Chapter-V

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Among the blacks who opposed Booker T. Washington were primarily northerners. W.E.B. DuBois placed his emphasis on the race's need for leadership and discovery of talent within the race. The isolation of Negro community demanded the creation of an indigenous leadership of college-trained captains of industry and scholars, and who would advance the masses economically and culturally and who could view the race problem from a broad perspective.¹ DuBois came to regard Washington's programme as only an added humiliation which he rejected all the more violently.² Perhaps the main objection to Washington was that he had fostered the growth of a so called "Tuskegee Machine". This machine was so effective that without its recommendations hardly any black institution could collect funds, few political appointments were made, and his opposition allegedly could wreck the career of a young black.³ Thus the bitterness of many blacks towards Washington was not


³Ibid., p.73.
entirely based on a difference of ideas, but rested mainly upon their assertion of a right to their own benefits. DuBois was greatly concerned when he noted that more often than not the disapproval of Washington silenced black complaints.

By 1901 the machine at Tuskegee Institute was encountering severe vocal protest by northern intellectuals. Opposition has been growing for some time, but it was not until two Negroes, Monroe Trotter and George Forbes, commenced publications of the Boston Guardian that it actually began to crystallize. The movement leaned increasingly upon the leadership of DuBois as time passed and it is not surprising that he soon left Atlanta to become more or less official leader of this group. For several years DuBois had doubted if research in the social sciences could really solve the race problem. In a secret meeting, called by Andrew Carnegie, held at Carnegie Hall, New York, in January, 1904, it was held that most blacks should stay in the south, that blacks should at all times work to protect and exercise their right to vote, that law suits should be instituted to secure "absolutely equal accommodations" in transportsations and public facilities and the black education should include both industrial

\[\text{Ibid., p.75.}\]
and higher training. Aside from the fact that the demands from such research were small, he found great difficulty in maintaining a detached attitude while blacks were being lynched.

Booker T. Washington and DuBois met at the Carnegie Hall during 6-8 January, 1904. DuBois did not like Washington's objections upon higher training and upon his general attitude of belittling the race. According to a letter written by DuBois in 1907, he told Washington:

...frankly behind closed doors with the other men present, the things we objected to in his program, we did not object to his attacks upon higher training and upon his general attitude of belittling the race and not putting enough stress upon voting and things of that sort.

Therefore, the immediate result of the conference was the appointment of a committee of three -- Washington, DuBois and Mr. Hugh M. Browne, of Cheyney, Pennsylvania, a Washington man -- whose function was to appoint a Committee of Twelve. The larger Committee was to serve in the capacity of clearing and steering organ 

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5Booker T. Washington to DuBois, February 12, 1903, Boston Transcript, September 19, 1903. DuBois papers at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

6DuBois to Miss A.P. Moore, Atlanta, April 2, 1907. Miss More was connected with the women's Baptist Home Missions in Chicago. W.E.B. DuBois papers, Microfilm, Reel 2, University of Mass. Library, Amherst.
for the Negro people. While recalling in his Autobiography, DuBois mentions: "Their words were lyric, almost fulsome in praise of Mr. Washington. Even if all they said had been true, it was a wrong note to strike in a conference of conciliation."  

In the next three months, DuBois attempted to work with the Committee of Twelve. In February 1904, DuBois drafted a bold, democratic model for creating a national formation. A "Committee of Safety" consisting of twelve leaders would meet every third month. A national "General Committee" would come together annually, and the socio-economic and political decision made by both organs would be carried out by "committees of correspondence" in every Negro Community.  

It finally became clear to DuBois that Washington was simply using the new organization to control his critics. In "Parting of the Ways," published in April, he wanted that Afro-Americans should "refuse to kiss the hands that smite us." In language similar in style to Frederick Douglass, DuBois stated, "The way for Black

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men today to make these rights the heritage of their children is to struggle for them unceasingly, and if they fail, die trying." DuBois resigned but the Committee of Twelve continued to survive, financed by an annual subsidy of twenty-six thousand dollars from Andrew Carnegie.

DuBois constantly charged Washington of taking money secretly, but failed to substantiate his charges. For Oswald Villard, such matters were minor compared to the great contribution Washington played within society. "I do not think that there are any essential differences between your positions." Villard observed. "I do believe that for the masses of the negro race industrialization is the all-important question of the hour." DuBois replied, "that by means of downright bribery and intimidation" Washington was "influencing men to do his will... that he was seeking not the welfare of the Negro race but personal power."

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In early 1905, hostilities between Washington and DuBois became more serious. DuBois sent out his call from Atlanta in June 1905 for a conference. He proposed to oppose firmly the present method of strangling honest criticism; to organize intelligent and honest Blacks and to support organs of news and public opinion. He cited cases of persecution of prosperous Negroes as evidence that Washington's programme would not obtain the respect of the White man and the right of citizenship. In a typical editorial he pointed out that in spite of Washington's conciliatory policy conditions had grown worse.

