

January 1988

William Monroe Trotter: A Twentieth Century Abolitionist

William A. Edwards
University of Massachusetts Boston

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umb.edu/trotter_review



Part of the [African American Studies Commons](#), [Social History Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Edwards, William A. (1988) "William Monroe Trotter: A Twentieth Century Abolitionist," *Trotter Review*. Vol. 2: Iss. 1, Article 6.

Available at: https://scholarworks.umb.edu/trotter_review/vol2/iss1/6

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the William Monroe Trotter Institute at ScholarWorks at UMass Boston. It has been accepted for inclusion in Trotter Review by an authorized editor of ScholarWorks at UMass Boston. For more information, please contact scholarworks@umb.edu.

William Monroe Trotter: A Twentieth Century Abolitionist

by
William A. Edwards



Historians have generally referred to the turn of the twentieth century as the Progressive Era. As one historian has observed:

It was not . . . so much the movement of any social class, or coalition of classes, against a particular class or group as it was a . . . widespread and remarkably good-natured effort of the greater part of society to achieve some not very clearly specified self-reformation.¹

Despite the spirit of revitalization, the desire for reform and an appeal to civic virtue, the Progressive Era did not attempt to restore democracy to black Americans. After a quarter century of retrenchment from the era of radical Reconstruction, black Americans did not figure prominently in the reform-minded spirit of social, economic and political change. As voting requirements in southern states became more restrictive, a growing number of blacks found themselves disfranchised. Extra-legal methods also proved effective in dissuading blacks from seeking the ballot. While progressivism may have swept the country at large, the new South was no more amenable to black equality than the old South.

In the North, proscriptions against blacks were ingrained by social custom despite an atmosphere of liberalism. Northern blacks had imbibed the abolitionist tradition of protest, and they formed the nucleus of radical black political thought. In the North blacks felt freer to speak out against racial injustice. Although mindful that conditions in the rural South made life for blacks there markedly different from the life for blacks in the urban centers of the North, they nonetheless fought for the principle of full citizenship. Divided by color and class strata, northern blacks did not constitute a consensus on the means of achieving racial equity. It is ironic, therefore, that despite the generalized atmosphere of progressivism and the northern tradition of black radical activism, the individual who occupied center stage in American race relations emerged from neither progressivism nor black radicalism. At the turn of the century no black American could avoid the power of Booker T. Washington and what came to be known as the "Tuskegee Machine."

W.E.B. DuBois concludes that: "The most striking thing in the history of the American Negro since 1876 is

the ascendancy of Mr. Booker T. Washington."² At least two other historians have characterized the period from 1880 to 1915 as the "Age of Booker Washington."³ Washington's philosophy of racial accommodationism, gradualism and industrial education influenced an international agenda regarding blacks. His influence in this country made him an unparalleled force in the national debate on the "Negro Question." He dominated the national consciousness on race relations to the extent that no program, movement or organization could deny his power.

Washington was not simply a spokesperson of the race; his philosophy was received by many as echoing the aspirations and feelings of black Americans. He possessed such enormous power that his critics often muted their opposition. By the turn of the century, and for some years thereafter, Washington was an accomplished power broker.

In the North William Monroe Trotter became one of the most astute critics of Washington's philosophy. Trotter launched a broadside attack against Washington, but more importantly he inspired a national debate on power brokerage and racial progress. An intensely independent person, he was nonetheless a selfless crusader for equal rights.⁴ "In the end," the historian Lerone Bennett says of Trotter, "he was a dialogue [that] History carried on with itself."⁵

The year 1895 was a landmark in the lives of three prominent black leaders: Frederick Douglass, the abolitionist and advocate of equal rights, died in 1895; several months later Booker T. Washington delivered an address at the Atlanta Cotton Exposition; and William Monroe Trotter graduated from Harvard. In the wake of Douglass's death, the choice of Washington to deliver his Atlanta address was not intended to recognize historic precedent. As his biographer Louis Harlan observes:

It was white people who chose Washington to give the address, and white people's acclaim that established him as the Negro of the hour. . . . They wanted a black spokesman who could reassure them against the renewal of black competition or racial strife. And Northern whites as well were in search of a black leader who would give them a rest from the eternal race problem.⁶

Washington's address, therefore, was a response to a national white political, social and economic agenda. The next year, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed that agenda in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision.

