or legislated away. Let's make an effort to understand them and the underlying causes for their existence, and much suffering and much hatred will be avoided.

Questions for Reading and Discussion

1. Why did this man decide to become a Wobbly? In what ways, if at all, did his work and his immigrant experiences influence his decision?
2. What were the differences between the two "One Big Unions" he described?
3. What goals did the I.W.W. have, and what tactics did its members use to reach those goals? How did their goals and tactics differ from those of bosses?
4. This man reported that many workers did not join the I.W.W. Why not? From the workers' perspective, what were the relative costs and benefits of I.W.W. membership?

Document 21-5

Booker T. Washington on Racial Accommodation

Most progressives showed little interest in changing race relations; many in fact actively supported white supremacy. Beset by the dilemmas of sharecropping, Jim Crow laws, disfranchisement, poverty, illiteracy, and the constant threat of violence, black Southerners had few champions among progressives. Booker T. Washington, perhaps the era's most celebrated black leader, spelled out a plan of racial accommodation as a path toward progress. In an address to white business leaders gathered at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta in 1895, Washington outlined ideas that remained at the center of debate among black Americans for decades.

The Atlanta Exposition Address, 1895

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Board of Directors and Citizens,

One-third of the population of the South is of the Negro race. No enterprise seeking the material, civil, or moral welfare of this section can disregard this element of our population and reach the highest success. I but convey to you . . . the sentiment of the masses of my race when I say that in no way have the value and manhood of the American Negro been more fittingly and generously recognized than by the managers of this magnificent Exposition at every stage of its progress. It is a recognition that will do more to cement the friendship of the two races than any occurrence since the dawn of our freedom.

Not only this, but the opportunity here afforded will awaken among us a new era of industrial progress. Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden.

A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal, "Water, water; we die of thirst!" The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back, "Cast down your bucket where you are." . . . The captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River. To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next-door neighbor, I would say: "Cast down your bucket where you are" — cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruins of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labour wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories. While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defence of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress. . . .

Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you in pulling the load upward, or they will pull against you the load downward. We shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one-third its intelligence and progress; we shall contribute one-third to the business and industrial prosperity

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Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery* (New York: A. L. Burt Company, 1901).

of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic. . . .

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an operahouse.

Questions for Reading and Discussion

1. What did Washington mean by "Cast down your bucket where you are"?
2. Washington expressed a distinctive vision of racial equality and progress in his famous statement, "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." What were the implications of his vision for blacks who sought equality and progress? What significance did Washington attach to the words *separate* and *mutual*?
3. In what ways did Washington's argument appeal to his white audience? Would his speech have been different if he had been addressing a black audience? If so, how and why?
4. To what extent did Washington's speech exemplify the dilemmas of African Americans in the Progressive Era?

Document 21-6

W. E. B. Du Bois on Racial Equality

Many educated African Americans, especially in the North, objected to Booker T. Washington's policy of racial accommodation. In 1903, W. E. B. Du Bois attacked Washington's ideas and proposed alternatives that made sense to many black Americans, then and since. One of the organizers of the Niagara Movement and of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Du Bois had earned a doctorate in history from Harvard and was a professor at Atlanta University when he published his criticisms of Washington, excerpted from his work The Souls of Black Folk.

Booker T. Washington and Others, 1903

Easily the most striking thing in the history of the American Negro since 1876 is the ascendancy of Mr. Booker T. Washington. It began at the time when war memories and ideals were rapidly passing; a day of astonishing commercial development was dawning; a sense of doubt and hesitation overtook the freedmen's sons, — then it was that his leading began. Mr. Washington came, with a simple definite programme, at the psychological moment when the nation was a little ashamed of having bestowed so much sentiment on Negroes, and was concentrating its energies on Dollars. His programme of industrial education, conciliation of the South, and submission and silence as to civil and political rights, was not wholly original. . . . But Mr. Washington first indissolubly linked these things; he put enthusiasm, unlimited energy, and perfect faith into this programme, and changed it from a by-path into a veritable Way of Life. . . .

It startled the nation to hear a Negro advocating such a programme after many decades of bitter complaint; it startled and won the applause of the South, it interested and won the admiration of the North; and after a confused murmur of protest, it silenced if it did not convert the Negroes themselves.

To gain the sympathy and cooperation of the various elements comprising the white South was Mr. Washington's first task; and [it]. . . seemed, for a black man, well-nigh impossible. And yet ten years later it was done in the word spoken at Atlanta: "In all things purely social we can be as separate as five fingers, and yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." This "Atlanta Compromise" is by all odds the most notable thing in Mr. Washington's career. The South interpreted it in different ways: the radicals received it as a complete surrender of the demand for civil and political equality; the conservatives, as a generously conceived working basis for mutual understanding. . . .