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 attend the meeting at Fort Erie. The members hoped to form a national organization and oppose segregation and Washington's conciliatory policy. It was the first organized protest of the Negroes since the post reconstruction reaction and is significant because it brought to "wide public debate two types of Negro strategy. One stressing accommodation and the other raising the Negro protest against recent reactionary

\[11\] Crisis, VII (February 1914), pp.189-90, I (December 1910), p.27.
developments". They pointed 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." DuBois was elected the general secretary of the Movement. Some historians have argued that the Niagara Movement intended to condemn the predecessors of the Black Movement, but Rudwick is correct when he says that the conference did not believe in condemning personalities like Booker T. Washington. On the contrary, they were making definite demands and telling the whites what must be done. "We want to pull down nothing but we don't propose to be pulled down.... We believe in taking what we can get but we don't believe in being satisfied with it and in permitting anybody for a moment to imagine we're satisfied."  


The members of the Movement called for definite demands. As set forth briefly in the constitution they are as follows:

(a) Freedom of speech and criticism.
(b) An unfettered and unsubsidized press.
(c) Manhood suffrage.
(d) The abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color.
(e) The recognition of the principle of human brotherhood as a practical present creed.
(f) The recognition of the highest and best training as the monopoly of no class or race.
(g) A belief in the dignity of labour.
(h) United effort to realize these ideals under wise and courageous leadership.

DuBois noting the reaction to its formation wrote, "The Niagara Movement created furore and the most disconcerting criticism. I was accused of acting from motives of envy of a great leader."\footnote{DuBois, "The Niagara Movement", Voice of the Negro, II (September 1905), pp.619-22. University of Massachusetts, Amherst Library.}

Washington was too happy with the setting up of the movement. He exerted some pressure against the movement and its members. Washington suggested that spies be

\footnote{A Pageant in Seven Decades, 1868-1938, 70th Birthday Address. Atlanta 1919, University, Atlanta, Georgia, February 23, 1938. Pamphlet DuBois Papers Reel 86. University of Massachusetts, Amherst Library.}
employed to undermine the Niagara Movement. He even appointed Charles W. Anderson to get full information of the happenings. Anderson had earlier disclosed that DuBois' address "was a failure". He added that, during the programme, only women or boys stood when they were asked to rise by the Niagara supporters. In his power struggle the followers of Washington were strengthened by impressing their folks on attaining advantage 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. The Niagara men became interested in the formation of a "Pan American League" and 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. The Outlook described DuBois as "assertive" and Washington as "pacific". Washington focused on

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achieving an "inch of progress" rather than "a yard of fault finding."\textsuperscript{20}

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 as they failed to gauge the wide fissures between the talented tenth and unschooled majority.\textsuperscript{21} 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 foundation 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.\textsuperscript{22} One can see 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

\textsuperscript{20}Outlook, vol.84 (1906) PP.304, 54-55. also see Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

\textsuperscript{21}Rudwick, n.10, p.187.

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.  

Washington's influence was gradually receding in its importance. DuBois and the movement were being vindicated as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People 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 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 prominent liberals. These men wanted reforms for both whites and Blacks. When the Niagara Movement was about to disintegrate, the National Negro Committee was founded. This committee was later called the National Association for the

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Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.). It was the most effective organization yet established for the agitation of the rights of the Blacks. DuBois was greatly involved in its growth. He became the Negro's leading propagandist. "In 1906", DuBois wrote, "...my career as a scientist was beginning to be swallowed up in my role as a propagandist." 24

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 in 1924, it takes its place among the most important national associations of the United States. 25

The most important personalities in its growth, according to Mary White Ovington were J. MaxBarber, W.E.B.DuBois and John E.Milholland (of the Constitution League) J.MaxBarber 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 foundation of the Niagara Movement under the leadership of DuBois. The duty of the Negro was to demand full rights as a citizen of the United States. The third organization was the Constitution League. It was led by John E. Milholland, and its secretary was Andrew E. Humphrey. The National Negro Committee received its spark when Mary W. Ovington read William E. Walling's impassioned account of the 1908 Springfield, Illinois, race riot. After lengthy discussions, Walling and Miss Ovington agreed that a permanent group protecting Black rights should be established. Blacks economic problems received less importance by the group as regards the focus on civil and political equality. Mary White Ovington was a white social worker. The Committee received its spark when Ovington read William E. Walling's account of the 1908 Springfield Riots. They agreed to establish a permanent group, which would protect Negro's rights. The resolutions which were finally adopted, were echoes of what the Radicals had been saying for years.


Ibid.

