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W.E.B. Du Bois' Ideas on Education: Implications for Nigerian Education

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W.E.B. DU BOIS' IDEAS ON EDUCATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR NIGERIAN EDUCATION

by

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VITA

The author, Martin Umachi Okoro is the son of the late Mazi Okoro Okwara and Madam Mgbeke Okwun Okoro. He was born on February 25, 1942, in Umuchiakuma, Ihechiowa, Arochukwa-Ohafia Local Council Area, Imo State, Nigeria.

He was educated at Catholic Mission Schools at the elementary and post-elementary levels in his home diocese of Calabar, now Umuahia. He attended St. John's and St. Mary's primary schools, both in Ihechiowa, and St. Peter's and St. Mary's Colleges, in Ututu and Abak, respectively.

In October, 1967, he entered Fourah Bay College, the University of Sierra Leone, having earned the University of London General Certificate of Education at the subsidiary and advanced levels. He graduated in November, 1970 with a Bachelor of Arts degree (History major). The following year he was awarded the Post-Graduate Diploma in Education (Dip Ed.).

He began his graduate studies with a Loyola University Scholarship in February, 1972, and was awarded the Master of Arts degree in Education on February 9, 1975, majoring in Educational Administration and Supervision.

In November, 1977, he was accepted for the Doctor of Philosophy degree at Loyola, with a major concentrating in the Historical Foundations of Education, and minor stresses in Philosophy of Education and Documentary Research.

Both the Federal Government of Nigeria and Loyola University have

been generous in awarding him a scholarship and a fellowship, respectively, without which, it would have been impossible to complete the doctorate degree program.

The author has had considerable experience in the teaching profession at the elementary and secondary school levels in Nigeria, Sierre Leone and the United States. He currently works part-time as a training specialist for the Chicago Urban Skills Institute of the City Colleges of Chicago.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ii

LIFE iii

LIST OF TABLES vii

CONTENTS OF APPENDICES . . . . . .

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION 1

Statement of the Problem 1
Method of Investigation. 2
Definition and Clarification of Terms. 3
Review of Literature 4

II. A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND WORK OF W.E.B. DU BOIS 12

III. COMMENTARY ON THE WORKS OF DU BOIS 30

IV. ANALYSIS OF DU BOIS' IDEAS ON EDUCATION. 53

V. IMPLICATIONS OF DU BOIS' IDEAS FOR NIGERIAN EDUCATION. 80

VI. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 112

BIBLIOGRAPHY 119

APPENDIX A 127

APPENDIX B 130

APPENDIX C 132

APPENDIX D 134

APPENDIX E 136

APPENDIX F 138

Page

APPENDIX G 140

APPENDIX H 142

APPENDIX I 144

APPENDIX J 146

APPENDIX K 148

APPENDIX L 150

APPENDIX M 152

APPENDIX N 155

APPENDIX O 157

APPENDIX P 159

APPENDIX Q 161

APPENDIX R 163

APPENDIX S 165

APPENDIX T 168

APPENDIX U 170

APPENDIX V 172

LIST OF TABLES

Page

Table 1. 98

Table 2. 99

Table 3. 99

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of the Problem

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868-1963) was a distinguished Afro-American scholar, teacher, historian, sociologist, critic and author, whose ideology was of significance in both the United States and in Africa in this century. The purpose of the research on this fascinating personality and "intellectual giant," is to critically analyze Du Bois' ideas on education and the implications of these ideas for Nigerian education.

Education is generally regarded as the key to the economic, political and social progress or development of any country in the modern world. Every country places a great deal of emphasis on the education of its young, as well as the middle-aged, and sometimes even the elderly. An industrialized society, for instance cannot be fully effective if its citizens are educated to less than the limit of their potential. The uneducated, it is argued, are unproductive, an economic liability, and therefore a menace to society. If this trend of thought is true for the technologically advanced countries, it is even more so for a developing country like Nigeria. With a population of nearly one hundred million people who speak a variety of native languages, Nigeria has a very high illiteracy rate and has not been politically, economically and socially stable. Since the stability, growth and

survival of a country depend to a great extent on an educated citizenry, the role of education in the Nigerian context cannot be over-emphasized. It is hoped that Du Bois' educational theory which is intricately linked to the political, economic and social regeneration of a people who were once colonized, exploited, oppressed and de-stabilized, can serve as a guide to Nigerian educational planners.

B. Method of Investigation

The basic research methodology used in this dissertation was historical, and it involved the examination of primary and secondary sources.

Primary Sources: Du Bois wrote more than twenty books, hundreds of articles, editorials, and poems which put forth his political, economic, social, and educational beliefs. His published and unpublished papers provide a great deal of information about himself, his family, education, and his outlook on human problems at the national and global levels. Both the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, and Harvard University libraries, which the writer used, contain the bulk of "The Du Bois' Papers".* To supplement the findings from the above sources, the author read books and articles that presented opposing views to Du Bois' ideas on the one hand, and official Nigerian Government papers on education on the other. My visit to Nigeria, and my informal discussions with a cross section of Nigerians at home and in Chicago about the educational problems of the country broadened my perspectives

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*See Appendices A-V.

on the research problem.

Secondary Sources: The writer examined the related literature to gain insight into the nature of earlier studies on Du Bois, Pan-Africanism, education, and the theories of social change (modernization). The procedures, findings, and the relevant portions of such investigations have been noted in the appropriate section--review of literature.

The syntheses of the ideas from the various sources form the basis for the conclusions and recommendations that have been made in the last chapter.

C. Definition and Clarification of Terms

Ideology: The term "ideology" originates from the words "ideo" or "idea" and "logos", meaning "reason, manner of thinking or science." It is an attempt to explain the past, the present, and to predict the future if a certain course of action is taken, in terms of the political, economic and social welfare of a group.

H. Stuart Hughes defines ideology as

> the general concept of the actual or ideal nature of society that gives meaning and direction to the lives of large groups of people. In one aspect it is a theory of history, charting the "inevitable" course of human affairs and assuring its adherents that the future lies with them. From another standpoint ideology is linked to class, rationalizing and endorsing the aspirations of one social class and attacking those of its enemies. Finally it may be viewed as a secular cult with its own saints and martyrs, its own creed, and its own system of missionary work, propaganda, and indoctrination.[1]

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[1]H. Stuart Hughes, Contemporary Europe: A History (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1961), p. 11. Quoted in G.L. Gutek, A History of the Western Educational Experience (New York: Random House, 1972), pp. 169-170.

For our purpose in this dissertation, "ideology" is not used in a perjorative or negative sense, it is rather used to describe a situation that exists and to plan a course of action or program to change or sustain it.

The terms "Negro", "colored", "Afro-American" and "Black" have been used interchangeably in this dissertation except where reference was made to Ibn Battuta's description of the positive qualities of the "Negroes in the Western Sudan (Mali in the 14th century A.D.)." Negroes, in that context refer to the "Negro Race" or Africans.