Upon his graduation from Harvard, Trotter discovered that, despite his academic record, he was not exempt from the color line in Boston. Thwarted in his desire to enter the world of big business, he started his own real estate business but with the distasteful reminder of racial prejudice.

Boston's contribution to the revolutionary spirit of this country was tainted with the stigma of racism and interracial color/class conflict. In the tradition of abolitionism Boston was a northern hub of racial protest. In his study of race relations, Ray Stannard Baker identified Boston as a center of protest: "If you want to hear the race question discussed with fire and fervour, go to Boston!"⁷ Boston may have provided a forum for the expression of racial protest, but Trotter was most immediately influenced by the militant and progressive ideas of his father.⁸

William Monroe Trotter's father, James Monroe Trotter, embraced the principle that the condition of the race should supercede the interest of any one individual. He refused to acquiesce to racial injustice — once in refusing to accept less pay as a member of a racially segregated military unit and again when he resigned in protest to discriminatory promotional practices in the post office.

Dissent to Washington

In Washington's rise to national and international prominence as the preeminent spokesperson of his race, William Monroe Trotter saw the manifestation of his father's warning. He would not assent to Washington's philosophy. If the locus of Washington's power had remained in the rural South, perhaps Trotter would have been less disturbed. But to him, Washington's ideas had not accorded the race as a whole equality nor had Washington denounced the mistreatment of blacks. On the one hand, Washington was the perfect target. He was the visible symbol who had coalesced national opinion around his ideas. On the other hand, Trotter was aware that despite Washington's symbolic importance, he had a disproportionate influence on the thinking of blacks. Washington was simultaneously symbol and substance.

In 1901 Trotter's objection to Washington took organizational form. The Boston Literary and Historical Association provided a forum for black and white intellectuals to expound upon the issues of the day, and Trotter used this forum to begin to crystallize his views. He also joined the Massachusetts Racial Protective Association, and in an address to that group in October 1901 he launched his rejoinder to Washington. Summarizing his position, he concluded that Washington's chief concern was Tuskegee Institute and that Washington essentially sacrificed the interest of the race to his own agenda.⁹

The Guardian

With the collaboration of George Forbes, Trotter began producing the *Guardian* newspaper on November 9,

1901. The newspaper's motto was, "For every right, with all thy might." Almost from its inception the *Guardian* captured national attention, especially that of Washington and DuBois.¹⁰ The latter, who had yet to write *The Souls of Black Folk*, said of the paper, "I did not wholly agree with the *Guardian*, and indeed only a few Negroes did, but nearly all read it and were influenced by it."¹¹

The launching of the *Guardian* did not escape the attention of Washington and his cadre of supporters. He had used his influence to control the black press. Though mindful of his power, Washington nonetheless kept a watchful eye on his opponents. Harlan observes that Washington took criticism as a personal attack and was ruthless in meeting its challenge:

The center of this opposition was a new black weekly newspaper, the Boston *Guardian*, founded in 1901 as his personal mouthpiece by William Monroe Trotter, Washington's most relentless Boston critic.¹²

Washington's posture says as much about him and his dealing with opposition as it does about Trotter and his potential. The *Guardian* was not in existence very long before Washington inaugurated his concern. He had been able to placate black intellectuals in the past. Why would Trotter cause him so much concern? The answer is not an obvious one and to suggest that Trotter was just another anti-Bookerite underestimates Washington's vulnerability and Trotter's place in history. What Washington viewed as a personal attack was a confrontation over principles, lending some credibility to Trotter's claim that Washington was fostering his own agenda. To a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Harvard, Washington's idea of racial subordination and industrial education seemed quite out of place. Trotter was a contradiction to Washington whose positions lacked the flexibility to accommodate a wide range of aspirations.¹³

