at the cost of equality. This is very clearly shown in his letter to the Editor of the Montgomery Adviser :

> "If the railroad officials do not want to let us enter the first-class car occupied by white passengers, let them give us a

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33. Ibid, (Letter to John Elbert McConnell, Dec, 17, 1885), p. 284.

> separate one just as good in every particular and just as exclusive, and there will be no complaint. We have no desire to mix.[34]

Speeking as early as 1884, Washington was emphasizing on theprocurement of the civil rights. He said, "Brains, property, and character for the Negro will settle the question of civil rights. The best course to pursue in regard to the civil rights bill in the South is to let it alone; and it will settle itself."[35]

Washington always tried to suggest that it was the duty of the government to uplift the Negro from ignorance and to make him a full citizen of the United States. He further remarked: "This, I take, to be the white man's burden just now - no, no, not his burden, but his privilege, his opportunity, to give the black man right, to give him strength, skill of hand, lightness of mind, and honesty of heart."[36]

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34. Harlan, et. al., n. 1 (Letter to Editor of the Montogomery Adviser, April 24, 1885), p. 272. This speech also reprinted in E. Davidson Washington, ed., Selected Speeches of Booker T. Washington. (Doubleday,

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

Reiterating on his emphasis on equal opportunities, Washington later said:

> Nothing that I have said is meant to indicate that we should surrender any rights that are guaranteed to us by any of the state and federal laws. We should do our utmost in every part of the country to prove to the world that we are worthy of the same protection of the law that is guaranteed to any other class of citizens.[36]

Booker T. Washington became increasingly involved in the problems of the national Black community between the years 1895 and 1898. This was a time of increased racial segregation. The Plessy vs. Fergusson decision established the "separate but equal" doctrine not only in transporation but in public accommodations and education.[37] Washington reacted strongly to this decision and several years later, in response to the rising tide of discrimination, he delivered the controversial Peace Jubilee

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36. Washington, n. 35, p. 85.

37. For details about the Act, see John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans. (New York), 1956, p. 342.

Speech. He called upon the south to bury racial and sectional prejudice in the trenches of San Zuan Hill, where black and white, northerner and southerner, had united in a fight for freedom.

Disfranchisement was accompanied by the adoption of more and more stringant Jim Crow laws. There was a proliferation of state and local segregation laws, ranging from residential zoning ordinances and separate coach laws to ordinances which prohibited white and Negro labourers from working in the same room of a factory. Lynchings of Negroes in the United States reached a peak in the period between 1890 and 1910. The Race riots occured in several southern cities in the wake of disfranchisement campaigns.

Washington fought the unfairness of the Jim Crow railroad, both, openly and secretly. Publicly, he protested only against unequal facilities rather than separation itself. Behind the scenes, Washington was more militant.[38]

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38. For detailed account of Washington's secret activities see, Louis R. Harlan, "The Secret Life of Booker T. Washington, in Journal of Southern History, 37, 3 (Aug. 1971), pp. 393-416.

Washington's views never changed. Speaking about the crucial issue of black advancement, Washington said that, let the Negro fit himself to be one of the units that make up the conservative body of the government then all his legal and political right would be accorded him.[39]

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39. Harlan, et. al., Vol. 3, 1889-95 (Univ. ofIllinois Press, 1974). An Account of Testimony before the house committee an appropriation, May 15, 19 , pp. 422-423.

Chapter - III

"The Black Titan"

Chapter - III

"The Black Titan"

Washington held the Sweep of the Black Movement during the latter part of the nineteenth century. His role was not meagre. But as it happens in all movements, a new star was to emerge on the firmament. His role was going to be aggressive and forthright in building the Black Movement. He would loom large on the American scene for many years to come. This was W.E.B. Du Bois.

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was born on 23rd February, 1868. Du Bois, in summing up his varied racial background, said he was born "with a flood of Negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch, but thank God ! no 'Anglo-Saxon'.[1] Highlighting the significance of the year he was born, DuBois in his autobiography said: "... my birth place was less important than my birth-time. The Civil War had closed but three years earlier and 1868 was the year in which the freedmen of the South were enfran-

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1. DuBois, Dark Water; Voices from Within the Veil (New York, 1969), p. 9.

chised and for the first time as a mass took part in government."[2]

Young Dubois was very close to his mother. He writes, "She was rather silent but very determined and very patient. My father, a light mulatto, died in my infancy.. I do not remember him."[3] His mother stressed the virtues of diligence, optimism, and religion. DuBois did not have any financial difficulties. "I had a pleasant childhood. I can remember no poverty, although my family was certainly poor".[4]

DuBois had a formidable and lifelong grasp of the rules of Puritan ethics. "The decisive factor in shaping DuBois' philosophy was the seriousness and combativeness of the Calvinism in which he was tutored".[5]

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2. DuBois, Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept (New York, 1968), p. 8.

3. Ibid, pp. 11-12.

4. Philip S. Foner, W.E.B. DuBois Speaks: Speeches and Addresses, 1890-1919, (New York, 1972), p. 22.

5. Taken from Arnold Rampersad, The Art and Imagination of W.E.B. DuBois, (Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1976), p. 5.

When he was growing as a young man, he showed his keen interest in politics. He read of the contest of the Democratic and Republican parties in the newspaper columns. He wrote, "I do not remember hearing anything said about the Fifteenth Amendment which became law in 1870; but there were a few new colored people, 'contrabands', who came to town".[6]

Gradually, he realized that some people in town considered his brown skin a "misfortune". He became very sensitive to the reactions of others. As a high school student, DuBois thought that hard study would grant him immunity to the racial disabilities. It seemed to him that earnest effort in all he attempted was the only way "to equal whites".[7]

His first real experience of "feeling unwanted came", wrote Dubois, "when his classmates decided to exchange visiting cards. The exchange was merry, till one girl... refused it preemptorily, with a glance".[8] He was

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6. Foner, n. 4, p. 23.

7. DuBois, "My Evolving Programme for Negro Freedom", in Rayford Logan, What the Negro Wants (Chapel Hill, 1944), p. 34.

8. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk, (New York, 1903), p. 2.

a bright boy in school and took special delight in surpassing his white fellows.

It is true that this sense of isolation from the Whites in Great Barrington, aroused a keen concern in DuBois for the development of his race. He drew inspiration from anti-slavery heroes. He said in 1885: "When I was graduated from the high school we all had speeches and mine was on Wendell Phillips".[9] He hoped to attent Harvard College, but he had to temporarily give up his dream since he had no funds.

A gifted student, DuBois earned a scholarship from white neighbours and in 1885 entered Tennessee's Fisk University -- an institute for the education of freedmen. He was excited about the chance to go into the South and especially having an opportunity of meeting Negroes of his own age and educational background. Enrolling at Fisk University in the fall of 1885, DuBois embraced the people of his own color, "who it seemed were bound to be my new and exciting and eternal ties".[10] He recalls; "Into this world I leapt

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9. Foner, n. 4, p. 26.

10. DuBois, n. 2, p. 24.

with enthusiasm. A new loyalty and allegience replaced my Americanism; henceforward I was a Negro".[11] He began to concentrate on a race-centered programme designed to improve Negro living conditions. DuBois' racial pride swelled as his classmates recalled the institution of slavery and he witnessed first hand the Reconstruction era's lingering racial oppression. How the existing racial conditions affected him is reflected in his autobiography.

> Lynching was a continuing and recurrent horror during my college day, from 1885 through 1894, seventeen hundred Negroes were Lynched in America. Each death was a scar upon my soul, and led me on to conceive the plight of other minority groups....[12]

Educated Blacks, DuBois believed, were obligated to end the ignorance and suppression of the Black masses. He vowed to became the leader of this "Talented Tenth".

He earned his A.B. Degree at Fisk in 1888. At Fisk he began writing and also did a bit of public speaking. He edited a news magazine called the Fisk Herald. He became an impassioned orator and developed a belligerent attitude towards the color line.