Pan Africanism: Literally, the term means, "all-Africa", "unity of Africa", "common identity." Immanuel Geiss has defined it as "a delayed boomerang from the time of slavery."[2] By this definition, Geiss implies that the concept of Pan-Africanism travelled the same triangular route across the Atlantic as the slaves had done, but in reverse or opposite direction, i.e., from Africa (West Africa in particular) to America (West Indies and U.S.A.), and then to Europe (England, especially) and finally back to West Africa.

Pan-Africanism refers to the ideas and movements which aim at the political union of all African states, and the establishment of ties with people of African descent all over the world.

D. Review of Literature

A large body of literature has been written in the general area of modernization, and the role of education and ideology in the

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[2]Immanuel Geiss, The Pan-African Movement (New York: Menthuen, Inc., 1974), p. 8.

transformation of society from traditional to modern society. Since educational concerns cannot be separated from the political, economic, and social problems of which it is an integral part, the review of literature on the subject must of necessity be inter-disciplinary. The review of literature is divided into two parts--(1) General Literature and (2) Specific studies based on Du Bois' ideas.

Peter F. Drucker,[3] in the Landmarks of Tomorrow--"The Educational Revolution," (1959), argued that "an abundant and increasing supply of highly educated people has become the absolute prerequisite of social and economic development." He argued that since the high education of a country control its military, technological and economic potentials, in an age of superpower politics and military rivalry, higher education must be given priority in the interest of national survival and world leadership.

Joseph R. Gusfield,[4] in "Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study of Social Change" (1967), contended that "tradition" and "modernity" were not necessarily "polar opposites in the linear theory of social change," as was the popular notion among some social scientists. Gusfield presented abundant anthropological evidence to contradict the popular myth and to show that "tradition" and "change" can co-exist--the past serving as support in the spheres of values and political legitimation to the present and the future. As Gusfield

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[3]Quoted in Amitai Etzioni and Eva Etzioni-Halevy, Social Change: Sources, Patterns and Consequences, 2nd edition (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973), p. 232.

[4]Ibid., pp. 333-341.

noted, for the leaders of the newly independent nations, the issue is not so much that of overcoming tradition, but of finding ways of synthesizing and blending tradition and modernity.

Alex Inkeles, et.al.,[5] in a study titled "Making Men Modern: On the Causes and Consequences of Individual Change in Six Developing Countries" (1968), interviewed 6,000 men from six developing countries to find out the impact on the individual of his exposure to, and participation in, the process of national and economic modernization. To a striking degree, the same syndrome of attitudes, values, and ways of acting, such as openness to new experiences, independence from parental authority, and taking an active part in civic affairs, defines the modern man in each of the six countries and in all occupational groups of cultivator, craftsman, and industrial worker. The research findings indicated that education was the most powerful factor in making men modern.

Gerald L. Gutek,[6] in his book, documented the arguments for universal education. The use of education as an instrument for nation building was justified on the following grounds: (1) need for political enlightenment--democratic processes and procedures require an electorate capable of choosing its rulers, and elected officials capable of governing; for both, an educated, literate citizenry is a necessity; (2) national identity--equally important in the demand for

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[5]Ibid., pp. 342-361.

[6]Gerald L. Gutek, An Historical Introduction to American Education (New York: T.Y. Crowell Co., 1970), p. 51.

expanded education was the argument that it could contribute to the establishment of common values and loyalties, and weld groups with diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds into a common national identity; and (3) in addition to these civic demands, the need for trained and skilled workers for business and industry was important for the nation and for the individuals whose economic and social mobility were enhanced through education.

Neil J. Smelser,[7] in his article titled "Towards a Theory of Modernization," noted, among other things, the role of values in economic development. Smelser documented the use of nationalism, socialist ideologies, and even worldly religious beliefs as instruments for smashing traditional attachments, or modifying them in order to set up a new society. As he ably pointed out, initially, these value systems become legitimate and successful, but as society evolves to an advanced stage, secularization and stagnation occur, and "nationalism settles down into a more remote and complacent condition, rising to fury only in times of national crisis."

Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis,[8] in their book, fully documented arguments to show that "the American educational system has never provided equality of opportunity either for human development or economic reward because it has always reflected the inherent inequalities in a capitalist economy." In their view, any genuine attempt at reform must

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[7]Etzioni, pp. 268-284.

[8]Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976).

be total--the complete dismantling of the political, economic, and social order in an earnest effort to build "a more democratic and egalitarian system." The authors regarded earlier educational reforms in the U.S. as mere social tinkering, which only scratched the surface of the problem and reinforced the status quo. In their view, a revolutionary transformation of society in the economic, political, and social spheres, with education and ideology playing a unifying role, is the answer to the solution of the problems of capitalist societies.

Some Specific Studies on Du Bois

Thomas James Heiting in "W.E.B. Du Bois and the Development of Pan-Africanism 1900-1930" concentrates on the life and career of W.E.B. Du Bois, with emphasis on his activities as a Pan-Africanist from 1900-1930.[9] He touched on the major controversies of the period--Booker T. Washington versus Du Bois 1904-1909, and the conflict with Marcus Garvey in the 1920's. Heiting used a descriptive and documentary approach in his study; he did not deal with the problem from an ideological perspective, nor did he stress the ramifications of Du Bois' concept of Pan-Africanism for the educator in an African setting. Besides, the study was limited in scope to the period from 1900-1930.

Clarence Garner Contee's dissertation was similar to the above.[10] The main differences were: first, Contee recognized the significance

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[9]Thomas James Heiting, "W.E.B. Du Bois and the Development of Pan-Africanism 1900-1930," Ph.D. Dissertation, Texas Tech University, 1969.

[10]Clarence Garner Contee, "W.E.B. Du Bois and African Nationalism," Ph.D. Dissertation, The American University, 1969.

of Du Bois' identification with Africa and his interest in the cultural renaissance, and eventual political freedom of the colonized areas of Africa; second, his study covered the period of the two World Wars, overlapping somewhat with Heiting's period. Contee's research as in the former case, did not relate Du Bois' ideology to his educational theory upon which it was dependent for the achievement of political, economic and cultural independence from colonial powers.

Boaz Nalika Namasaka did a study on the topic "William E.B. Du Bois and Thorstein B. Veblen: Intellectual Activists of Progressivism, A Comparative Study, 1900-1930".[11] Namasaka noted that as representatives of ethnic groups, Du Bois, Afro-American, and Veblen, a second generation Norweigian immigrant, both men analyzed the economic, social, educational, and political institutions of their country from a unique viewpoint; the fact that Veblen was white makes the comparison more relevant to the Afro-American experience. The discriminatory policies against blacks, especially after the end of the Reconstruction era in the 1880s and 1890s, he contended, molded Du Bois economic, political, and social philosophy. Like Du Bois, he argued, "Veblen was not fully accepted in the mainstream of American life," even though he taught at institutions of higher learning where Du Bois could not be appointed because of his race. Veblen was, therefore, a member of an ethnic minority in a predominantly Anglo-Saxon culture of the United States. In his analysis of the "philosophies" of Du Bois and Veblen,

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[11]Boaz Nalika Namasaka, "William E.B. Du Bois and Thorstein B. Veblen: Intellectual Activists of Progressivism, A Comparative Study, 1900-1930," Ph.D. Dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1971.