So Mr. Washington's cult has gained unquestioning followers, his work has wonderfully prospered, his friends are legion, and his enemies are confounded. To-day he stands as the one recognized spokesman of his ten million fellows, and one of the most notable figures in a nation of seventy million. . . .

But Booker T. Washington arose as essentially the leader not of one race but of two, — a compromiser between the South, the North, and the Negro. Naturally the Negroes resented, at first bitterly, signs of compromise which surrendered their civil and political rights, even though this was to be exchanged for larger chances of economic development. The rich and dominating North, however, was not only weary of the race problem, but was investing largely in Southern enterprises, and welcomed any method of peaceful cooperation. Thus, by national opinion, the Negroes began to recognize Mr. Washington's leadership; and the voice of criticism was hushed.

Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission; but adjustment at such a peculiar time as to make his programme unique. This is an age of unusual economic development, and Mr. Washington's programme naturally takes an economic cast, becoming a gospel of Work and Money to such an extent as apparently almost completely to overshadow the higher aims of life. Moreover, this is an age when the more advanced races are coming in closer contact with the less developed races, and the race-feeling is therefore intensified; and Mr. Washington's programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races. Again, in our own land, the reaction from the sentiment of war time has given impetus to race-prejudice against Negroes, and Mr. Washington withdraws many of the high demands of Negroes as men and American citizens. . . .

In answer to this, it has been claimed that the Negro can survive only through submission. Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things,

First, political power,
Second, insistence on civil rights,
Third, higher education of Negro youth, —

W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Company, 1903).

and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South. This policy has been courageously and insistently advocated for over fifteen years, and has been triumphant for perhaps ten years. As a result of this tender of the palm-branch, what has been the return? In these years there have occurred:

1. The disfranchisement of the Negro.
2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro.
3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro.

These movements are not, to be sure, direct results of Mr. Washington's teachings; but his propaganda has, without a shadow of doubt, helped their speedier accomplishment. The question then comes: Is it possible, and probable, that nine millions of men can make effective progress in economic lines if they are deprived of political rights, made a servile caste, and allowed only the most meagre chance for developing their exceptional men? If history and reason give any distinct answer to these questions, it is an, emphatic *No*. And Mr. Washington thus faces the triple paradox of his career:

1. He is striving nobly to make Negro artisans business men and property-owners; but it is utterly impossible, under modern competitive methods, for workingmen and property-owners to defend their rights and exist without the right of suffrage.
2. He insists on thrift and self-respect, but at the same time counsels a silent submission to civic inferiority such as is bound to sap the manhood of any race in the long run.
3. He advocates common-school and industrial training, and depreciates institutions of higher learning. . . .

This triple paradox in Mr. Washington's position is the object of criticism by two classes of colored Americans. One class is spiritually descended from Toussaint the Savior, through Gabriel, Vesey, and Turner,[1] and they represent the attitude of revolt and revenge; they hate the white South blindly and distrust the white race generally, and so far as they agree on definite action, think that the Negro's only hope lies in emigration beyond the borders of the United States. And yet, by the irony of fate, nothing has more effectively made this programme seem hopeless than the recent course of the United States toward weaker and darker peoples in the West Indies, Hawaii, and the Philippines, — for where in the world may we go and be safe from lying and brute force?

The other class of Negroes who cannot agree with Mr. Washington has hitherto said little aloud. . . . Such men feel in conscience bound to ask of this nation three things:

1. The right to vote.
2. Civic equality.
3. The education of youth according to ability.

They acknowledge Mr. Washington's invaluable service in counselling patience and courtesy in such demands; they do not ask that ignorant black men vote when ignorant whites are debarred, or that any reasonable restrictions in the suffrage should not be applied; they know that the low social level of the mass of the race is responsible for much discrimination against it, but they also know, and the nation knows, that relentless color prejudice is more often a cause than a result of the Negro's degradation; they seek the abatement of this relic of barbarism, and not its systematic encouragement and pampering by all agencies of social power. . . . They advocate, with Mr. Washington, a broad system of Negro common schools supplemented by thorough industrial training; but they are surprised that a man of Mr. Washington's insight cannot see that no educational system ever has rested or can rest on any other basis than that of the well equipped college and university, and they insist that there is a demand for a few such institutions throughout the South to train the best of the Negro youth as teachers, professional men, and leaders. . . .