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11. DuBois, The Autobiography of DuBois ed., by H. Apthekar, (International Publishers Co., Ltd, 1968), p. 108.

12. DuBois, n. 1, p. 29.

He enrolled himself for further studies at Harvard College. Here, he studied under some of the most inspiring teachers; William James in Psychology, Santayans in Philosophy, and Albert Bushnell Hart in History.

At Harvard, he earned a second A.B. degree in 1890 and a Master's degree in 1891. Following two years of further graduate work in history, DuBois spent three semesters at the university of Berlin in Germany.

In 1894 he returned to Harvard and the following year earned the first Harvard doctorate ever awarded to a Black. Hereafter, DuBois set himself to intellectual activities. As an educator and a researcher, he carried out a scientfic-sociological investigation of his people and the society in general. He conducted door-todoor inquiries on family status, morality, occupation and religion. He gathered some of the facts that he hoped would shatter the existing racist stereo type ideas. In an attempt to enlighten educated whites, DuBois published several articles in magazines like Dial, Collier's and Atlantic Monthly which were being published in the United States and were popular, both in South as well as North.

Until the end of the nineteenth century, he believed that scientific fact and education would bring about a new era of racial understanding. He, however, was ill prepared for the heightened racism of the early twentieth century. DuBois concluded that social change could be accomplished only through Black agitation and the direct action of protests.

His Ideas :

Towards the end of the nineteenth and in the early years of the twentieth century, W.E.B. DuBois enunciated most of his ideas that distinguished his approach from that of others in the years that followed. The most important concept in his ideology was the "two-ness" of Afro-American life. He sought the achievement of first-class citizenship and the conservation of racial identity and integrity. Besides, he called for racial pride. All Black groups should evolve concerted action. The "Talented Tenth" must serve the community. The agitations and propaganda to gain political, economic and social equality, were extremely necessary. The Pan-Africanism and Socialism became the Key Words of his programme.

DuBois' experiences stimulated his desire to know more about the circumstances that condemned his people to a

life of slavery and an existence that was scarcely above degradation. He wanted to know all about his ancestors in order to understand the inception of the institution of slavery. DuBois wanted "... to make a scientific conquest of the environment, which would render the emancipation of the Negro race easier and quicker".[13]

All of his writings deal directly or indirectly with the racial problem. In his later years, he became concerned with world peace. He tried to provide an intellectual basis for the Negro's protest. In this effort, he not only influenced and inspired thousands of Negroes, but also many white Americans. He was the most articulate spokesman for the kind of education that should be imparted to the Negro Americans. Educated Blacks, DuBois believed, were obligated to end the ignorance and suppression of the Black masses. He vowed to become the leader of this "Talented Tenth". After the completion of his education, DuBois adopted a dual role: that of an educator and a researcher. As a sociologist, he conducted door-to-door inquries on family. To carry his message to the educated whites, DuBois published several articles in leading magazines. Till the end of the nineteenth century, DuBois believed

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13. Ibid, pp. 31-32.

that scientific fact and education would bring about a new era of racial understanding. During late 1880's and early 1890's, DuBois was, both, harsh as well as conciliatory. He tried to assure the Southern whites that they could depend on the friendship of Negroes. That the Whites should grant them citizenship rights and adequate educational facilities.[14] Like Booker T. Washington, DuBois also believed that Negroes must stress duties as well as rights and work for their own advancement. He wrote of John Brown, "He believed in the abilities and worth of the souls of Black folk.... Thus he was a pioneer in the fight for human equality and in the uplift of the masses of men".[15]

DuBois's conciliatory approach bore similarity to Washington, who laid emphasis more on education before the Negro could be given the right to vote. It is very clear when he says in Darkwater, "... in other words, education is not a prerequisite to political control - political control is the cause of popular education". He further empha-

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14. August Meier, Negro Protest Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington (Univ. of Michigan Press, 1963), p. 191.

15. W.E.B. DuBois, John Brown (Philadelphia: G.W. Jacobs and Co., 1909), p. 400.

sizes the importance of social equality by saying, "Notwithstanding this, if America is ever to become a government built on the broadest justice to every citizen, then every citizen must be enfranchised".[16] At the same time, he says, "We must seek not to make men carpenters but to make carpenters men".[17] DuBois paid due emphasis to the procurement of political rights without which he considered any kind of economic opportunity impossible.

It was during this time, that DuBois laid his maximum importance upon self-help and racial solidarity. He tried to combine economic advancement with his educational programme for the Talented Tenth.

In his exhaustive study, The Philadelphia Negro, DuBois tried to study the Negroes as a social system.

> "The Negro problem called for systematic investigation and intelligence. The world was thinking wrong about races because it

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16. W.E.B. DuBois, p. 139 & 147.

17. Ibid, p. 210.

> did process enough knowledge about them. The ultimate evil was ignorance and its child, stupidity. The cure for it was knowledge based on study.[18]

> The study of The Philadelphia Negro "...showed the Negro group as a symptom and not a cause; as a striving, palpitating human group and not an inert, sick body of crime; it traced, analysed, charted and counted.[19]

Slowly, he began to realize that mere facts, as valid as they might be would not provide the solution. He recalled in his autobiography, that he had to take into account two considerations.

> First, one could not be a calm, cool, and detached scientist while Negroes were lynched, murdered, and straved; and secondly, there was no such definite demand for scientific work of the sort that I was doing as I had confidently assumed would be easily forthcoming.[20]

He insisted that disfranchisement retarded the economic development of the Negro because the voteless

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19. Ibid.

20. W.E.B. DuBois, n. 11, p. 222.

could not protect their property rights. DuBois was unequivocal in his stand on segregation. He vehemently denounced the separate-but-equal doctrine: "Separate schools for whites and blacks, and separate cars for whites and blacks are not equal".[21] He criticised the South's demand to remain subordinated and belived that racial problem could not be solved till segregation existed.

He came to the conclusion that economic discrimination was in large part the cause of the race problem. DuBois very early in his career, revealed that economic organisation and cooperation among Negroes was essential to achieve control of their own communities. He wanted his race to rise above the stereotype concepts and that the black laborer should have a right to vote. He summed up the way the future of his brethrens could be improved: "...half the Negro breadwinners of the nation are partially submerged by bad economic system, an unjust administration of the laws, and enforced ignorance. Their future depends on common schools, justice, and the right to vote".[22]

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21. Quoted in August Meier, n. 14, p. 201.

22. Philip S. Foner, n. 4, "The Economic Future of the Negro", 1906 (Session of the American Economic Association), p. 169.

His Differences with Booker T. Washington :

Till recent years, it was a commonly accepted fact that Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois were at loggerheads with each other. There is no doubt that they had differences of opinion and they had put across their ideological skirmishes occasionally. In evaluating these two Black leaders in a historical sense, it is necessary to have an objective assessment of their philosophies. The research conducted into the life and times of these leaders suggests that their ideas were not basically contradictory. They were rather complementary to each other's approaches. DuBois himself wrote :

> It was no controversy of my seeking ; quite the contrary. I was, in my imagination, a scientist and neither a leader nor an agitator; I had nothing but the greatest admiration for Mr. Washington and Tuskegee....[23]

At the time when Booker T. Washington delivered his Atlanta Address in 1895, many colored papers condemned the proposition of compromise with the Southern Whitemen. DuBois, wrote to the New York Age that the Southern Blacks

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23. Philip S. Foner, n. 4, p. 41.

could cooperate with the White South if the latter opened the doors of economic opporunity to them.[24] The Whites, at this time were pressing for disfranchisement and segregation laws. They agreed with Washington's speech since it suited their investments. The Atlanta Exposition came at a time when the contact between the races was strictly on an employer-employee relationship. The Blacks supported his speech since they hoped for economic betterment and Whites supported the idea, for it would bring their support in the social and political spheres.