Namasaka noted the similarities in their economic, political and social ideas, and their "progressive crusade in foreign affairs." Among other things, they called for (1) a drastic re-structuring of the American economy in order to improve the material welfare of the people; (2) extension of the franchise to achieve political and social justice; (3) equalization of educational opportunities to serve the dual purpose of enlightening the electorate, and as "a tool for initiating social change"; (4) an end to colonialism and imperialism which they equated with the economic and political exploitation and control of the weak by the strong, and on the basis of this definition, colonization and imperialism were closely linked with "private enterprise", and together they constitute the "number one enemy" and threat to world peace.

Richard Samuel Brody, in his study, noted that Du Bois was influenced by the "intellectual climate" in which his "thinking matured."[12] Du Bois' theory of the Talented Tenth, an intellectual aristocracy that would use education and reason to find cures for social problems, emanated from the cultural milieu of progressive thought. Thus, Du Bois' interest in formal education emphasized the social value of education which included: (1) the development of political and economic power; (2) the development of personality; (3) the formation of good character, and (4) the development of the community spirit. Brody saw obvious parallels between Du Bois' theory of the Talented Tenth, the Platonic guardians and Marxist-Leninist conceptions of leadership which he

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[12]Richard Samuel Brody, "W.E.B. Du Bois' Educational Ideas," Ed.D. Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1972.

termed "the dictatorship of the righteous."[13] He criticized Du Bois' call for personal sacrifice and service as burdensome and rarely found in human societies.[14]

Although Brody did not state the purpose of his study or the method of investigation, it can be inferred from his work that he merely wanted to compile and criticize Du Bois' theory of education using the historical, documentary method.

A major objective of the present research study is to examine the rationalization and utilization of education and ideology as potent forces in a period of rapid economic, political and social change. The literature that has been reviewed should serve as a guide towards formulating a policy of "synthesizing and blending" old ideas with the new. This study differs from previous studies because it focuses on problems that are peculiar to Nigeria. Unlike the research studies briefly summarized, my research explores the relevance and implications of Du Bois' ideas for Nigerian education today; it also contains a biographical sketch of Du Bois from 1868-1963.

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[13]Ibid., p. 92.

[14]Ibid., pp. 273-274.

CHAPTER II

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND WORK OF W.E.B. DU BOIS, 1868-1963

> I will seek (the Truth) on the pure assumption that it is worth seeking--and (neither) Heaven, nor Hell, God, nor Devil shall turn me from my purpose till I die....
>
> W.E.B. Du Bois

Birth and Parentage

William Edward Burghart Du Bois was born on February 23, 1868, in the little town of Great Barrington, Massachusetts three years after the American Civil War. He was of a mixed African and European blood. Du Bois described his maternal grandfather as "very dark," his maternal grandmother as a "Dutch-African woman," and his mother, Mary, as "dark shining bronze." His paternal grandfather, Alexander Du Bois, was born in the Bahamas of a union between a wealthy American of Huguenot stock and a mulatto slave girl. Alexander Du Bois was educated in Connecticut. He was a very proud man, restless and embittered over many issues, especially racial discrimination, which eventually led him to break away from the Trinity Episcopal Church in New Haven with other black people to form St. Luke's Parish.[1] Alfred,

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[1]Robert A. Warner, New Haven Negroes (New Haven, 1940), pp. 86-87, quoted in Elliot M. Rudwick: W.E.B. Du Bois: Propagandist of the Negro Protest (New York: Antheneum, 1968), p. 15. See also Du Bois: Dusk of Dawn (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940), p. 11.

W.E.B. Du Bois' father, was born in Haiti, where his father Alexander had gone to live for a while. Like his father, Alfred grew up to be a restless and unhappy man, who wandered from place to place. In 1867 he had come to the Berkshires, where he met and married Mary Burghardt. He tried many occupations--"barbering, selling, even preaching." Unsuccessful in all of these occupations, he drifted away from home permanently.[2]

Du Bois himself had at least two interesting descriptions of his origin. In Dark Water, he states that he was "born with a flood of Negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch but, thank God!, no Anglo-Saxon."[3]

In a message to the All African Conference in Accra, Ghana, 1958, he wrote:

> About 1735, my great-great grandfather was kidnapped on this coast of West Africa and taken by the Dutch to the colony of New York, where he was sold in slavery. About the same time a French Huguenot, Jacques Du Bois, migrated from France to America and his great-grandson, born in the West Indies and with Negro blood, married the great-great granddaughter of my black ancestor. I am the son of this couple, born in 1868, hence my French name and my African loyalty.[4]

Childhood Impressions

Great Barrington, where Du Bois grew up, was a very small community with a population of about five thousand people, mostly

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[2]Rudwick, Ibid.

[3]W.E.B. Du Bois, Dark Water: Voices from Within the Veil (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1921), p. 9.

[4]Andrew G. Paschal, A W.E.B. Du Bois Reader (New York: Macmillan Co., 1971), p. 252.

"respectable middle-class families." The black population was very small--about fifty people. German and Irish immigrants were part of the population. But the wealthy and the powerful members of the community were of English and Dutch descent. Politically, Great Barrington was a Republican stronghold, and most of the adult males participated in the town meetings.

As a boy, Du Bois had a comfortable beginning. His days were largely free from unpleasant incidents of racial discrimination. This was partly because of the smallness of the population and its middle-class orientation, and principally because of Du Bois' display of exceptional ability which gave him preeminence among his peers. He was received in the families of young white friends and participated in their childhood games and outings. He found that in the eyes of his playmates, he was more acceptable than the children of the newly arrived Irish and German immigrants whose parents worked in mills.[5]

Gradually, Du Bois began to realize that his neighbors in the community placed him in a special category because of the color of his skin. Although in general he described Great Barrington, with its hills and rivers, as "a boy's paradise," there was an unpleasant incident that left a permanent impression on Du Bois. His classmates had decided to exchange visiting cards. Everything was going well until a little girl refused, "peremptorily, with a glance," to accept

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[5]George R. Metcalf, Black Profiles (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1968), p. 56.

his card.[6] This incident was a rude awakening for Du Bois; it was the first time he had ever felt unwanted. From that time on he became more sensitive to racial differences, and to the reactions of others. He learned from experience when his companions needed him, and when he was not welcome. In that way, he probably avoided many ugly incidents that would have occurred.

High School Days

Du Bois entered the Great Barrington High School in the fall of 1880 and graduated in June, 1884. Early in his career, he reasoned that hard work in school would earn him a place of honor in society and immunize him from the racial malady which his relatives, in their everyday work experience, loudly complained about at home. Accordingly, in high school, he competed on equal terms with children from prominent families, where he sometimes excelled. He was elected president of the literary and debating society. As a high school student, he showed some talent as a writer, which earned him a part-time job as a correspondent for the New York Globe when he was only fifteen years of age. The New York Globe was a pioneer newspaper which published articles about Negroes in the Northeast. Du Bois discovered prejudice in the adult world of Great Barrington as a correspondent for the Globe newspaper. He related an incident of how a Republican town committee had given the job of a night watchman to a

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[6]W.E.B. Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903), p. 2.