1903 Boston Riot

Trotter's opposition to Washington reached a peak in the famous 1903 Boston Riot. From 1901 until that time, the *Guardian* sought to expose the limited scope of Washington's scheme. Trotter had attempted to infiltrate Washington-controlled organizations, but to no avail. His fortune changed in the summer of 1903. The Boston chapter of the National Negro Business League sponsored an appearance of Washington at the Columbus Avenue AME Zion Church. Washington had never made a public address in Boston, and supporters warned him that trouble was possible. Trotter and a few others planned to use the occasion to force him to answer some specific questions. The details of that confrontation have been adequately described elsewhere,¹⁴ therefore, it is only necessary to observe here that the outcome altered forever the organizational response to Washington and set into motion the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Although Trotter's confrontational style and his subsequent arrest and conviction during the Boston Riot disturbed some, his actions motivated others. One of the most profound responses to the Riot came from DuBois, who admitted that the event "quite changed my life."¹⁵

While acknowledging some of his disagreements with Trotter, DuBois believed that he should not be made a martyr. National sentiment towards Trotter's action was mixed. Washington was uncertain what direction his own actions would take. If his intention was to silence opposition, Trotter's arrest had not accomplished that. Conversely, he could not afford to allow Trotter to become a martyr.¹⁶

The Niagara Movement

DuBois had predicted that the race would be saved by its talented men. This "Talented Tenth" would be comprised of intellectual visionaries. Until 1905 this idea was without organizational form. Aroused by the events surrounding the Boston Riot and the growing discontent with Washington, DuBois issued a call to a meeting to be held in July 1905 in Buffalo, New York. This gathering of black intellectuals, who subsequently met in Niagara, Canada, became known as the Niagara Movement. On the organizational structure of that movement DuBois credits Trotter with "putting the backbone into the platform."¹⁷ Previous to this effort, Trotter's work had not taken him beyond his hometown.

It is instructive that those who gathered for that initial meeting conceived of themselves as a movement. Trotter envisioned himself in that role when he inaugurated the *Guardian*. His argument over principles with Washington meant that only a sustained effort (agitation) would result in full citizenship for blacks. In the sociological sense the Niagara Movement represented a collectivity of persons with a felt sense of a common interest. Conceptually, both Trotter and DuBois anticipated an organized movement for civil rights that exceeded Washington's perspective. For Washington the movement was a further challenge to his role.

*For every right with all thy might.
Guardian motto*

Neither Trotter nor DuBois had any experience with large scale organizations. Despite the impetus generated by the Boston Riot, opposition to Washington did not guarantee cooperation. It proved much easier to agree on general terms of disagreement than on actual implementation. Whether the race would be saved by its exceptional men had to be proven. The lesser task was to demonstrate that Washington faced formidable opposition in the North. But accomplishing this task did not resolve the problem of establishing a power base. Although the movement adopted the position that manly agitation was the route to liberty, it lacked political leverage. Financially, it was never solvent. Almost from its inception the movement discovered the harsh reality that criticism of Washington exacted a heavy financial toll. It did not lack enthusiasm, however, and DuBois predicted a bright future. His prediction proved premature as internal tensions and personality clashes reduced the movement to factionalism. By 1908 Trotter had left the Niagara Movement and disassociated himself from DuBois.

Political Confrontation

After his split with DuBois and the Niagara Movement, Trotter devoted his attention to electoral politics. This was not a new endeavor, but one to which he now devoted more time. In August 1908 a riot occurred in Springfield, Illinois, the hometown of Abraham Lincoln who was still revered as the "Great Emancipator." The riot stood as the antithesis of the spirit of freedom associated with Lincoln. National response from blacks and liberal whites was swift — they were appalled that a northern state had exhibited no more respect for blacks than that accorded them in the South. Trotter, who had taken a strong stance several years earlier in 1906 over the Brownsville Riot in Texas, publicly lambasted President Roosevelt for his decision to discharge an entire battalion of black soldiers accused of "shooting up the town" and killing a white person. Joining Archibald Grimke and others in a protest meeting in Boston's Faneuil Hall, Trotter labeled Roosevelt's actions as "unmerited severity, unprecedented injustice and wanton abuse of executive power."¹⁸