The differences between these two leaders related to the respective background that they both had and the character that each of these men possessed. DuBois was born in New England, and entered a world of abolished slavery. In his childhood, he was brought up in the company of Whites. It was only at the age of twenty-six, after his return from Europe to America, that he experienced heightened racial tensions. Lynchings of Blacks was at its peak. Washington's early life was very much unlike that of DuBois.

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24. DuBois, Autobiography, n. 11, p. 209 and Wesley C. Pugh, "The Inflated Controversy. DuBois vs. Washington", The Crisis, April, 1974, vol. 18, no. 4, p. 132.

DuBois had lived for years with Washington and the Tuskegee theory of education. It has been commonly believed that Washington's autobiography made him see the deeper cultural meanings of the Tuskegee message. He openly criticised the author in his July 1901 review of Up From Slavery. He saw the main weakness of Washington's leadership to be his opposition to liberal culture. His Souls of Black Folk, contained several searchingly critical essays on Washington. He accused him of preaching a, "...gospel of work and money to such an extent as apparently almost completely to overshadow the higher aims of life".[25] DuBois said that Washington's Atlanta Address made him the leader of his people, not by their own choice, but because of the manner in which he was acclaimed by the whites in the North and in the South.

Washington rose from a slave cabin, received an honorary degree from Harvard, and received gala receptions from the Southerners. But, DuBois was, both, a pioneering advocate of Black capitalism, and later one of the country's most prominent Black Marxists. He relied on a boundless faith in humanity, the efficiency of work and thrift, and

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25. W.E.B. DuBois, n. 8, pp. 34-48.

the virtue of humility. These ideas were basic to DuBois' own thinking. At first DuBois agreed with Washington's gradualist strategy. DuBois did not deny the importance of pacifying the South, but he refused to pay Washington's price which he interpreted as degradation and virtual slavery. Elliott Rudwick remarked :

> For DuBois, the blacks's only effective way to open the doors of opportunith was to adopt tactics of militant protest and agitation; by employing this style of propaganda, he made a key contribution to the evolution of black protest in the twentieth century and to the civil rights movement.[26]

The obvious sense of pride which DuBois had is shown in almost all of his writings. DuBois declared that social justice could not be achieved by flattering the race elements of the whites. What was needed was a clamorous protest against oppression.

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26. Elliott Rudwick, "W.E.B. DuBois: Protagonist of the Afro-American Protest", in Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century, eds., John Hope Franklin and August Meier, (Univ. of Illinois Press, 1982), p. 65.

Washington's concern, on the other hand, over the growing polarization was based on his fear that a more aggressive policy would alienate white support of Negro institutions and seriously curtail the flow of money and the acceleration of educational and organisational efforts. One of the biographers of Washington pointed out:

> It has been said that he did more than any other man to overcome the prejudices against the members of his race, and to establish a neighborly feeling - a sort of fellowship between the negroes and the white people in the south.[27]

DuBois asked for three things: the right to vote, civic equality, and the education of youth according to their ability. DuBois did not approve of Washington's apologetic tone for injustice. The struggle between the two could not reach the layman. Since DuBois represented the intellectuals of the day, his choice could not be heard by the common man.

Except for a common dedication to the cause of race

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27. Frederick E. Drinker, ed. and author, Booker T. Washington: The Master Mind of a Child of Slavery, (Philadelphia, 1915), p. 234.

advancement, the personalities of the two men differed as widely as their ideas. Washington was a practical realist, and interested in attaining tangible goals. DuBois was a romantic -- he would fight for principles even if his life was endangered. DuBois had a poetic temperament, whereas Washington was simple and prosaic. Washington was first and last an American but DuBois was first and last a Negro. To DuBois, Washington's faith in man and God was somewhat naive. DuBois felt unhappy on Washington's strong reliance on the attitude of the Blacks cooperation with the White South. He could not agree that there was a solidarity of interest between the Southern Negro and the Southern White man which made the race problem one to be served from within. The Black man's cooperation and support to the white men, according to DuBois, was too high a price to pay. DuBois felt that the White man was an enemy rather than a friend.

Washington preferred South for his race, while DuBois could see no future in the South. Instead, he contradicted Washington's counsel, and urged the Black people to go to North for freedom and advancement.

Since both were educators, their divergence in regard to educational philosophy became the focal point of their

most widely publicized disagreement. DuBois criticised Washington's philosophy of education from the viewpoint of its format and its basic thrust. On the other hand, Washington's views exemplified a pronounced "spiritual orientation". His perspective of education was an outgrowth of his experience of his environment and his personality.

Even these who admired DuBois' intellectual and literary abilities usually endorsed Washington's constructive approach with its emphasis on gradualism and duties and responsibilities. They deplored DuBois' bitter and militant approach. It would be speculative to argue that criticism to Washington's ideology stemmed from mere envy. There is no doubt that Washington dominated the scene completely. It was this denunciation that his opponents resented. They feared the ascendancy of the "Tuskegee Machine", which would provide Washington a power over Negro affairs.

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Chapter - IV

The Two Personalities and the Black Movement

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The Two Personalities and the Black Movement

It may be worth its while to examine the role of the two personalities in regard to the Black Movement of the period. The two may have differed with each other's approaches, they, nonetheless, had remarkable perception of their mission to achieve equitable justice to their race.

In almost all his speeches, Booker T. Washington called for an interlinking of the total human experience - mind, body and soul. He believed that this would eventually go in the making of a moral man and a society where all men would be considered equal. His views exemplified a pronounced "spiritual orientation" which evolved due to his experiences in an oppressive situation.

In his speeches to the black audiences, "his concern for his race seems as consistent as his attention to what he considered primary issues".[1] The theme of "concern for

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1. Alfred Young, "The Educational Philosophy of Booker T. Washington: A Perspective for Black Liberation", Phylon, Vol. 37, no. 3, 1976, p. 231.

race", constituted a "black perspective" which combined his identification with love for his people with a spiritual commitment to human well-being.[2]

Wills Norman Pitts, a famous writer on Washington, after analysing extensively the latter's speeches, found that Washington stressed the following points :

(1) the need of his people for education;

(2) industrial education as a means to an end;

(3) the value of practicing goodwill between the races;

(4) the South as the best place for blacks to live; and

(5) the duty of both sections in building up the citizenship potential of the race.[3]

Oliver C. Cox - another writer regarded Washington's speeches as similar to one of Henry Grady's which relegated the Black population to a racial caste position. Grady did not want Blacks ever to ask for Social Equality.

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2. Ibid.

3. Quoted in Ibid.

4. Oliver C. Cox, "The Leadership of Booker T. Washington", Social Forces, XXX (Oct. 1951), pp. 91-96.

Alfred Young a well known critic, challenges Cox's methodological approach to the question of Washington's perspective. Cox conceived "Talented black men" in slavery as destined to become either "discontended bondsmen with ideas of escape and revolt, or trusted slaves". He concluded, therefore, that, Washington's own experience as a slave seemed to have conditioned his approach to life to the type of personality that he himself had developed.[5]

Applying the Marxian analysis to the lives of individuals who lived under the "peculiar institution", Alfred Young says that Cox failed to understand the dynamics of the slave system. Young argues that Cox has fallen into a trap of using only slave revolts as a measurement of opposition to slavery.

When Washington stated, "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers," he was merely painting the picture of race relations in the South as it was or as he hoped it would be if whites would share his social and religious vision. The perspective that Washington realized was the necessity of "Black liberation" before

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5. Young, n. 1.

blacks could integrate into the larger society. Through a combination of industrial education and economic self-sufficiency, Blacks could consolidate their wealth. To quote Lerone Bennett Jr., "A man's power depends ultimately on the power of his group".[6] Washington was trying to take advantage of the imposed segregation of Blacks to promote Black hegemony through economic interdependence.