Democrat rather than hire an available Negro Republican.[7]

Du Bois' outstanding achievements in high school were noted by his principal, teacher, and friend, Frank A. Hosmer (1855-1918), who prepared the way for his college education. This momentous episode was recorded by Du Bois in these words:

> My high school principal was Frank Hosmer, afterward president of Oahu College, Hawaii. He suggested, quite as a matter of fact, that I ought to take the college preparatory course which involved algebra, geometry, Latin, and Greek. If Hosmer had been another sort of man, with definite ideas as to a Negro's "place," and had recommended agricultural "science" or domestic economy, I would have doubtless followed his advice had such "courses" been available. I did not then realize that Hosmer was quietly opening college doors to me, for in those days they were barred with ancient tongues....[8]

Of that decision, Hosmer was to remark in a congratulatory letter to Du Bois on his 50th birthday that "Principal Hosmer had a faint vision of what we (see) in you." He expressed satisfaction with Du Bois' accomplishments, "both for the colored as for the white." He regretted the use of the terms "colored" and "white," since for him there was no such distinction.

Hosmer died in May 1918, and his letter to Du Bois dated February 8, 1918, may have been one of his last letters.[9]

Higher Education and the Formative Years of His Ideas

At age seventeen, Du Bois was anxious to attend college. He

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[7]Metcalf, Black Profiles, p. 56.

[8]Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 15. See also Herbert Aptheker (ed.), The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois, vol. 1 (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), pp. 225-226.

[9]Ibid.

preferred Harvard to other institutions because it was the "greatest and oldest college." But then he had to deal with many obstacles--hurdling the scholastic barrier and raising funds for his education. These problems for the time being seemed insurmountable, and in the midst of the dilemma, when he was offered a job, he decided to delay his college career. By the time he got ready to enter college, his situation had changed for the worse. His mother, who had been the inspiration of his early years and the family breadwinner after his father had drifted away, died.[10] With this tragedy, Du Bois' hopes of a college education diminished. But fortunately for him unexpected help came, and through the cooperative generosity of four churches in his home town, he was offered a scholarship to Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. Du Bois accepted the scholarship, though a bit disappointed that he was not entering Harvard. He vowed he would study at Harvard someday.

Fisk University was founded by the American Missionary Association shortly after the Civil War with a noble purpose:

> ...to establish for the colored people of the South a University, that should adequately provide for them the advantages of Christian Education to whatever extent the capacity and energy of the race should in the future demand.[11]

At Fisk University, Du Bois studied the classics, French and German literature, and physical and social sciences. He was popular with his instructors, who respected him for his "unusually quick and

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[10]Metcalf, Black Profiles, pp. 56-57.

[11]Ibid.

active mind." The president of Fisk University during Du Bois' time was E. M. Cravatti. Other staff members included professors F. A. Chase, Benet, Wright, Morgan, and Spence. The president, as well as the five professors, wrote letters of recommendation which facilitated Du Bois' admission to Harvard. Frank A. Hosmer, his high school principal, also sent a letter of recommendation to Harvard.[12]

It was while Du Bois was attending Fisk University that he saw for the first time a caste system he had never witnessed in his home town, Great Barrington. He saw prejudice in trains and living quarters, in school, in courts; insults and violence; and complete disregard for freedom and the pursuit of happiness, even of life, especially if the victim was black. However, he found strength and solidarity with the large number of black men and women who were in the majority in the institution. It was the first time in his life that he was among so many people of the Negro race.

In the summer of 1885, Du Bois went to the Tennessee countryside to teach. This adventure, again, was another eye-opener. He discovered the tragedy of Southern prejudice firsthand. His experiences in Wilson County, where he taught a predominantly black population who had not had an instructor but once since the Civil War, convinced Du Bois that education was the key to the solution of the race problem.[13] For one thing, he was highly impressed by the eagerness of the blacks in Wilson County to learn, and he was very optimistic about the future.

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[12]Aptheker, Correspondence of Du Bois, vol. 1, p. 6.

[13]Metcalf, Black Profiles, p. 58.

As editor of the Fisk Herald, Du Bois used the editorial pages to rally support for his views that the Negro people be organized and demand equal rights, a theme that was to pervade his writing for a lifetime.

In 1888, Du Bois graduated from Fisk University. Still determined to study at Harvard, he applied for admission with high recommendations from the Fisk faculty. His application was accepted, and he entered Harvard as a junior.

At Harvard, Du Bois received intellectual stimulation from such renowned scholars as William James in psychology, Albert Bushnell Hart and Justin Winsor in history, Josiah Royce and George Santayana in philosophy, and Barrett Wendell in English. William James, who became his favorite teacher and closest friend, advised Du Bois to take up the study of history and sociology instead of philosophy, indicating that "it is hard to earn a living with philosophy."[14] Barrett Wendell, his English teacher, read to his class part of Du Bois' composition, "On the Value of Education and Learning to Express Ones Self Well," in which the author wrote:

> I believe, foolishly perhaps, but sincerely, that I have something to say to the world, and I have taken English 12 in order to say it well.[15]

In 1890, Du Bois received his Bachelor of Arts degree in Philosophy from Harvard. Not satisfied with his academic qualifications so far, he applied to Harvard Graduate School for a masters degree program

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[14]Ibid., pp. 58-59.

[15]Ibid.

and was awarded a fellowship to enable him to pursue further studies in history and political science. His research papers from 1891-1892 included such topics as "Lee," "Unrepresentative Men," "Historical Conference," and "Methods in History." In economics, he wrote a paper entitled, "A Constructive Critique of Wage Theory: An Essay on the Present State of Economic Theory in Regard to Wages."[16]

From 1893-1894, he studied abroad at the University of Berlin in Germany with a grant from Rutherford Hayes, who was the president of a newly organized Slater Fund. While studying in Berlin, Du Bois found time to travel to other parts of Europe--Italy, Vienna, Prague, Budapest, and Poland. His travels in Europe left a very deep impression on him; for the first time in his life, he saw the beauty of an older civilization free from the conflict of race. But even more important to him was the influence of the professors under whom he studied, notably, Gustav Schmoller and Heinrich von Treitschke. From Schmoller Du Bois learned that the solution to the Negro problem required a systematic investigation--that ignorance alone was the cause of race prejudice and that scientific truth could dispel it.[17]

Gustav Schmoller was one of the most distinguished men in his field of economics at the University of Berlin in the 1890s. Du Bois described him as the head of the younger German radicals, "...a man of strong prejudices, fearless, and sharp in expression of opinion,

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[16]John Henrik Clarke, et al, Black Titan, W.E.B. Du Bois: An Anthology by the Editors of Freedomways (Boston: Bacon Press, 1970), p. 83.