The Springfield Riot also attracted the attention of William English Walling. Walling wrote a scathing attack on the press and the public for the conditions that led to the riot.¹⁹ Among those who were moved by Walling's piece was Mary White Ovington, a social worker living in New York. She met with him, and the two proposed the formation of a biracial civil rights organization. At that meeting in 1909 the groundwork was laid for the formation of the NAACP.²⁰ On behalf of an expanded biracial group, Oswald Garrison Villard issued a national call to support the infant organization. Although most of those who had been a part of the Niagara Movement accepted the call to join the NAACP, Trotter did not. He suspected the motives of its white members.²¹ As late as 1916, when he was asked to support the Amenia Conference, Trotter responded that equality could best be pursued through a "racially autonomous organization."²²

Stephen Fox's biography of Trotter asserts that "by 1910 he had made the bulk of his historical contribution to the black liberation."²³ He had, of course, withdrawn from the Niagara Movement and rejected membership in the NAACP. But he was still an active journalist, publishing the *Guardian* and involved most directly in the cause of equality in Boston. His influence did not rival that which gave rise to the Niagara Movement, but his engagement in electoral politics became an object lesson in political confrontation — the kind most frequently seen during the administrations of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

Trotter's most notorious engagement occurred during the administration of Woodrow Wilson. The actions of Roosevelt after the Brownsville Riot had so appalled Trotter that he dedicated himself to Roosevelt's defeat. By 1912 the political climate for blacks was not promising. Roosevelt had proven to Trotter that blacks could have no confidence in him. DuBois drafted a plank that called for the right to vote, commitment to fair treatment and an end to discriminatory laws. Roosevelt and the Bull Moose Party summarily rejected the plank as did Taft. When Wilson won the Democratic nomination, Trotter and a splinter group of the National Independent Political League (NIPL) sought an audience with him to learn his views on the "Negro Question."

On July 16, 1912, Wilson assured the Rev. J. Milton Waldron and William Monroe Trotter that if elected he intended to be a President of the whole nation — to know no white or black, no North, South, East or West.²⁴

Despite this shallow pledge, Trotter and the NIPL endorsed Wilson. Other blacks remained true to the party of Lincoln and worked for Taft's election.²⁵

After Wilson's victory, Trotter began corresponding with him hoping to exchange his support for political patronage. On one occasion he offered to come to Washington as an advisor on racial policy.²⁶ Wilson declined the offer.

It is ironic that Trotter took this initiative in view of his criticism of Booker Washington, but the two circumstances were quite different. In October 1901 Washington accepted an invitation to dine with Roosevelt at the White House. Roosevelt had hoped to use Washington's southern background as a level to build the Republican Party in that region.²⁷ Wilson did not seek such assistance from Trotter. In fact, Wilson sought little assistance from any blacks during his administration. Trotter not only failed to secure an advocacy role, he exerted little, if any, persuasion on Wilson's racial thinking. Trotter felt particularly betrayed since the number of blacks who voted for Wilson was small. Lacking a constituency, Trotter was vulnerable. Unlike Washington, who also endorsed Wilson, he had no broad power base from which to operate. He was not in a position to trade political favors, yet he maintained his conviction that blacks would secure their rights through the political process. Having declined membership in the NAACP, continuing his feud with DuBois and still in disagreement with Washington, Trotter found himself part of a trio of strange bedfellows who supported Wilson. Clearly his tactics were not producing the results he desired, but this did not mean that he was willing to abandon his conviction about electoral politics.

Trotter was a twentieth century abolitionist.

As conditions for blacks deteriorated, the NAACP appealed to Trotter for unity.²⁸ Even Washington was moved to say in 1913: "I have never seen the colored people so discouraged and bitter as they are at the present time."²⁹ Again Trotter declined the offer. Through the NIPL a nationwide campaign was started to petition Wilson to take action against segregation. Twenty thousand signatures were gathered, and along with a delegation that included Ida Wells-Barnett, Trotter went to Washington to present the petition. The President received the delegation but did not act on their complaints.

In 1913 the NIPL changed its name to the National Equal Rights League (NERL). Trotter continued his campaign against segregation. He was able to obtain a second audience with the President in November 1914. This time the meeting was more dramatic. The issues remained the same, but when Wilson told the delegation that segregation was a benefit, Trotter could not restrain himself. He reminded the President that despite previous Democratic presidencies, "segregation was drastically introduced"³⁰ after he took office. He went on to remind Wilson that he

had supported him, but that many blacks were ridiculing that decision. Trotter made his case even though Wilson could not be swayed by the strength of his argument or the merits of his conviction.