When viewed in the context of his time, Washington was a master "of techniques of manipulating white public opinion".[7] Emphasizing the need for industrial education, he said, "I..I have had something of an opportunity to study the Negro at first-hand."[8] Washington realized the ill-effects of slavery but at the same time he said, "...every large slave plantation in the South was, in a limited sense, an industrial school".[9] He suggested to the White in the South in his "Atlanta Address' that they should "cast down" their "buckets... and run" their factories. He appealed to

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6. Lerone Bennett, Jr., "Liberation", Ebony (Aug. 1970), p. 40.

7. Rebecca Chalmers, Barton, Witnesses for Freedom: Negro Americans in Autobiography, (New York, 1968), p. 16.

8. Booker T. Washington, The Future of the American Negro, (Negro Universities Press, New York, /1899/ 1969), p. 11.

9. Ibid, p. 54.

people for assistance for his brethren who were three decades removed from slavery -- illiterate, disfranchised, and without an economic base.[10] When he told his black listeners, "cast down your buckets where you are," he employed the words of a pragmatist. Here was a man who was cognizant of the conditions of his people and thoroughly familiar with the racial prejudices of the South. This he said so that the Blacks could throw off the yoke of economic repression. This was a practical solution necessitated by their slave experience and the prevailing economic circumstances.

Washington's immediate concern was the question of Black manhood, his identity and the citizenship. In his approach the individual was secondary in tranforming the society. Alfred Young commented: "Booker T. Washington's perspective of education was an out-growth of his experience, his environment and his personality". He approached education as a "survival mechanism".[11]

When Washington did not necessarily speak for the attainment of voting right for Blacks, it was because he was

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10. A. Young, n. 1, p. 233.

11. Ibid.

not confident, "in the people who yesterday were slaves," and now, "citizens" to make laws for "the government of the nation". It is indeed correct to say that, "Washington's rhetorical stretegy was probably the only kind that would work for black people."[12]

It would be wrong to regard Washington as an all-out accommodating leader. He never relinquished the rights of Negroes to full liberty to be realized in all respect as their ultimate goal. Gunnar Myrdal correctly assessed, when he said :

> It is a political axiom that Negroes can never, in any period, hope to attain more in the short-term power bargain than the most benevolent groups are prepared to give them.[13]

C. Vann Woodward, the famous historian at Yale University (now retired), argued that it was neither Washington's earth-shaking thought nor his personal influence that placed

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12. M. Cummings, "Historical setting for Booker T. Washington and the Rhetoric of Compromise, 1895," Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 8, no. 1 (Sept. 1977), p. 79.

13. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, Vol. II (New York, 1972), pp. 740-741.

him in the forefront of his race. It was instead, "...the remarkable congeniality between his doctrines and the dominant forces of his age and society, forces that would have made themselves felt in any case".[14] From Woodward's analysis, the worsened race relations would have continued with or without Washington. The United States in general and the South in particular carried out the complete alienation of the Negro; America was " a white man's country".[15]

To achieve equality of his brethren, Washington said, "...the Negro must begin at the bottom and lay a sure foundation, and not be lured by any temptation into trying to rise on a false temptation into trying to rise on a false foundation."[16] Washington stressed means rather than ends. He was optimistic rather than pessimistic. The ambiguities in Washington's philosophy were vital to his success. He skillfully manipulated popular symbols and myths like the gospel of wealth and the doctrines of Social Darwinism enhanced his effectiveness.

August Meier says,

"...in spite of his placatory tone and his outward emphasis upon economic development as the solution to

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14. C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, (Baton, Rouge, 1951), p.360.

15. Ibid., pp.33-49.

16. Washington, n.8, p.221.

the race problem, Washington was surreptitiously engaged in undermining the American race system by a direct attack upon disfranchisement and segregation", he further says, "he was a powerful politician in his own right. The picture that emerges from Washington's own correspondence is distinctly at variance with the ingratiating mask he presented to the world".[17]

The ambiguities that have been talked about in Washington's philosophy were vital to his success. Negroes who supported him looked to his factfully worded expressions. on ultimate goals. The conservative Southerners were attracted by his seeming acceptance of disfranchisement and segregation, and by his flattery. The Industrialists and Philanthropists appreciated his "petty bourgeois outlook". He espoused a Social Darwinism of competition between individuals and races of uplifiting backward races, that was congenial to his age. He conveniently put Negro equality off into a hazy future that did not disturb the "practical" and prejudiced men of his generation.

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17. August Meier, "Toward a Reinterpretation of Booker T. Washington", (Notes and Documents), The Journal of Southern History, vol. XXIII, no. 2, May 1957, pp. 226-27.

Washington's practical intuitive mind did not deal in abstract analysis of forces. As a wise creative reformer, he did not merely denounce evil from without; he deliberately set himself to develop in the new generation loyalty to new values.

The sum of all Washington's functional achievement was the man himself. To the end of his days he remained "racy to the soil".

It is difficult to evaluate as to what extent Washington directly influenced Negro thought. The Negroes accepted him partly because of the prestige and power he held among Whites, and partly because his views - except for his conciliatory phraseology - were dominant in the Negro community throughout the South.

Basil Mathews, a famous writer, said that he had no doubt about the influence that Washington held during his time while saying,

> It seems certain that no leader since Booker T. Washington has had, or is ever likely to have, the all-embracing authority that he expercised in his prime... in prodding and practicing a consistent

policy.[18]

Among Negroes, who opposed Washington were primarily northerners, DuBois placed his emphasis on the race's need for leadership and the discovery of talent within the race. Washington's sensitivity to this opposition led him to miscalculate its force. The conference which met in New York City in January 1904 was a failure inspite of his and the opposition's careful planning. The Committee of Twelve which emerged was tightly controlled from Tuskegee. The opposition abandoned all attempts to work within the Washington orbit. DuBois resolved to call a conference of his own.

DuBois sent out his call from Atlanta in June 1905 for a conference. He proposed to oppose firmly the present methods of strangling honest criticism; to organize intelligent and honest Negroes and to support organs of news and public opinion.

The next month, in the same year a national organization by the name, the Niagara Movement was founded. There were twenty-nine delegates from fourteen states who came to

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18. Basil Mathews, Booker T. Washington, (McGrath Pub. Co., College Park, Maryland, 1969), p. 336.

attend the meeting at Fort Erie. Elliott M. Rudwick points out that, "The Niagara Movement was the first national organization of Negroes which aggressively and unconditionally demanded the same civil rights for their people which other Americans enjoyed".[19] DuBois was elected the General Secretary of the Movement. Some historians have argued that Niagara Movement was atterned to condemn the predecessors of the Black Movement,[20] but Rudwick is correct when he says that the conference did not believe in condemning personalities like Booker T. Washington.

The members of the Movement called for definite demands :

(1) Freedom of Speech and Criticism.

(2) An Unfettered and Unsubsidized press.

(3) Manhood Sufferage.

(4) The abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color.

(5) The recognition of the principles of human brotherhood as a practical present creed.

(6) Recognition of the highest and best human training as a monopoly of no class or race.

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19. Elliott M. Rudwick, "The Niagara Movement", The Journal of Negro History, vol. XLII, no. 3, July 1957, p. 177.

20. Basil Mathews in his book, Booker T. Washington, (McGrath Pub. Co. College Park, Maryland, 1969), says that "The Niagara Movement clashed seriously with the Tuskegeeans", p. 285.

(7) A belief in the dignity of labor.

(8) United effort to realize these ideals.[21]

DuBois, noting the reaction to its formation wrote:

> The Niagara Movement created furor and the most disconcerting criticism. I was accused of acting from motives of envy of a great leader....[22]

Washington was not too happy with the setting up of the movement. He exerted some pressure against the movement and its members. He even appointed Charlies W. Anderson to get full information of the happenings. In this power struggle, the followers of Washington were strengthened by impressing their folks on attaining advantages through political patronage.

The Niagara Movement took a few important steps as an organized body, yet DuBois continued to define the terms of its opposition to the status quo. All great reform movements have been preceded by agitation, he noted.