[17]Ibid., p. 47.

but a tireless investigator. He strikes me as more of a historian than an economist."[18] Schmoller was so impressed by Du Bois' ability that he wanted to present him for his doctoral candidacy examination despite the fact that Du Bois had not completed the "triennium," i.e., six semesters, required in a German university. Although some members of the faculty were willing to exempt Du Bois from that requirement, the threat from an English professor to push the case for other British students resulted in the shelving of that idea.[19]

Du Bois' idea of "race" was borrowed from Professor Heinrich von Treitschke, who equated "nation" with "race," an approach that Du Bois would later adopt in his system. The fact that this same professor was an early advocate of German unification is also significant, since Du Bois is also remembered as the father of pan-Africanism.[20]

Of his admiration for von Treitschke, Du Bois wrote:

> To me, by far the most interesting of the professors is the well-known von Treitschke, the German Machiavelli. He never comes to his lectures until very late, often commencing his ten o'clock lecture on Politik at 10:30--never before 10:20.... The task, however, is worth all pains, for his is one of the most forcible and independent minds on the faculty....
>
> His lectures are nevertheless intensely interesting. He is rapt in his subject, a man of intense likes and dislikes, beliefs, and disbeliefs. He is the very embodiment of united monarchical, armed Germany. He has pity for France, hearty dislike for all

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[18]Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. 162-175. See also Aptheker, The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. 20-21.

[19]Ibid., pp. 27-29.

[20]Rodney Carlisle, The Roots of Black Nationalism (New York: The Kennikat Press, 1975), pp. 117-118.

> things English--while for America, well, the United States is his bete noire (black beast, a disliked country), which he seldom fails to exocriate.... His outlook is that of the born aristocrat who has something of the Carlyle contempt of leveling democracy. On the other hand, he criticizes his own government and nation unsparingly as he sees fit....[21]

Despite von Treitschke's idiosyncrasies, Du Bois admired his independent stance, his desire for German unity, and his courage in criticizing his own people, whenever such criticism was necessary.

Otto von Bismarck was another German nationalist and statesman who fascinated Du Bois. Of this admiration he remarked:

> Bismarck was my hero. He made a nation out of a mass of bickering peoples. He had dominated the whole development with his strength....
>
> This foreshadowed in my mind the kind of thing that American Negroes must do, marching forth with the strength and determination under trained leadership.[22]

In retrospect, Du Bois became somewhat apologetic for naively admiring Bismarck, one of the architects of German colonial policies in Africa. He later admitted that, at the time he made the remarks--during his Commencement oration at Fisk University, June, 1888--he had "no clear conception of the truth in the world." But as his education and outlook broadened, he began to see the intricate link between history, economics, politics, and religion, and became critical of the status quo.[23]

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[21]Du Bois, Autobiography, pp. 164-165.

[22]Ibid., p. 126.

[23]Ibid., pp. 126-127.

Teaching and Research

Back in the United States in 1894, Du Bois got a teaching assignment at Wilberforce University in Ohio in the department of Classics. Wilberforce University was a small denominational college for Negroes founded by the African Methodist Church. Because the church was too poor to run the college, the state attached a normal school to it and helped finance and administer the institution. Consequently, both church and state interests conflicted from time to time. Besides, the trustees of the college, according to Du Bois, were more interested in church organization than in the quality of education in the college, a frustrating experience for Du Bois.[24]

At Wilberforce, Du Bois taught Latin, Greek, German, and English. In between his work as a teacher, he worked on his doctoral dissertation, "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States, 1638-1870." He completed his research the next year, and thus obtained his Doctor of Philosophy degree. His dissertation was the first publication of the Harvard Historical Series.

In 1896, Du Bois left Ohio for the University of Pennsylvania to take up a position as an assistant instructor in sociology. There were three main reasons for his departure. First, as indicated earlier, Wilberforce was owned by the African Methodist Episcopal Church with supporting grants from the state. Du Bois found himself restricted by church tradition, which sometimes suppressed liberal ideas. Secondly, by then he had fallen in love with Nina Gomer of Cedar Rapids, Iowa,

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[24]Ibid., pp. 185-188.

whom he later married that year and was anxious to begin a new life in a different environment. Thirdly, the provost of the University of Pennsylvania offered him a research fellowship to study the Negro population in parts of Philadelphia. Under these circumstances, he could not pass up the opportunity of settling in a more stimulating environment.[25] Here, Du Bois had an opportunity to try out the research methods in social science which he had learned in Berlin and Harvard. Using a combination of questionnaires and interviews, he collected large amounts of data relating to such matters as number of people in the family, budgeting, earnings and occupation, type of dwelling, etc., which he recorded and analyzed. The research study entitled, "The Philadelphia Negro,"[26] which later became a book with the same title, was a pioneering sociological study of an urban black community.

Du Bois was satisfied with his 15-month study of the Seventh Ward in Philadelphia. He hoped that it would be the first in a series of similar studies on black communities around the country, which would form the basis for social reforms. Francis L. Broderick regards The Philadelphia Negro as the best of Du Bois' books. Du Bois' evenhanded allotment of blame to both races regarding the social problems in the community showed his relative inpartiality. As Broderick stated:

The Negroes he criticized for their sexual looseness, the

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[25]Metcalf, Black Profiles, pp. 61-62. See also Du Bois, Autobiography, pp. 186-194.

[26]W.E.B. Du Bois, The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1899).

> inefficiency of their organizations for social betterment, the failure of the richer Negroes to assert their leadership and of the poorer to seek it, the venality of their political life, and the extent of criminal activity within the race. White Philadelphians, he said, made things worse by their color prejudice. They created obstacles to Negro employment, both inside and outside trade unions, by regarding Negroes as a group rather than as individuals; they branded the entire race with the characteristics of its degenerate criminal class; they used the fear of ultimate intermarriage to curtail every prospect of Negro advancement....
>
> The factual evidence stands on its own, inviting every reader to make an independent appraisal, and here Du Bois' great strength showed up. His block-by-block survey was exhaustive and imaginative. His patience and honesty are revealed on every page. It was undoubtedly this aspect of the work which forty-five years later led Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish sociologist, to regard The Philadelphia Negro as a model study of a Negro Community.[27]

In 1897, Du Bois left the University of Pennsylvania to answer a call at Atlanta University, where the president of the institution had learned of his work in Philadelphia and was eager for him to direct the sociology program and to guide a recently organized conference on Negro life. Du Bois served as the guiding light of the conferences from 1897-1914. The reports and proceedings, which were published as the Atlanta University studies, covered such subjects as education, religion, business, health, politics, morality, and crime. Suppression of Negro rights in the South had reached a very high peak by the time Du Bois joined the Atlanta faculty. He could not forget the countless cases of lynching and other forms of brutality to which black people were subjected. By now, he had studied, taught, researched, and seen

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[27]Francis L. Broderick, W.E.B. Du Bois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis (Stanford: The University of Stanford Press, 1959), pp. 38-39. See also Julius Lester (ed.), The Seventh Son, vol. 1 (New York: Random House, Inc., 1971), pp. 30-35.

enough of the Negro problem firsthand; it was time now to outline his thoughts and his plan for action.

From 1905-1934, Du Bois experimented with his ideas beginning with the formation of the Niagara Movement, an all-black group[28] which agitated for full civil rights for blacks. The organization was short-lived, lasting from 1905 to 1909. In 1909, he joined with several black people and liberal whites to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Because of Du Bois' talents as a writer, and his experience with the defunct Niagara Movement, he was appointed director of publicity and research for the new organization. He left Atlanta University and devoted his full time to the association, using the editorial pages of the Crisis, the monthly publication of the organization, to advance its objectives. The Crisis became popular among both black and white readers because of its editorials.