The report of Trotter's encounter with the President received mixed reviews in the press.³¹ Whatever the reactions to the meeting were, Trotter had clearly introduced a new level of political activism. Ida Wells-Barnett, who did not accompany him on his second trip to Washington, concluded: "We thought that the race should back up the man who had had the bravery to contend for the rights of his race, instead of condemning him."³² Wells-Barnett's comment was a poignant testimony that in the struggle for equal rights and human dignity, issues should take precedence over personalities.

Many criticized his methodology, but the 1960s saw a revitalization of his direct action approach.

Placing Trotter's confrontation in historical perspective, it is interesting that the reaction to his meeting with Wilson engendered a different response than the Boston Riot. When Trotter challenged Washington he was hailed by black radicals as a leader of a cause. His audacity was harnessed as a force leading to the Niagara Movement and, as already mentioned, many of those men later joined the NAACP. Among the issues on which he challenged Washington was the gradualist approach to equality and full citizenship. Wilson's policy or lack of policy similarly was characterized as gradualist. If gradualism was a key element in each confrontation, the furor emanating from his Wilson meeting did not expose the centrality of the issue. Was Trotter the problem or was gradualism the problem? Some of the most vociferous responses revealed more about Trotter's critics than the issues he tried to engage. The prevailing problem was separating style from substance.

A few months after Trotter's audience with Wilson, a new protest was in the making. Amid angry protests, *Birth of a Nation* opened in Boston in April 1915. Trotter joined the NAACP, among others, in issuing a statement to Mayor Curley denouncing the film. After editing out some offending scenes the Mayor permitted the film to be shown. Not satisfied with the deletions, Trotter led a group of blacks to the theater ostensibly to buy tickets to see the film. When word circulated that Trotter's group intended to confiscate the film, police guards were staked out. A few members of Trotter's group gained admission into the theater, but Trotter did not. When a scuffle broke out in the lobby, he was arrested.

Trotter continued to urge that the film be voluntarily banned as offensive. When this failed the fight was taken to the legislature. In response to the appeal, a new censorship law was enacted establishing local commissions and granting them power to determine community standards for acceptable films. The Boston Commission ruled that the film did not offend community standards. As the protest continued, *Birth of a Nation* enjoyed a six-month run in Boston. Trotter failed in his bid to remove the film, but he did revive a spirit of activism.

In 1916 Trotter was invited to the Amenia Conference in upstate New York. The death of Washington in 1915 occasioned a plea for reconciliation. Trotter could not attend the conference, but he pledged his cooperation with the spirit of reconciliation and his support. Essentially the brain-child of DuBois, the Amenia Conference was conceived in the spirit of racial progress. The structure of the Conference suggested that it was a biracial version of DuBois's "Talented Tenth." A spirit of cooperation did not deter Trotter from maintaining the position that racially autonomous organizations were necessary. It appeared that Trotter was seeking a more favorable role for the NERL. The NERL did not have the national recognition of the NAACP. If a cooperative agreement could have been structured out of the Amenia Conference, the NERL would have been a benefactor.³³

Internationalism

The United State's entry into World War I curtailed the evolution of the Amenia Conference. Trotter confined his activities to the NERL. The League called for a race conference to be held in Washington, D.C., in 1918. In the aftermath of the war concern was growing among various organizations that full equality for black Americans should be included in the agenda of the Paris Peace Conference. Trotter urged Wilson to add to the Fourteen Points a further point calling for "the elimination of civil, political, and judicial distinction based on race or color in all nations for the new era of freedom everywhere."³⁴ A request was also made to add a black delegate to the Peace Conference. The NAACP had already selected DuBois to attend as an observer. A coalition comprising Marcus Garvey, A. Philip Randolph, Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., Madame C.J. Walker and Ida Wells-Barnett met as the League of Darker Peoples to select a delegation. Garvey's organization, the United Negro Universal Improvement Association, developed one of the most comprehensive platforms to present to the Peace Conference. Its representatives were to be Randolph and Wells-Barnett; however, neither accepted.