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21. Rudwick, n. 19, p. 179.

22. Philip S. Foner, W.E.B. DuBois Speaks: Speeches and Address, 1890-1919, (Path Finder Press, no. 4, 1972), p. 47.

The Niagara men became interested in the formation of a "Pan-African League" and it became part of the official organization. The members of the second Niagara Conference found no dearth of critics. A few magazines even compared the platform of Washington's National Negro Business League with the Niagara platform. Washington was regarded as a leader of the masses. Whereas the followers of DuBois regarded themselves as the real leaders of the race. They were unrealistic in so far they failed to gauge the wide fissure between the Talented Tenth and the unschooled majority.[23] Some even called for the merger of the two but DuBois was totally unwilling to do so.

As one writer puts it, "The major tactical foundations of the Niagara Movement was its dismissal of the racist suppositions of social Darwinism with which Black thinkers had struggled since the end of slavery."[24] The movement could never develop as a major political force. But it did advocate a strong programme of Civil Rights. The movement thus helped to lay the foundation for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

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23. Rudwick, n. 19, p. 137.

24. Arnold Rampersad, The Art and Imagination of DuBois (Howard Univ. Press, London), 1976, p. 98.

There could be four major reasons for the steady decline in the effectiveness of the movement :

First, its views were too radical for the time, and the 'Tuskegee Machine' too powerful and determined in opposition. Second, the doctrine of the Talented Tenth isolated its members from the masses psychologically and ideologically. The ballot was regarded as the panacea. Third, DuBois' often forbidding personality and his inexperience as an activist leader hurt a body dependent on him for continuity and direction. Lastly, the movement was hampered by the disruptive presence of William Monroe Trotter, whose actions and statements more than once infuriated DuBois and the Organization.[25]

Gradually, Washingtonism was receding in its influence; DuBois and the movement were being vindicated as the N.A.A.C.P. appeared on the scene.

The Progressive Movement unleashed a series of reforms during the early part of the twentieth century, but the movement barely benefitted Blacks. No substantial

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25. Elliott M. Rudwick, W.E.B. DuBois: Propagandist of the Negro Protest (Atheneum, New York, 1968), pp. 116-18.

government measures brought out the Black's problem towards solution. C. Vann Woodward a noted historian pointed out, that the progressive Movement in the South was for the Whites only. Yet out of the ferment of the period emerged a small minority of preminent liberals. These men wanted reforms for both Whites as well as Negroes. When the Niagara Movement was bout to disintegrate, the National Negro Committee was founded. This Committee later was called N.A.A.C.P. It was the most effective organization yet established for the agitation of Negro Rights. DuBois was greatly involved in its growth. He became the Negroes' leading propagandist. DuBois wrote, in 1906:

> "...my career as a scientist was beginning to be swallowed up in my role as progagandist".[26]

The Committee had an inter-racial composition and stood for racial equality. There were many influential Whites in the Committee. Mary White Ovington writing in 1924 said about the inception of the organization that:

> It was then not an organization - not even a committee; it was only a group of signers to a pronouncement against the treatment of the Negro in the United States. Now

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26. Philip S. Foner, n. 22, p. 47.

> in 1924, it takes its place among the most important national associations of the United States".[27]

The most important personalities in its growth, according to Mary Ovington were J. Max Barber, W.E.B. DuBois and John E. Milholland (of the Constitution League). J. Max Barber had started a radical Negro magazine entitled The Voice of the Negro. Barber got the support of many people but due to the outbreak of Atlanta riots in 1906, he had to put an end to his magazine and was forced to leave the city. The second important effort was the fountain of the Niagara Movement under the leadership of W.E.B. DuBois. The duty of the Negro was to demand full rights as a citizen of the United States. The third organisation was the Constitution League. It was led by John E. Milholland, and its secretary was Andrew E. Humphrey.

Mary White Ovington was a White social worker. The Committee received its spark when she read William E. Walling's account of the 1908 Springfield Riots. They agreed to establish a permanent group, which would protect Negro's Rights.

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27. Mary W. Ovington, "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People", The Journal of Negro History, Vol. IX, April, 1924, no. 2, p. 107.

A "call" was issued by Oswald Garrison Villard on February 12, 1909, which was also Lincoln's birthday. The discussions and the resolutions that the conference adopted, stressed for securing the Black man's Constitutional Rights. In 1910, DuBois welcomed the chance to join the staff of the N.A.A.C.P. He became director of research and also the editor of the N.A.A.C.P's magazine, The Crisis. DuBois, as an editor of The Crisis, recorded and supported the N.A.A.C.P's programme. But he wanted Black men to control their own organizations and have their own identity. He went much beyond the N.A.A.C.P's. official programme of seeking protection for the Negro's Constitutional Rights.

DuBois emphasised on race equality and denunciation of segregation. Examining segregation in the South, he underscored the increasing differentiation in interest and cultural tradition which existed between the two races. He thought Negroes were becoming more united in racial consciousness and more desirous of cooperating with each other. In The Crisis, he was condemning Whites who tried to manipulate the Negro's separate system, but outside of the magazine, he stressed that Whites should institute a "hands off" policy. He believed that "closed circle of social intercourse" was beneficial to Negroes.[28]

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28. Quoted in Rudwick, n. 25, p. 149.

However, there were differences of opinion with the organization because of DuBois' notion of his role as a race leader. This crack in the Association's unity, patched and plastered over for twenty-four years, eventually led to DuBois' resignation.

In 1915, DuBois brought forward a formal statement that indicated both his support of the N.A.A.C.P. and his unwillingness to be confirmed within it. In his magazine he said, "The American Negro demands equality - political equality, industrial equality and social equality; and he is never going to rest satisfied with anything less".[29] He further stated that they would demand for "...freedom on the one hand and power on the other".[30] DuBois laid a clearcut programme of work against obstructions. This could be summed up under:

(a) economic Cooperation
(b) a revival of art and literature
(c) political action
(d) education and
(e) organization.[31]

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29. W.E.B. DuBois, "The Immediate programme of the American Negro", The Crisis, IX, 6 (April 1915), pp. 310-312. Taken from August Meier, et. al, Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century, 2nd ed. New York. 1965, p. 67-68.

30. Ibid, p. 68.

31. Ibid, p. 71.

The last one was regarded as the most important in order to achieve any concrete research.

DuBois could not trust socialists on the Negro question and hence in 1912 resigned from the Socialist Party. In August of 1912, DuBois demanded a "price" for Negro votes -- enforcement of the Reconstruction Amendements and the discarding of segregation. One, thus, finds that the Black Movement was nursed by the two leaders with a passion and vigour. Their tactics at times, now at par with each others' yet their difference were acute in pursuing their common objective - how to improve the position of their brethren. It is quite unfortunate that the two personalities should be discussed with a value judgement of a deep animosity and that the two had nothing to share with each other.

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Chapter - V

The Ideological Skirmishes

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The Ideological Skirmishes

Since Washington's death, numerous writers have attempted to analyze and evaluate his ideology and his role as a race leader. It is important to emphasize the limitations which the times and circumstances in which he lived imposed upon Washington.