Ibid.
The N.A.A.C.P. was a direct outgrowth of an interracial conference on Negro's status held in 1909. The participants were prominent black "Radicals" and white Progressives and Socialists, alarmed at the deteriorating status of blacks in American Society, and disillusioned with the ineffective program of Booker T. Washington. Among the most influential Negroes who were active in the affairs of the meeting were William Monroe Trotter, W.E.B. DuBois and the noted anti-lynching crusader, Mrs. Ida Wells-Barnett.

A "Call" was issued by Oswald Garrison Villard on February 12, 1909, which was also Lincoln's birthday. The discussion and the resolutions that the conference adopted, stressed for securing Black man's Constitutional Rights. In 1910, DuBois welcomed the chance to join the staff 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 organization and have their own identity. He went much beyond the N.A.A.C.P.'s official program of seeking protection for the Negro's Constitutional Rights. A people must work out its own destiny, he said: "Conscious self-realization and self-direction is the watchword of modern man, and the first article in the program of any group that will survive
must be the great aim, equality and power among men." The N.A.A.C.P. had to be captured for Black objects, Black aims, and Black ideals. The N.A.A.C.P. gave DuBois a forum in which to speak to a national audience. He had grown restive at Atlanta University: the administration had became weary and timid, support for his research had dwindled, and in any case the world outside had not responded to DuBois's work. After 1905, the agitation connected with the Niagara Movement took more and more of his energy and money. In 1910, therefore, he welcomed the chance to join their staff of the N.A.A.C.P. as director of research and editor of the N.A.A.C.P.'s magazine, The Crisis.

DuBois emphasized 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 Blacks 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 Black'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. 30

DuBois as editor of The Crisis recorded, even supported, the N.A.A.C.P. programme -- but his own programme went far beyond. Still suspicious of white men, he wanted black men to control their own organizations, with their own ideals leading to their own identity. In his deep concern for the impoverished black masses, and in his sympathetic interest in socialism, he went beyond the N.A.A.C.P.'s official programme of seeking protection for the Negroes Constitutional rights. This crack in the Association's unit, patched and plastered over for twenty four years, eventually leading to DuBois's resignation. In 1915, DuBois put together a formal statement that indicated both his support of the N.A.A.C.P. and his unwillingness to be confined within it. In his magazine, he said, "The American Negro demands equality -- political equality; and he is never going to rest satisfied with anything less." 31 He further stated that they would demand


for, "...freedom on the one hand and power on the other." DuBois laid a clear-cut program of work against obstructions. This could be summed up as: a) economic cooperation, b) a revival of art and literature, c) political actions, d) education and, e) organization. The last one was regarded as the most important in order to achieve any concrete research. The ideas expressed for the next two decades did not differ much from those he had held in 1903:

If Negroes are to assume the responsibility of raising the standards of living among themselves, the power of intelligent work and leadership ... must be placed in their hands.

At first DuBois was a most uncompromising advocate of the principle that there should be absolutely no difference in the curriculum and teaching methods for whites and Blacks. But later he urged that Blacks be educated in Black history and general black problems, that he should consider what is the best race strategy for coping with his problems in America, and finally that he should be taught to take pride in Africa.

32 Ibid, p. 68.
33 Ibid, p. 71.
His stand on non-segregation in public schools was gradually modified by a bitter realism. The greatest need of Negro youth is education, not mixed nor segregated schools, for education is not necessarily guaranteed by either of these institutions.

From its origins, the N.A.A.C.P. became the moral and political conscience of the nation on the issue of institutional racism. Much of the Association's reformist strategy rested on legal challenges to Jim Crow. The N.A.A.C.P. also provided political support and direction to hundreds of black communities, in their respective local struggles against segregation and disenfranchisement.

DuBois viewed himself as a "main factor in revolutionizing the attitude of the American Negro toward caste. My stinging hammer blows made Negroes aware of themselves, confident of their possibilities and determined in self-determination."35 But DuBois was much more than simply a civil rights leader. DuBois while editing The Crisis, consciously attempted to discuss problems of social inequality, poverty, and political rights that transcended the colour line. He also continued to campaign for women's rights.

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\(^\text{36}\) have often pointed out that Washington was the mouthpiece, not so much of his own race, as by the whites, who looked out 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 relinquished 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 United States. 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 improvement was primarily regarded as a temporary accommodation to realities, and an indirect technique for achieving political rights..."\(^\text{37}\) were more articulate and could

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\(^{36}\) 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.

\(^{37}\) August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915* (continued...)
make their views known than were the Negro masses. They criticised him on a number of occasions. 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 diffuse of disenfranchisement, and his acquiescence in segregation. Finally, they resented his near-universal popularity because he was so obviously not one of them. They charged Washington of exercising unchallenged power over the distribution of white philanthropy 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 own advancement.