At the NERL's National Race Congress the theme was internationalism. Trotter argued, in a tone strikingly similar to Garvey, that democracy must be accorded all of the world's oppressed people. His message carried a plea for mutual understanding, yet beneath the surface there were undertones of nationalism. He had not identified himself in the past as a nationalist. To the contrary, he was a consummate integrationist from his student days at Harvard. His call for racially autonomous organizations was an organizational strategy. He preached "separatism" in organizations as the most effective method of articulation.

The NERL elected Trotter, Walker and Wells-Barnett as their delegates. None of them went in an official capacity because they were denied passports. Ultimately, Trotter sailed to France disguised as a cook aboard the *S.S. Yarmouth* (the same ship subsequently purchased by Garvey's Black Star Steamship Company).

Trotter was unsuccessful in getting the NERL's plank adopted into the Peace Conference; however, he did meet with a number of people who were interested in the proposal. They gave symbolic support to him and his organization, but nothing substantive developed. He gained at least a symbolic victory.

After the Peace Conference Trotter returned to Boston and resumed his interest in local conditions. He continued to publish the financially impoverished *Guardian*. To the emerging Garvey movement, Trotter responded that the struggle for blacks in this country must be in America. He rejected what appeared to him to be extremism in Garveyism.

The *Guardian* served as his medium to stir local agitation against inequality. He did not stray beyond the confines of Boston very often, and his life ended on his birthday, April 7, 1934, under circumstances that strongly suggest he may have committed suicide.

The *Journal of Negro History* noted Trotter's death with the observation:

In the years to come when men will have shuffled off their greed, haughtiness and selfishness William Monroe Trotter will be given a high rating because he was a servant of the truth, a martyr in the cause of human freedom.³⁵

William Monroe Trotter was a twentieth century abolitionist. He was a man of principle whose dedication to the cause of equality was never disputed. Many criticized his methodology, but the 1960s saw a revitalization of his direct action approach. His life is an interesting profile in the study of leadership. He left no long standing organization, but in the history of the NAACP we can see his influence. His life is also the story of opportunities that converge but do not merge.

NOTES

¹Hofstadter, R. (1955). *Age of Reform*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. P. 5.

²DuBois, W.E.B. (1903). *The Souls of Black Folk*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg. P. 41.

³Franklin, J.H. (1967). *From Slavery to Freedom*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Pp. 390-97; Meier, A. (1969). *Negro Thought in America: 1880-1915*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

⁴Bennett, L., Jr. (1968). *Pioneers in Protest*. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co. P. 230; Pattkammer, C.W. and R. Worthy. (1968). William Monroe Trotter, 1872-1934. *Journal of Negro History*, 43, 298; DuBois, W.E.B. (1934). William Monroe Trotter. *The Crisis*, 41, 134.

⁵Bennett. *Pioneers in Protest*. P. 30.

⁶Harlan, L. (1972). *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901*. New York: Oxford University Press. P. 227.

⁷Baker, R.S. (1964). *Following the Color Line*. New York: Harper Torchbooks. P. 217.

⁸For a discussion of James Monroe Trotter, see: Fox, S.R. (1970). *The Guardian of Boston*. New York: Atheneum.

⁹Fox. *Guardian of Boston*. P. 29.

¹⁰Harrison, W. (1946). William Monroe Trotter—Fighter. *Phylon*, 7, 240.

¹¹DuBois, W.E.B. (1968). *Dusk to Dawn*. New York: Schocken. P. 73; DuBois, W.E.B. (1968). *The Autobiography of W.E.B. DuBois*. New York: International Publishers Co. P. 238.

¹²Harlan, L. (1983). *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915*. New York: Oxford University Press. P. 36.

¹³For a discussion of black intellectual leadership as a challenge to Washington, see: Record, W. (1956). Negro Intellectuals and Negro Movements in Historical Perspective. *American Quarterly*, 8, 3-20; Fox, O.C. Leadership Among Negroes in the United States. A. Gouldner (Ed.). (1950). *Studies in Leadership*. New York: Harper & Brothers. Pp. 222-71.