Various writers[1] have often pointed out that Washington was the mouthpiece, not so much of his own race, as by the whites, who looked more liberally toward a solution for the problem of the South and the Nation. There is very little truth in the statement. It is wrong to characterize him as an all-out accommodating leader. He never relinquish the right to full equality in all respects as the ultimate goal. The time when Washington rose to eminence was a crucial period in the history of U.S. As one historian points out that during this period it was necessary to enunciate a philosophy which would not alienate the Negroes from the majority of the population. "In fact economic imp-

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1. The contemporary writers of Washington held this view. It was only after his private papers and correspondence were made available to scholars that a well-balanced view of his leadership was provided.

rovement was primarily regarded as a temporary accommodation to realities, and an indirect technique for achieving political rights...."[2]

Washington's ideology was welcomed as well as attacked by the contemporaties. He was opposed by the Negro intellectuals. They looked upon his emphasis on vocational training as a tacit admission that was unfit for higher academic training. These Negro intellectuals were more articulate and could make their views known than were the Negro masses. They criticised him on a number of scores. One of the principal charges was that the system of industrial education was intended to keep Negroes in a menial position and perpetuate the caste system. That his seeming disparagement of academic training gave limited opportunities for higher education for talented Negroes and the development of Negro leaders. Moreover, they were critical of his deprecatory remarks about political activity, his seeming deffuse of disfranchisement, and his acquiescence in setregation. Finally, they resented his near - universal popu-

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2. August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington, (Univ. of Michigan Press, 1963), p. 35.

larity because he was so obviously not one of them. They charged Washington of exercising unchallenged power over the distribution of white philanthrapy to Negro institutions and political appointment of Negroes. Since he conciliated with the whites, it was said that he betrayed the interest of his race for his own advancement.

However, there were pro-Washington Negroes who praised him since he was able to win the confidence of whites in both North and South. His Atlanta Address was hailed by the Negro masses as well as the newspapers. Newspaper war correspondent, representative of the New York World, wrote that Booker T. Washington "... must rank from this time forth as the foremost man of his race in America."[3] He further wrote, "I have heard the great orators of many countries, but not even Gladstone himself could have pleaded a cause with more consummate power than this angular Negro...."[4] Hon. Clark Howell, editor of the Constitution, wrote to the editor of the World, in which he wrote that the Atlanta Address, "...was an epoch-making talk, and marks distinctly a turning point in the progress of the Negro race,

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3. Louis R. Harlan, et. al., The Booker T. Washington Papers, Vol. 2, (Univ. of Illinois Press, Urbana 1973), p. 78.

4. Ibid, p. 79.

and its effect in bringing about a perfect understanding between the whites and blacks of the South will be immediate."[5]

Charles W. Chesnutt, a Negro novelist lived in Cleveland and moved in white circles. He lauded Washington for his success in establishing Tuskegee. Though he questioned his extreme emphasis on industrial education, agreed on maintaining the goodwill of the white South. Chesnutt criticised Washington's remarks on suffrage. And voting requirements in the new state constitutions of the South.

Another notable figure of the time was T. Thomas Fortune. He was born a slave and largely self-educated. A militant and uncompromsing champion of Negro rights, Fortune remained for many years, Washington's closest adviser and loyal defenders. The friendship of the two began in the eithties. "It is enough to note that Fortune helped Washington attain the unique leadership which he enjoyed. He advised him on his speeches, 'ghost' wrote some of his books and articles, and spent much time and effort."[6] Inspite

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5. Ibid.

6. Emma Lou Thornbrough, ed., Booker T. Washington, (New Jersey, 1967), p. 38.

of ideological differences between the two, they worked together until 1907, when Washington was appointed political adviser to President Theodore Roosevelt.

T. Thomas Fortune, creator of the Afro-American League, wanted an organization that would fight for Black civil rights. The League had chapters in 23 states by 1890. Five years later, he revived it under the name of the National Afro-American Council. It received the support of Black leaders but failed to gain mass support. The council gradually became identified with Washington's conciliatory approach to race relations.[7]

Another very vehement critic of Washington was William Monroe Trotter. He was the first Negro elected to Phi Beta Kappa at Harvard. He imbibed an uncompromising hatred of all forms of discrimination. He carried out a journal called the Boston Guardian. In his editorials, Trotter accused Washington as the agent of the forces of opposition and segregation. As Washington's prestige and power grew, Fortune's influence and reputation declined. As American citizens, Blacks were entitled to the rights guaranted by the Constitution of the United States and the government had the obligation to protect these rights. For-

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7. Harlan, et. al., n.3., p. 357.

tune believed that, "Blacks must use their political rights to protect themselves and determine their own destiny."[8] Commenting on the attainment of civil rights, he pointed out, "...that civil rights and social privileges were not synonymous. Protection of civil rights was the duty of government. Social privileges were a private matter, depending on the tastes of individuals."[9] He further points out, "what Blacks wanted and demanded was 'the concession of every right given to the white man under the laws of the United States.'... Call this Social equality if you will."[10]

Ida B. Wells-Barnett, a feminist and anti-Lynching spokeswoman, was one of the best representative of the handful of prominent blacks who consistently espoused a strategy of protest during the ascendancy of Booker T. Washington. Wells-Barnet proved unable to participate effectively in other organizations, even like the N.A.A.C.P. that shared her basic philosophy. Wells-Barnett was a founder of the N.A.A.C.P. and a friend of Marcus Garvey.

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8. Emma Lou Thornbrough, "T. Thomas Fortune: Militant Editor in the Age of Accommodation", in Black Leaders in the Twentieth Century, ed. by J.H. Franklin and A. Meier, (Univ. of Illinois, 1982), p. 22.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid, p. 23.

"She was a major figure in the great ideological conflict between the accommodationist philosophy of Washington and the protest tradition represented by W.E.B. DuBois."[11] She did not adher to Washington's philosophy, yet her own ideology embraced ideas not dissimilar to Washington's. Washington insisted that political action be subordinated to economic self-help, which would ultimately lead to "real power". This emphasis was also given by Wells-Barnett. Inspite of this similarity, there was a fundamental difference between the two. "Economic power was not a reward achieved by accommodating to the status quo, but a weapon to use against it', Wells-Barnett believed. Washington held that the economic success of blacks would overcome the legitimate class prejudices of whites and gain their respect and acceptance.[12] Both of them saw the ruling class, whites, as the key to social change.

Booker T. Washington was one of the best known Americans of his age. Very few men of that time enjoyed as extensive and favourable coverage in the white press and

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11. Thomas C. Holt, "The Lonely Warrior: Ida B. Wells-Barnett and the Struggle for Black Leadership", in Franklin and Meier, ed., n. 8, p. 44.

12. Ibid.

white journals as he did. Many writers have observed that Washington's great reputation was confered upon him by white Americans. Some say that it, "...was due in part to the fact that he was usually a master at the art of public relations".[13] Washington throughout his career tried to receive support from the Southern white men, the Northern white men and member of his own race. There is no doubt that he did not succeed in winning complete support of them. But the experts working on Washington have suggested that he did achieve a remarkable success in creating for white America the image of a monolithic Negro Society.

Most of Washington's admirers praised him for his saintly qualities. They went as far as comparing him with Jesus. Some called him as the Negro Moses. He was considered as a modest gentleman, of pure simple life and supremely wise. While comparing him with Frederick Douglass, and placing him intellectually inferior to the latter, William Dean Howells says that Washington's statesmanship was the only realistic method of dealing with the race situation in his own time.[14]

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13. Emma Lou Thornbrough, "More Light on Booker T. Washington and the New York, Age", The Journal of Negro History, Vol. XLIII, Jan. No. 1, 1958, p. 34.

14. Emma Lou Thornbrough, "Booker T. Washington as seen by his white contemporaries", The Journal of Negro History, 53, April, 1968, p. 163.

Theodore Roosevelt viewed him as a genius as would not arise in a generation.[15] Henry Watterson found in Washington's philosophy an answer to the race problem. Walter Hines Page also accepted his philosophy as a wayout for establishing better relations.[16]

Very few of his contemporaries doubted his remedy. Some attributed his achievements to the fact that white blood flowed in his veins. Whereas some said that he received importance because he was a blackman. They contended that if there had been a white person given Washington's talents, he would have remained in obscurity.

Washington's views on education were in complete harmony with the views expressed by the white philanthropists. Hence they supported Tuskegee as it propagated almost the same kind of ideology. He appeared to abjure social equality and to accept, at least temporarily, disfranchisement and segregation. He emphasized instead economic advancement, self-help and industrial education. In

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15. See, Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901, (New York, 1972).