However, there were pro-Washington Negroes who praised him since he was able to win the confidence of whites in both the North and the South. His Atlanta address was hailed by the Negro masses as well as the newspapers. Newspaper war correspondence, representative

\[37\ldots\text{continued}\]

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

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 criticized Washington's remarks on

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39Ibid., p.79.

40Ibid.
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 uncompromising champion of Negro rights, Fortune remained for many years, Washington's closest adviser and loyal defenders. The friendship of the two began in the eighties. "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."[1] Despite 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.42

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 guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and the government had the obligation to protect these rights. Fortune believed that, "Blacks must use their political rights to protect themselves and determine their own destiny."43

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,

42Harlan, et.al., p.357.

depending on the tastes of individuals." 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."

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 Garvery.

"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." She did not adhere 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,

"Ibid.

"Ibid.

"Thomas C. Holt, "The Lonely Warrior: Id B. Wells-Barnett and the Struggle for Black Leadership", in Franklin and Meier, ed., n.8, p.44."
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. 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 white journals as he did. Many writers have observed that Washington's great reputation was conferred 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". Washington throughout his career tried to receive support from the Southern white men, the Northern white men and members of his own race. There is no doubt that he did not succeed in winning complete support of them. But the experts working on

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47 Ibid.

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.

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

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\[5\] Emma Lou Thornborough, "Booker T. Washington as seen by his white contemporaries", The Journal of Negro History, 53, April, 19768, p.162.
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 remain 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, disenfranchisement and segregation. He emphasized instead economic advancement, self-help and industrial education. In 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."57

"This programme was especially appealing to whites because in effect Washington was transmuting the currently dominant social ideologies of economic

57 Ibid., p.167.
individualism and the gospel of wealth into the key to social salvation. 53

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 virtues of industry and thrift. 54

Apparently Washington rejected political participation of Blacks, but there is no doubt that he was actively engaged in politics. 55 His role as Roosevelt's adviser on appointments aroused criticism among Southern Whites as well as anti-Washington Negroes. Such criticisms led Washington to write letter to the press in which he emphasized that his life work was education and denied any political ambitions.


55 Washington's political involvement is very clear when one goes through his correspondences, editorials and articles.
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.\footnote{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 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 elevating DuBois to a position 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, surprisingly, neither Wells-Barnett nor her husband appear to have been prominent activists in the Niagara Movement organized 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." Mary White Ovington, wife of DuBois described M. Trotter and Wells-Barnett as powerful personalities but not fitted to accept the restraint of organization.

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 Talented Tenth of the Negro race," he wrote in 1903, "must be made leaders of the thought and missionaries of culture among their people". No

\[^{57}\text{Ibid., p.51.}\]
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". 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" 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 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 1920s, DuBois was under fire from practically all sides -- from white

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59 The Booker T. Washington Papers, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
segregationists, 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 lame, its stress 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. 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

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Randolph says that DuBois misrepresents the attitude of the rank and file of Negroes by pretending that the N.A.C.P. is the expression for the attainment of the Negro rights. Instead, Randolph 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.

And finally, M. Garvey was unremitting in the 1920s in his dismissal of DuBois as "purely and simply a white man's nigger". Even as late as 1935 Marcus Garvey continued to condemn DuBois for his "treachery". When DuBois resigned from his position at the N.A.a.C.P., Garvery asked: "Can he continue abusing the white man when the American Negro is at the white man's soup kitchen?" In the 1920s Garvery continued, DuBois had sabotaged self-segregation for Blacks as espoused by Universal Negro Improvement Association, (U.N.I.A.) now, belatedly, he had embraced this programme for Black independence.

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61 DuBois, fails as a Theorist "Editorial The Messenger (December 1919), reprinted in Ibid., p.92.

62 Ibid.

Randolph 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 U.N.I.A. 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 yearnings 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."

By social equality, Garvey, connected the right to inter marry and fraternize in every social way. He was certainly against this and gave due credit to Booker T. Washington's social equality. Garvey called social equality a "race destroying rights, which according to Garvery 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 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 not remain cordial for long. DuBois did not ask for complete amalgamation which Garvey was so much opposed to. He was opposed to homogeneity and wanted to see racial unity "in mine own house". He chose the "veil" as the symbol of racial barriers. He was in fact 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, and wanting to be a white man. August Meier has very rightly said that, "It is important to note, however, that many times people,


"Ibid., p.298.
who at heart agreed with his point of view, are not courageous enough to flout the power structure both within and outside of the Negro community as he did". 67

DuBois hated the role of being a social action leader. A schism had developed within the Niagara Movement. DuBois seemed unable to convince William Monroe Trotter and others to resolve their differences. The chief reason for differences was DuBois' 'Paradox'. 68 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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67 August Meier, n.2, p.37.
68 Elliott M. Rudwick, p.30.