¹⁴Fox. *Guardian of Boston*. Pp. 49-58; Harlan. *Wizard of Tuskegee*. Pp. 32-62; Rudwick E. (1962). Race Leadership Struggle: Background of the Boston Riot of 1903. *Journal of Negro Education*, 31, 16-24.

¹⁵DuBois. *Dusk of Dawn*. P. 87.

¹⁶DuBois, W.E.B. A Pageant in Seven Decades. P.S. Foner (Ed.). (1970). *W.E.B. DuBois Speaks: Speeches and Addresses, 1890-1919*. New York: Pathfinder Press. P. 46.

¹⁷DuBois, W.E.B. The Niagara Movement. H. Aptheker (Ed.). (1969). *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*. New York: Citadel Press. P. 904. The original version appeared in *The Voice of the Negro*. September 1905. P. 619-22.

¹⁸Fox. *Guardian of Boston*. P. 152.

¹⁹Walling, W.E. (1908 September 3). The Race War in the North. *Independent*. Pp. 529-34.

²⁰Kellogg, C. (1967). *NAACP: A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1909-1920*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Pp. 11-12.

²¹In 1908 Trotter founded the National Equal Rights League, an "organization of the colored people and for the color people and led by the colored people." Quoted in Fox. *Guardian of Boston*. P. 140.

²²Pattkammer and Worthy. William Monroe Trotter, 1872-1934. P. 306.

²³Fox. *Guardian of Boston*. P. 146.

²⁴Blumenthal, H. (1963). Woodrow Wilson and the Race Question. *Journal of Negro History*, 48. 4.

²⁵Strange, D. (1968). The Making of a President - 1912: The Northern View. *Negro History Bulletin*, 31. 14-23.

²⁶Fox. *Guardian of Boston*. Pp. 171-72.

²⁷On Washington's meeting with Roosevelt, see: Harlan. *Wizard of Tuskegee*. Pp. 3-31.

²⁸Fox. *Guardian of Boston*. P. 174.

²⁹Blumenthal. Wilson and the Race Question. P. 8.

³⁰Fox. *Guardian of Boston*. P. 180.

³¹*The Crisis* of January 1915 carried a full account of Trotter's meeting with Wilson, including the verbal exchange between the two men. See Pp. 119-29.

³²Dunster, A. (Ed.). (1970). *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. P. 376.

³³DuBois, W.E.B. (1925). *The Amenia Conference: An Historic Negro Gathering*. Amenia, N.Y.: Troutbeck Leaflets; Kellogg, C. *NAACP*. Pp. 87-88; Diggs, I. (1973). The Amenia Conference. *Freedomways*, 13. 117-34; Fox. *Guardian of Boston*. Pp. 202-4.

³⁴Fox. *Guardian of Boston*. P. 222.

³⁵Pattkammer and Worthy. (1934). William Monroe Trotter. *Journal of Negro History*, 19. 341.

William A. Edwards, Ph.D., sociologist, is a Research Associate at the William Monroe Trotter Institute.

Research Associate Proposals Welcomed

The William Monroe Trotter Institute provides research opportunities for local scholars through its Research Associates Program. Research Associates are scholars who conduct research on Black Studies related topics at the Institute, produce research reports and other scholarly papers, and participate in Institute Forums and other programs. Opportunities exist for scholars to conduct individual research, collaborative research, or research on a topic as part of some larger Institute study.

Research Associates at the Trotter Institute represent a variety of disciplines and address various topics related to the black experience. Scholars are first appointed as Research Associates and then provided support for their research, if needed. Research funding is usually limited to \$5,000.

Scholars may propose projects on any aspects of the black experience; however, the Institute will give priority to research on Boston or other parts of Massachusetts in the areas listed below and to pilot projects leading to research funding proposals to external agencies.

- Health and Medical Care
- Education
- Housing
- Economics
- Demographics

Scholars who are interested in participating in research on one of the topics listed above and who do not have a specific research agenda are invited to contact the Institute about working on an ongoing project in collaboration with other scholars.

For application, please write or call:

William Monroe Trotter Institute
Attn: Research Associates Program
University of Massachusetts at Boston
Harbor Campus
Boston, Massachusetts 02125-3393
(617) 929-8631

Completed proposals are due by May 2, 1988. Notification of awards will be made by May 30, 1988.