16. Emma Lou Thornbrough, n. 14, p. 162.

their enthusiasm some of his admirers went further than Washington in their advocacy of industrial education as the solution to the Negro problem. Booker T. Washington, William H. Baldwin, Jr., said, was the Moses of his people. He added that it was a "crime" for any teacher, white or black, "to educate the Negro for positions that are not open to him." "This programme was especially appealing to whites because in effect Washington was transmuting the currently dominant social ideologies of economic individualism and the gospel of wealth into the key to social salvation.[18]

White Southerners were unanimous in agreeing that industrial education was preferable to academic education for Negroes, but some insisted that any kind of education for Black people was futile or dangerous. They feared that the temptations and dangers surrounded the Negro in the United States. Harpers Weekly praised Washington for counselling Negroes to leave politics and to cultivate the virtus of industry and thrift.[19]

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17. Ibid, p. 167.

18. August Meier, "Washington and the Negro Press", in Along the Color Line, ed., by Meier & Rudwick (Univ. of Illinois Press), 1976, p. 62.

19. Thornbrough, n. 14, p. 170.

Apparently Washington rejected political participation of Blacks, but there is no doubt that he was actively engaged in politics.[20] His role as Roosevelt's adviser on appointments aroused criticism among Southern Whites as well as anti-Washington Negroes. Such criticism led Washington to write letter to the press in which he emphasized that his life work was education and denied any political ambitions.

The majority of the Whites accepted Washington's philosophies. Walter Hines Page, who published many of Washington's articles and books, asserted that through the system of industrial education, Washington had found an answer to the race problem. One of the leading novelists of the era, William Dean Howells, calls Washington, "an exemplary citizen." He praises his common sense and conservatism and lack of bitterness toward the white race. Howells asserts that considering the circumstances of the times, in the face of the loss of political rights by Negroes, Washington's approach was the only way by which he could display subtle statesmanship.[21]

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20. For a detailed account on this subject, see the four volumes of Booker T. Washington Papers, ed., by Louis R. Harlan.

21. For details, see Thornbrough, ed., Booker T. Washington (New Jersey, 1967).

Thomas Dixon, Jr., who represented the extreme views of the White supremacy insisted that industrial education and economic advancement of Negroes would not improve race relations. Instead it would lead to a racial strife. He believed that it would bring Negroes into economic competition with the Whites. Moreover he asserts that Washington was concealing his ultimate objective which was racial amalgamation.

Ideologically, Wells-Barnett belonged to the DuBois - N.A.A.C.P. camp, but could not continue congenial relations with them. She proudly claimed some of the credit for evelating DuBois to a polisition of national leadership. In 1899, she requested the board of directors of the Afro-American Council to have him named director of the business bureau. Inspite of such closeness between the two, surprinsingly, neither Wells-Barnett nor her husband appear to have been prominent activists in the Niagara Movement organised by DuBois in 1905 to oppose Washington.

"Her primary strategy had always been to involve prominent whites in the struggle, and the new N.A.A.C.P. offered a vehicle for achieving that goal."[22] Mary White Ovington, wife of DuBois described M. Trotter and Wells-Barnett as powerful personalities but not fitted to accept the restraint of organisation.

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22. Ibid, p. 51.

It was from the ranks of Negro intelligentsia that DuBois drew his chief support in the Niagara Movement that merged with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. At the beginning of the century, DuBois was the chief spokesman of the Negro intelligentsia. "The talanted Tenth of the Negro race," he wrote in 1903, must be made leaders of the thought and missionaries of culture among their people". No other person can do this work and the Negro colleges must train men for this purpose. The "Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men".[23] DuBois believed that without political rights, Negroes, could not secure economic opportunity.

Kelly Miller has asserted that William Monroe Trotter Wove a "subtle net" around DuBois and captured him for the radical cause. Miller's "Radicals and Conservatives"[24] submits the thesis that Trotter had woven, "a subtle net about W.E.B. DuBois... and gradually weaved him from his erstwhile friendship for Mr. Washington; so as to exploit

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23. Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois, The Negro Problem (New York, 1903), p. 75.

24. This article reprinted in William M. Tuttle, ed., W.E.B. DuBois (New Jersey, 1973).

his prominence and splendid powers in behalf of the hostile forces. DuBois himself has recalled that he was gradually growing more disturbed after 1900. This was in part due to the ideological difference between him and Washington, and in part by the immense power over political appointments and press wielded by what DuBois has labelled the "Tuskegee Machine."

During the first world war and in the 1920's, DuBois was under fire from practically all sides - from white segregationist, black revolutionary Marxists, and black nationalists. The Left Wing black socialists A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen of The Messenger denounced DuBois for being reactionary and for failing to represent the "leadership of the brand of what he once pretended to be, but of what he now finds he is not - radicalism."

A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen criticized the programme of N.A.A.C.P. for many, it was tame, its stress on constitutional rights irrelevant to the needs of the great mass of Negroes. They edited a monthly called, The Messenger - "The Only Radical Negro Magazine in America." Their editorials touched on many themes : the socialist critique of capitalism, the need for solidarity among black and white workers, the blacks' capacity to resist by violence

and by boycott, and the poverty of their existing leadership.[25] In one of the editorials, A. Philip Randolph shows the failure of DuBois as a theorist. He says that DuBois never made any effort in the interest of unionizing Negro Workers, to strike for more wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions.[26] Randolph says that DuBois misrepresents the attitude of the rank and file of Negroes by pretending that the N.A.A.C.P. is the expression for the attainment of the Negro rights. Instead, Randolp suggests that, "...the N.A.A.C.P. is led, controlled and dominated by a group who are neither Negroes nor working people, which renders it utterly impossible to articulate the aims of a group that are the victims of certain social, political and economic evils as a race, and as a part of the great working people."[27]

And finally, M. Garvey was unremitting in the 1920s in his dismissal of DuBois as "purely and simply a white man's nigger".[28] Even as late as 1935 Marcus Garvey conti-

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25. August Meier, Elliott Rudwick and Francis Braderick, Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century, (The Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc., New York), p. 81.

26. DuBois fails as a Theorist "Editorial The Messanger (Dec. 1919), reprinted in Ibid, p. 92.

27. Ibid.

28. William M. Tuttle, n. 24.

nued to condemn DuBois for his "treachery". When DuBois resigned from his position at the N.A.A.C.P., Garvey asked: "Can he continue abusing the white man when the American Negro is at the white man's soup Kitchen ?" In the 1920's Garvey continued, DuBois had sabotaged self-segregation for Blacks as espoused by Universal Negro Improvement Associations; now, belatedly, he had embraced this programme for Black independence.

Randolp and Owen were middle class intellectuals, who voiced a deep concern about the welfare of the masses of the race. They spoke with fluent subtlety about capitalism and socialism, but it was Marcus Garvey who best articulated the alienation of the black masses. His UNIA had a following of about half a million black masses. He exalted the Negro's Black skin and assured the Negro that his glorious past history in Africa offered a promising future. The appeal had tremendous influence upon the urban Negroes Garvey satisfied the yearenings of urban slum-dwellers by giving them a sense of racial identity and racial pride. He deprecated the light-brown skins of people, thus making black the standard of good. He espoused economic nationalism, and urged blacks to support black businesses.

"The future of the Negro therefore, outside of Africa, spells ruin and disaster."[29]

By social equality, Garvey, connoted the right to inter marry and fraternize in every social way. He was certainly against this and gave due credit to Booker T. Washington not to have asked Negroes to aspire for social equality. Garvey called social equality a "race destroying doctrine". He criticized DuBois for asking constitutional rights, which according to Garvey were impossible to achieve in a political set-up which had a white majority. Garvey regarded DuBois as a brilliant scholar with higher intellectual abilities, but not a hard worker.