In 1928, Du Bois visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of three Russian visitors to the United States. Du Bois hints that the visitors were probably clandestine agents of the "Communist dictatorship" who sought him out because they had learned of his radical views, and the Soviets had the idea that a revolution in the U.S. could be stirred up to some extent by exploiting the widespread discontent among some of the oppressed members of the black American population. Among the three visitors that Du Bois was in contact with, two were husband and wife and were very well-educated. The third, a blond

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[28]W.E.B. Du Bois, Autobiography, pp. 248-249.

German, appeared to Du Bois to be an "active revolutionist." In Du Bois' words:

> He was unwilling to wait. He wanted something done and done now. After I had sought firmly to show him that no revolution in America could be started by Negroes and succeed, and even if that were possible, that after what I had seen as the effects of war, I could never regard violence as an effective, much less necessary, step to reform the American state, he gradually faded out of the picture and ceased to visit me. I do not know what became of him. I never saw him again.[29]

Du Bois did visit the Soviet Union with a written understanding "...that this visit entail no promise on my part of action or agreement of any kind. I was to go on a journey of free inquiry to see the most momentous change in modern human history which had taken place since the French Revolution."[30] On his return, he began to change his position on issues--reliance on the working class could not easily be bought over by the establishment, unlike the elite who were more susceptible to corruption; emphasis on producer and consumer cooperatives as a possible solution to the economic problems of black people. This change of ideology in the 1930s led to disagreement between him and the NAACP leadership. Du Bois used the pages of the Crisis to criticize the Secretary for his inability to explain the NAACP stand on segregation. The Board of Directors voted on May 21, 1934, "that the Crisis is the organ of the Association, and no salaried officer of the Association shall criticize the policy, work, or officers of the

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[29]W.E.B. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, pp. 284-286.

[30]Ibid.

Association in the pages of the Crisis."[31] Du Bois resigned on learning of the vote but was persuaded to withdraw his resignation, which he temporarily did, resigning finally on June 26, 1934.[32]

Du Bois returned to academic life at Atlanta University only to rejoin the organization ten years later, leaving office finally in 1948 at the age of eighty.[33]

In 1950, he ran for the U.S. Senate in New York on the American Labor Party platform and was defeated. The results of the election were as follows:

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, ALP (i.e., American Labor Party)	7,344
Joe R. Hanley, Republican	10,262
Herbert H. Lehman, Democratic	35,232
Herbert H. Lehman, Liberal	4,750

The vote for Du Bois represented approximately 12.6% of the total vote case in Harlem for the office of U.S. Senator.[34]

He continued his writing and lectures, and was active in the Council of African Affairs and the Peace Information Center. In 1951, he was indicted by the U.S. Government as an agent of a foreign country but was found innocent and acquitted. Ten years later, he joined the American Communist Party, left the country to reside in Ghana, where he was made a citizen six months before his death on August 27, 1963. He died while working as editor of the Encyclopaedia

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[31]Du Bois, Autobiography, p. 298.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Metcalf, Black Profiles, pp. 77-79.

[34]Aptheker, The Correspondence of Du Bois, p. 331.

Africana. It was a fitting end for a man who had transferred his messianic mission to Africa, the land of his ancestors. Even more significant and symbolic were his remarks when he became a citizen of Ghana. He said then:

> My great-grandfather was carried from the Gulf of Guinea. I have returned that my dust may mingle with the dust of my forefathers. There is not much time for me. But now, my life will flow on the vigorous, young stream of Ghanaian life which lists the African personality to its proper place among men. And I shall not have lived and worked in vain.[35]

The next chapter will constitute a commentary on the works of W.E.B. Du Bois, which will give further insight into the man and his vision of the world around him and beyond.

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[35]Clarke, et al, p. 67.

CHAPTER III

COMMENTARY ON THE WORKS OF W.E.B. DU BOIS

Du Bois died in his sleep in Accra, Ghana, on August 27, 1963, at age ninety-five.[1] By the time of his death, he had published twenty-one books, hundreds of articles, editorials, and pamphlets. His publications spanned more than sixty years. Du Bois' writings include history, sociological research, poetry, short stories, novels, autobiography, and "crusading editorials," for which he was famous. He was preoccupied with racial problems in the United States in nearly all works. In later years, he broadened his outlook on race to include the natives of Africa and the peoples of African descent all over the world--the concept of Pan-Africanism--the purpose of which was to bring into existence

> ...such world organization of black men as would pose a united front to European aggression.... Out of this there might come, not race war and opposition, but broader cooperation with the white rulers of the world, and a chance for the accelerated development of black folk.[2]

Du Bois ably espoused the cause of freedom; he envisaged a world of peace free from injustice and racial strife, and in which socialism would triumph over capitalism.

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[1]Dans Green and Edwin D. Driver (eds.), W.E.B. Du Bois: On Sociology and the Black Community (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 30.

[2]W.E.B. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Towards an Autobiography of a Race Concept (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), pp. 274-275.

Among the most significant of Du Bois' twenty-one books with a bearing on his ideology, are collections of essays: The Conservation of the Races (1897);The Souls of Black Folk (1903); A History of the Negro Race (1913); The Negro (1915); Black Folk, Then and Now: An Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race (1939; Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Towards an Autobiography of a Race Concept (1940); The World and Africa: An Inquiry into the Part Which Africa Has Played in World History (1947); Socialism Today--On China and Russia (1964); The Future of All Africa Lies in Socialism (1958); and Dr. Du Bois' Message to the All-African Peoples' Conference, Accra (1958).

Du Bois recognized early in his career that history was, and is, the key to the understanding of social problems. He wrote:

> We can only understand the present by continually referring to and studying the past; when anyone of the intricate phenomena of our daily life puzzles us; when there arises religious problems, political problems, race problems, we must always remember that while their solution lies in the present, their cause and their explanation lie in the past. Study the past then, if you would comprehend the present; read history if you would know how to vote intelligently, read history if you do not know what sound money is, read history if you cannot grasp the Negro problem.[3]

Reinforcing his position, he stated: "...in the cold bare facts of history, so much was omitted from the complete picture that it could only be recovered as complete scientific knowledge if we could read back into the past enough to piece out the reality."[4]

Accordingly, he set himself the monumental task of researching the African past of his black ancestors. In his writings, Du Bois

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[3]Green and Driver, p. 36.

[4]Ibid.

brought important but hitherto hidden facts to light about African life and culture. He refuted the arrogant assumptions of some historians who, under the combined influence of ethnocentrism and colonialism, were very often inclined to ignore or suppress most types of evidence which presented black people in a favorable light. These facts were revealed in the pages of his books on Africa and the peoples of African descent, but particularly in Black Folk, Then and Now, and The World and Africa: An Inquiry into the Part Which Africa Has Played in World History.