They do not expect that the free right to vote, to enjoy civic rights, and to be educated, will come in a moment; they do not expect to see the bias and prejudices of years disappear at the blast of a trumpet; but they are absolutely certain that the way for a people to gain their reasonable rights is not by voluntarily throwing them away and insisting that they do not want them; that the way for a people to gain respect is not by continually belittling and ridiculing themselves; that, on the contrary, Negroes must insist continually, in season and out of season, that voting is necessary to modern manhood, that color discrimination is barbarism, and that black boys need education as well as white boys. . . .

[T]he distinct impression left by Mr. Washington's propaganda is, first, that the South is justified in its present attitude toward the Negro because of the Negro's degradation; secondly, that the prime cause of the Negro's failure to rise more quickly is his wrong education in the past; and, thirdly, that his future rise depends primarily on his own efforts. Each of these propositions is a dangerous half-truth. The supplementary truths must never be lost sight of: first, slavery and race-prejudice are potent if not sufficient causes of the Negro's position; second, industrial and common-school training were necessarily slow in planting because they had to await the black teachers trained by higher institutions . . . ; and, third, while it is a great truth to say that the Negro must strive and strive mightily to help himself, it is equally true that unless his striving be not simply seconded, but rather aroused and encouraged, by the initiative of the richer and wiser environing group, he cannot hope for great success.

In his failure to realize and impress this last point, Mr. Washington is especially to be criticised. His doctrine has tended to make the whites, North and South, shift the burden of the Negro problem to the Negro's shoulders and stand aside as critical and rather pessimistic spectators; when in fact the burden belongs to the nation, and the hands of none of us are clean if we bend not our energies to righting these great wrongs.

Questions for Reading and Discussion

1. According to Du Bois, what were the shortcomings of "the Atlanta Compromise"? What was compromised, and why? What consequences did the compromise have for black Americans?
2. In what ways did Washington's "gospel of Work and Money" involve a "triple paradox"?

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[1]**Toussaint the Savior . . . Gabriel, Vesey, and Turner:** Toussaint L'Ouverture was a former slave rebel who led the Haitian Revolution in 1798. African Americans Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner were executed for attempts to lead slave rebellions in the United States in 1800, 1822, and 1831, respectively.

3. What alternatives did Du Bois propose to Washington's plan? How did the political implications of Du Bois's proposals differ from those of Washington?
4. Who did Du Bois consider his audience? To what extent did Du Bois and Washington differ in their assessments of their white and black audiences?

Comparative Questions

1. How did the views of Mother Jones, John D. Rockefeller Jr., and Mrs. Potter Palmer about the possibility of harmony between classes compare with those of Jane Addams?
2. To what extent did Booker T. Washington's ideas about progress for black Americans differ from the Wobbly's concept of One Big Union or from Mother Jones's belief in strikes?
3. In what ways did W. E. B. Du Bois's beliefs about the necessity of equality and political conflict compare with Addams's notions about the role of settlement houses?
4. The documents in this chapter provide evidence of both the aspirations and limitations of progressivism. Judging from these documents, to what extent did the limitations of progressive reforms arise from the character of progressive aspirations? In what ways, if at all, did the aspirations of progressives differ from those of capitalists, union organizers, and African Americans?

WORLD WAR I: THE PROGRESSIVE CRUSADE AT HOME AND ABROAD
1914–1920

With the declaration of war against Germany in 1917, the United States unmistakably asserted its status as a major power in world affairs. European nations had admired American economic might for decades and watched the politics of the nation's constitutional democracy with interest for more than a century. Now, by entering the war and claiming a decisive voice in the peace, the United States took its place as one of the powerful industrial nations that would shape global history in the twentieth century. The following documents illustrate the idealism of President Woodrow Wilson and the bitter criticism of the war by American Socialists as well as the experience of combat, the postwar suppression of political radicals, and outbreaks of violence against African Americans.

Document 22-1

President Woodrow Wilson Asks Congress for a Declaration of War

For more than two years after the beginning of war in Europe in 1914, the United States maintained a policy of neutrality. In the spring of 1917, President Woodrow Wilson called an emergency session of Congress to ask for a declaration of war against Germany. Wilson's speech to Congress, excerpted here, outlined the reasons for America's entry into the war, explained what actions would be necessary to mobilize for warfare, and declared the noble motives for which the nation would fight.

Speech to Congress, April 2, 1917

I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it

Congressional Record, 65th Congr., special sess. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1917), vol. 55, pt. 1, 102–04.