DuBois was ambivalent about Garvey and ignored him until late 1920. The Crisis editor was profoundly impressed by this extraordinary leader of men" and acknowledged that Garvey's cooperation. DuBois thought this mass movement could stir people to effect the realization of his own dreams of a black economy. However, their relations could

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29. "Marcus Garvey: The challenge of Black Nationalism", taken from Meier and Rudwick, ed., n. 16, p. 103.

30. Elliott M. Rudwick, W.E.B.DuBois: Propagandist of the Negro Protest (New York, 1968), p. 217.

not remain cordial for long. DuBois did not ask for complete amalgamation which Gavery was so much opposed to. He was opposed to homogeneity and wanted to see racial cultural differences preserved. He refused to be "a stranger in mine own house". He chose the "veil" as the symbol of racial barriers.[31] He was infact enunciating the theory of cultural pluralism, whereby people of diverse backgrounds live together on a basis of equality, justice and harmony. This cultural pluralism was rejected by whites. The critics condemned his request for social and political equality. He was constantly accused of being ashamed of his race and wanting to be a white man. August Meier has very rightly said that, "It is important to note, however, that many times people, who at heart agreed with his point of view, were not courageous enough to flout the power structure both within and outside of the Negro community as he did".[32]

DuBois hated the role of being a social action leader. A schism had developed within the Niagara Movement. DuBois seemed unable to convince William Mouroe Trotter and others to resolve their differences. The chief reason for

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31. Ibid, p. 298.

32. August Meier, n. 2, p.37.

the differences was DuBois' 'Paradox'.[33] His propaganda always moved into two directions - integrationist and Negro nationalist. Although he said he spoke for the Negro race, he made no genuine attempt to discover the desires of these people, or to encourage them to adopt his ideological position.

The N.A.A.C.P. decided to confine its activities to the American race problem. It gave no financial aid to the Pan-African movement after 1921.

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33. Elliott M. Rudwick. p. 30.

C O N C L U S I O N

C O N C L U S I O N

The issue of leadership in any movement is usually wrought with controversies. It is difficult to find history of a movement that goes unchallenged at the hands of its critics in terms of either the tactics of the movement or its leadership. The subject of the Black Leadership, therefore, is no exception to this phenomenon. The Black Americans have been profoundly concerned with the two pronged approaches; how to integrate and assimilate themselves into the manistream of the whitemen, or in the absence of it, how to create their own racial exclusiveness that would evoke respect and integrity of their individual-selves.

Hence, a query comes to our mind: when did the Black leadership begin in the United States? Since it is not strictly within the purview of the present dissertation, it has been, however, touched in the introductory chapter. The defiance and militancy that existed among the American Blacks at the time of their slavery has been proved by several scholars in recent times. Due to a lack of organization and political inability to voice their grievances, these Blacks had to, for most of the time,

remain subdued in their militant posture. But the fact of their militancy does not get obliterated in the process. The times were difficult and their resources to oppose the prevailing system were extremely limited. Under the circumstances, the Black leadership of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries could not have been divorced of this syndrome.

When viewed in this context the role of the Black Leaders during the period, 1875-1920, in analysing their respective roles in serving the cause of the Black masses remains noteworthy. When the institution of slavery came to an end, (in the form of the Thirteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution in 1863 effective in 1865) the issue of removing social, economic and political barriers of Blacks became the major concern of the Black Leaders - Chief among them being Booker T. Washington and W.F.B. DuBois.

Booker T. Washington was the most important successor of Frederick Douglass. His broad theoretical understanding of the race problem was identical with that of his predecessor. Washington thought that the race problem would be solved by the elevation of the Negro if he assimilates himself within the White Society. He had a truly

national perspective. During the 1890's, W.E.B. DuBois, who had not yet come into the lime-light believed that the Negro race could be served through its own self-development and through the good-will of the Whites.[1] But, he did not ask for complete assimilation or amalgamation. He was opposed to homogeneity and wanted to see racial-cultural differences preserved. He refused to be, "a stranger in mine own house.' He chose the "Veil" as the symbol of racial barriers...."[2]

One would certainly agree with Howard Brotz when he writes that, "...Washington was more than fifty years ahead of his time. Today, as the last Vestiges of Legal inequality are being cleared away, it is becoming a common view that the fundamental problems of the Negro are 'beyond civil rights.'"[3]

Washington very rightly understood the problems that Slavery had created for the Black, and the solution

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1. Elliott M. Rudwick, W.E.B. DuBois: A Study in Minority group Leadership (Philadelphia, 1961), p. 297.

2. Ibid, p. 298.

3. Howard Brotz, ed., Negro Social and Political Thought, 1850-1920 (Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, New York, 1966), p. 12.

lay in preparing him to 'work'. He did not want to confuse work and the attainment of rights. He could understand the legacy of Slavery very correctly.

W.E.B. DuBois on the other hand, enunciated the theory of cultural pluralism, whereby peoples of diverse backgrounds could live together. He readily admitted the cultural inferiority of his race, but he proclaimed his intentions to direct the road to advancement. DuBois, in a more radical spirit, put the primary stress upon rights. But these rights were the same for both.

To Washington, the economic dependence of the Black on the whites was a political danger to himself. His stand was a mixture of toughness in order to maintain a level of friendship of the stronger for the weaker. As a practical man, Washington looked forward and not backward. Whereas, DuBois was an academic man. He injected among his followers a spirit of resentment due to which he broke with the N.A.A.C.P. His work as an editor of the Crisis was in defuse of the Negro's rights. Shortly after the turn of the century, DuBois became a conciliationist, and pleaded for the good-will of the whites. He held whites responsible for the Negro problem. He never wanted to became a social action leader. His editorials

not only antagonized, but attracted attention! His goal of a world organization of Negroes was a formidable one to achieve in the 1920's.[4]

Besides, one has made merely an attempt in displaying the interplay of societal forces that determined the fate of Blacks in the latter part of the nineteenth century as well as early part of the twentieth century. The racial discrimination and segregation and several such other legal tactics on the part of the white majority against Blacks, assumed new dimensions. Hence, both of the Black leaders, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois took their respective positions in deterring the racial bias from the minds of white people.

However, both, had their limitations in fulfilling their goals. Booker T. Washington served the Black cause at a time when the rigidity of Southern Whites as well as the racial bias of the white, in general, was uppermost. The period between 1876-1900 witnessed the worst of racial segregation in the form of lynchings, social boy Cotts, Jim Crow Laws, Ku Klux Kran and several other modes of politi-eliminations.

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4. Rudwick, n. 1, p. 307.

Whatever may be the viewpoints and whatever the critical evaluation of these two personalities at the hands of others, one cannot gloss over the fact that they, both, served their people with an untiring zeal. The tactics and approaches differed but so differed the times in which both the leaders carried out their respective missions. The Blacks were subjected to a deep down racial hatred by the White Society, hence to bring them out of such a racial acrimony was not an easy task. Washington was faced with this dilemma. His contributions, therefore, have to be viewed against these odds. One must say that to the extent it was possible and to the degree it was feasible, he made a deep impact on the minds of Whitemen in upgrading the Black race. And it was not a mean achievement.

To DuBois, belong the credit of creating a great racial pride and the revival of a rich past heritage of the Black people. He was the first man who militantly opposed any intellectual or racial inferiority attributed to his race. DuBois believed that a Black man need not be defensive of his racial background in a White American Society. A Black man can, instead, forthrightly attack

any such notion - no matter what be the price involved in the process. DuBois also underwent his ideological transformation from early period to the latter, as pointed out earlier. He nevertheless, remained committed to the cause of socially and economically deprived people of the United States - majority of whom were the Black people. To that extent, one must give full credit to his notable contributions in reaping a rich harvest of his mission in serving his community.

DuBois, certainly made some impressive contributions. He was a pioneer in Negro research. He was an important booster of Negro morale.

Thus the two personalities Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois were, both, ideological as well as practical in their formations. They were both extraordinarily reflective men. The final solution is one which would be an ultimate standard to guide and perfect social and political life.

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