In Black Folk, Then and Now, published in 1939, he made available to scholars and the general public more facts about Africa which he had discovered since the appearance of The Negro in 1915. The book reviewed all the available evidence bearing upon the history of Black Africa. Its pages were packed with facts about ancient Kush, Ethiopia, the Empires of the Western Sudan, and other kingdoms that flourished in other parts of Africa before the advent of Europeans on the African continent. Commenting on "Du Bois' Influence on African Hsitory," William Leo Hansberry noted:

> The details recorded by Dr. Du Bois about the history and culture of some of the kingdoms and empires were to me, at least, revelations of the first order. Mention was made, for example, of the fact that an extensive study of a large number of ancient Egyptian skulls by two distinguished Oxford anthropologists, Arthur Thomson and D. Randall-MacIver, had revealed that more than half of the examined crania dating from prehistoric times exhibited anatomical characters indicating that they had belonged to individuals with substantial amounts of Negro and Negroid blood. These findings tended to support Diodorus Siculus' statement to the effect that the Kushites had contended that it was from their country that the earliest Egyptians and the basic elements of their civilization were derived. According to the same study by the two Oxford anthropologists, the Negro and the Negroid types, though apparently less common in later times, remained,

> nevertheless, a significant element in the Egyptian population at all social levels throughout historical antiquity. In this same connection, Dr. Du Bois cited a passage from Herodotus (11, 104) in which the Egyptians were described as "black and curly haired," and mention was also made of a remark by Aeschylus in which it is implied that he too regarded the Egyptians as black-skinned folk.[5]

The World and Africa..., published in 1947, had almost the same theme as the first two books referred to above. The main difference between them and the one under review is that here the emphasis is not so much on the history of Negroid peoples but rather on a vigorous "statement of their integral role in human history from prehistoric to modern times."[6] Du Bois' thesis is that the only rationale for the exclusion or distortion of Black history in the 19th century was due to the slave trade and the enslavement of blacks in the new world. He traced the origin of this type of mentality to the rise of the sugar and cotton plantations in America:

> Since the rise of the sugar empire and the resultant cotton kingdom, there has been consistent effort to rationalize Negro slavery by omitting Africa from world history, so that today it is almost universally assumed that history can be truly written without reference to Negroid peoples. I believe this to be scientifically unsound and also dangerous for logical social conclusions. Therefore I am seeking in this book to remind readers in this crisis of civilization, of how critical a part Africa has played in history, past and present, and how impossible it is to forget this and rightly explain the present plight of mankind.[7]

Du Bois is here referring to what he regarded as a conspiracy and

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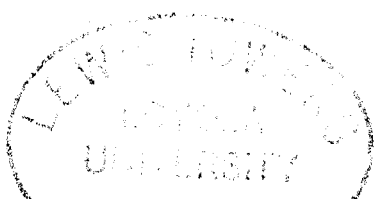
[5]Clarke, Jackson, Kaiser and O'Dell (eds.), Black Titan: W.E.B. Du Bois (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), p. 102.

[6]W.E.B. Du Bois, The World and Africa: An Inquiry into the Part Which Africa Has Played in World History (New York: International Publishers, 1965), p. viii.

[7]Ibid., p. vii.



deliberate attempt by most European and American authors on Africa to denigrate anything African or Afro-American. It was an ideological posture that needed an ideological counterpoint, to refute the misconception by presenting evidence to the contrary through research and writing. But above all, Afro-Americans needed to be organized and led by trained leaders--"The Talented Tenth."

Aware of the general lack of interest in African culture and anticipating criticism of his book, Du Bois stated:

> I still labor under the difficulty of the persistent lack of interest in Africa so long characteristic of modern history and sociology. The careful, detailed researches into the history of Negroid peoples have only begun, and the need for them is not yet clear to the thinking world. I feel compelled nevertheless to go ahead with my interpretation, even though that interpretation has here and there but slender historical proof. I believe that in the main my story is true, despite the fact that so often between the American Civil War and World War I, the weight of history and science supports me only in part and in some cases appears violently to contradict me. At any rate, here is a history of the world written from the African point of view; or better a history of the Negroes as part of the world which now lies about us in ruins....
>
> I feel now as though I were approaching a crowd of friends and enemies who ask a bit breathlessly, whose and whence is the testimony on which I rely for something that even resembles Authority? To which I return two answers: I am challenging Authority--even Maspero, Sayce, Reisner, Breasted, and hundreds of other men of highest respectability, who did not attack but studiously ignored the Negro on the Nile and in the world, and talked as though black folk were nonexistent and unimportant. They are part of the herd of writers of modern history who never heard of Africa or declare with Guernier, "Seule de tous les continents l'Afrique n'a pas d'historie." (That of all the continents, Africa has no history or past).[8]

Du Bois did not state his second answer to the question immediately, but the inference can be drawn from what followed in the

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[8]Ibid., p. viii.

subsequent pages of the book, that he was relying partly on the works of other authors, both ancient and modern, who seemed to him to have looked at African history and culture with unprejudiced eyes. In addition, Du Bois relied on his own travels and observation over a fairly long period of time.[9]

Where, then, is the evidence upon which Du Bois based his interpretation of Negro culture and the contributions of the Negro to human civilization? For the answer to the question, we shall turn to ancient Greek mythology, the Bible, English literature, and historical accounts, which constitute the subject matter of section II of this paper. Du Bois did not arrange his sources under the sub-headings as I have tried to do, but they no doubt fall into the above framework.

II. The Examination of Secondary Evidence

(a) Ancient Greek Mythology

According to Du Bois, a thousand years before the birth of Jesus Christ, and even during the Golden Age of Athens, with Pericles as the leading statesman, black Africans were held in very high esteem. "They were considered equal to though different from Greeks, and superior to European and Asiatic barbarians." Africa was to the Greeks a land of ideals. In the dawn of Greek literature, in the Iliad, for instance, we hear of the gods feasting among the "blameless Ethiopians." Greek mythology strongly suggests that the Greeks are related to Africans when one considers the following:

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[9]Ibid., p. ix.

> According to mythology, the Greek people themselves came into being as a result of miscegenation. Zeus, the Father of the Gods, mates with the fair Greek maiden Io, and has a mulatto son, Epaphus, who is born in Egypt. Aeschylus says of this union, "And thou shall bring forth black Epaphus, thus named from the manner of Zeus' engendering."
>
> "...fifth in descent from him fifty maidens shall return to Argos /Greece/, not of their choice but fleeing marriage with their cousin kin." Also, "Call this the work of Zeus, and that his race sprang from Epaphus, and thou shalt hit the truth."[10]

Citing various sources to support his position, Du Bois maintained that both Aesop and Sappho, two great Greek writers, were Negroes. Palnudes, Zundel, Champleury, and others think that the "wooly-haired Negro" on the coins of Delphos was Aesop. Ovid also records that the ancients did not consider Sappho white. She was compared with Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus, black King of Ethiopia (p. 129). Of Ethiopia, Winwood Reade wrote:

> Of all the classical countries Ethiopia was the most romantic and the most remote. It was situated according to the Greeks on the extreme limits of the world; its inhabitants were the most just of men, and Jupiter dined with them twice a year. They bathed in the waters of a violet-scented spring, which endowed them with long life, noble bodies and glossy skins. They chained their prisoners with golden fetters; they had bows which none but themselves could bend. It is certain that Ethiopia took its place among the powers of the ancient world. It is mentioned in the Jewish records and in the Assyrian Cuneiform inscriptions.[11]

The reader will probably ask, why has so much emphasis been laid on Ethiopia instead of Egypt which the world acknowledges to be the

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[10]Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound, line 850; The Suppliant Maidens, line 859, quoted in W.E.B. Du Bois, The World and Africa: An Inquiry into the Part Which Africa Has Played in World History (New York: International Publishers, 1965), p. 119.

