PREFACE
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From the inception of the institution of slavery, from 1620 until the outbreak of the civil war, 1861, one major issue that loomed large in the minds of American social reformers was how to abolish the institution of slavery from the South. This debate assumed significant dimensions between 1840 and 1861. The civil war that broke out in 1861, was a clear manifestation of the acrimony that had ensued over this issue between the North and the South. The issue was finally resolved by the defeat of the South in 1865 during the Administration of President Abraham Lincoln. In 1863, the 13th amendment of the United States Constitution set slaves free from this human servitude of slavery. In 1868, Blacks were made citizens of the United States by the 14th Amendment and their voting rights followed by the 15th Amendment in 1870. The present dissertation is an attempt to understand the role of the two Black leaders in serving the cause of Black people-in the aftermath of their liberation. The Black Movement which was gradually building its momentum against the practices of racial segregation, discrimination and several other overt or covert legal tactics of the white majority against the Black minority, assumed some new dimensions. Black leaders were now faced with the clear
choice of either emulating the white values or reject them to suit their demands.

The present dissertation therefore is an attempt in the interplay of societal forces that came to determine the fate of Blacks (now called the African-Americans) in the latter part of the 19th as well as early part of the 20th centuries. The racial discrimination and segregation and several such other legal tactics on the part of the white majority against Blacks, assumed new dimensions. Hence, the two Black leaders, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois took their respective positions in determining the racial bias as well as its removal 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 their racial bias against Blacks was the uppermost issue. 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 accommodationist.

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 at a subsequent stage.

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 there in have been analyzed.

Chapter 3 deals with W.E.B. DuBois and his biographical details. DuBois' contribution towards Pan-Africanism and his ideological predilections have been analyzed. His role in the Black Movement also remains a hallmark 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 analyze 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 has been in terms of the focused impact that they left behind.

The methodology adopted in this dissertation is historical and analytical. The materials consulted are chiefly primary sources which were made available to me at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst U.S.A. The source access to the private papers of W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington were made possible by the University's Archival Holdings. Ms. Linda Seidman was of tremendous help to me in this regard. I am grateful to the United States Educational Foundation in India for providing me a Junior Fulbright scholarship for a period
of eight months to go to U.S.A. and make use of the material available there. In United States, I was enrolled for one academic session as a 'Special non-degree student' under the supervision of Professor John H. Bracey. Professor Bracey, has been a one-time student of the noted historian Professor August Meier, I am indebted and grateful to both the professors for the help extended by them during my stay there. There were many confusions in my mind which were clarified by Professor Bracey. During my stay, I was able to interview some of the noted professors of the University, chiefly among them Professor Strickland, Professor David DuBois -- son of W.E.B. DuBois. I got the timely help by ways of notes when I corresponded with Professor Herbert Apthekar on this subject. The Schomburg Collection source have a handful of DuBois letters, a folder of his speeches given from 1947-1949, several volumes of newspaper clippings on DuBois, and a substantial vertical file of miscellaneous references on him. They were made available to me at the University of Massachusetts by Ms. Linda Seidman.

The material available at the American Studies Research Centre Library at Hyderabad have also 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 thesis has been carried out under the supervision of Professor R.P. Kaushik, in the Centre for American and West European 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.

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I am solely responsible for mistakes, if any, in the present dissertation.

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ANURADHA JONEJA