[11]Winwood Reade, The Martyrdom of Man (London: John Lane Co., 1912), pp. 37-38, quoted in W.E.B. Du Bois, Ibid., pp. 120-121.

cradle of human civilization as far as the continent of Africa is concerned. Du Bois would reply that it is because "Ethiopia, land of the blacks, was ... the cradle of Egyptian civilization" and that both "ancient testimony and legend" support this position. As he indicated in his book:

> In prehistoric times, the Ethiopians looked upon themselves as the source of Egypt and declared according to Diodorus Siculus, that Egyptian laws and customs were of Ethiopian origin. The Egyptians themselves in the latter days affirmed that their civilization came out of the south, and modern research confirms this in many ways.[12]

The documented historical link between Ethiopia and Egypt will be treated more fully in the historical accounts section.

(b) The Bible

Reference will now be made to the Bible to indicate Du Bois' stand on the power and grandeur of the Negro world, and the long existing bond between them and the people of God--the Jews, since the time of the prophets. The starting point here is the rescue of Jeremiah the prophet from prison by a black minister of state, Ebedmelech:

> "Now when Ebedmelech the Ethiopian, one of the eunuchs which was in the king's house, heard that they had put Jeremiah in the dungeon, the king then sitting in the gate of Benjamin; Ebedmelech went forth out of the king's house, and spoke to the king saying, My lord the king, these men have done evil in all that they have done to Jeremiah the prophet, whom they cast into the dungeon; and he is like to die for hunger in the place where he is: for there is no more bread in the city. Then the king commanded Ebedmelech the Ethiopian, saying, Take from hence thirty men with thee, and take up Jeremiah the prophet out of the dungeon, before he die. So Ebedmelech took the men with him, and went into the house of the king under the treasury, and took hence old cast clouts and old rotten rags, and let them down by cords into the dungeon to Jeremiah. And Ebedmelech the Ethiopian said unto Jeremiah, Put

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[12]Ibid., p. 124.

now these old cast clouts and rotten rags under thine armholes under the cords. And Jeremiah did so. So they drew up Jeremiah with cords, and took him up out of the dungeon: and Jeremiah remained in the court of the prison." (Jeremiah 38: 7-13)[13]

The marriage of Moses to a black woman is described:

"And Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses because of the Ethiopian woman whom he had married, for he had married an Ethiopian woman." (Numbers 12: 1)[14]

God is said to have punished Miriam with leprosy for her protest and Aaron admitted that they were wrong to protest the marriage between Moses and the Ethiopian woman.[15]

Skin color or race is an unimportant factor: The skin color of the Ethiopians was defended by the writer of the Song of Solomon thus--"I am black but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem!"[16] On Ethiopian power: "Ethiopian and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and Libyans were her helpers...." (Nahum 3: 9)[17]

In II Chronicles 12:13, the military might of both Egypt and Ethiopia are mentioned by Jewish writers. Even more significant was the praise heaped on Ethiopia by the prophet Isaiah in these words:

Ah? Land of the buzzing wings
Which lies beyond the rivers of Ethiopia,
That sends ambassadors by sea,
In papyrus vessels on the face of the waters:
To a nation tall and sleek,
To a nation dreaded near and far,
To a nation strong and triumphant. (Isaiah 18: 1-2)[18]

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[13]Ibid., p. 131.

[14]Ibid., p. 132.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid.

The legend of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba is well known. In the New Testament of the Bible, there are numerous instances of the Jewish link to the Negro world. Jesus Christ, the son of God, had to be taken out of his native land to Egypt to escape King Herod's persecution. In the Acts of the Apostles, Chapter 8:26-38, one can read of the encounter between Philip the Apostle and the Ethiopian eunuch, a minister under Candace, Queen of Ethiopia. The incident had a happy ending--the conversion and baptism of the Ethiopian minister.* Thus, in the Bible, the greatest document of the Christian world, is proof that the Negro is an indispensable part of antiquity, who has played a dynamic role in the progressive march of human culture.

(c) English Literature

Shakespeare's Othello and the Merchant of Venice provide the secondary evidence upon which Du Bois further proved his point that the theory of racial superiority was a nineteenth century invention. Shakespeare's portrayal of a black man in the above plays contradicts the nineteenth and twentieth century concept of the Negro. As Du Bois indicated:

> Shakespeare, writing to entertain England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, portrayed a black man not only as a courageous soldier, but also a great gentleman who sued successfully for the hand of the daughter of a senator of the richest Italian state; and in the Merchant of Venice, too, a black suitor for a white princess is portrayed as natural and equal.

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*The last Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, claimed his ancestry from Israel, and that is why he was referred to as the Lion of Judea. A few years ago, the Israeli religious leaders accorded recognition to a section of the Ethiopian population of Israeli descent who have kept the Jewish tradition over the centuries.

In Shakespeare's Othello there are ten allusions to his race and color: to his thick lips (Act I, Scene II, line 66); to his "soothy bosom" (Act I, Scene II, line 70); when Emilia calls him "black" (Act V, Scene II, line 130); when the duke alludes to him as "black" (Act I, Scene III, lines 288-89); and especially when Othello alludes to himself, "black as mine own face" (Act III, Scene III, lines 286-87) and says, "haply for I am black: (Act III, Scene III, line 263). There are any number of other allusions to the contrast of color that first startled Desdemona (Act II, Scene III, lines 229, 230; Act I, Scene III, line 98); and in Desdemona's defense of a black woman (Act II, Scene II, lines 132-34). Yet with all this, Shakespeare did not hesitate to allude to Othello as descended from kings (Act I, Scene II, lines 21-22), and all Othello's companions agree as to his nobility of character: "a worthy governor," "brave Othello," "noble" and "true of mind," "great of heart," and especially Iago's tribute:

> The Moor, howbeit that I endure him not, is of a constant, loving, noble nature, and I dare think he'll prove to Desdemona a most dear husband (Act II, Scene I, lines 316-319).

Despite this there are critics who have almost had hysterics in seeking to deny that Shakespeare meant to paint a Negro as a noble warrior and successful suitor of a beautiful white woman.[19]

In the Merchant of Venice, the Prince of Morocco who is "black," competes with the Prince of Arragon and Bassanio, an Italian Merchant, both "white," for the hand of Portia in marriage. The three suitors compete on the basis of equality regardless of race or color. Portia, the rich heiress, is bound by her father's will to accept as husband the man who chooses the casket which contains her picture, out of three possible caskets of gold, silver, and lead, with the following inscriptions, respectively:

First, the golden casket: "Who chooseth me shall gain what many men desire."

Second, the silver casket: "Who chooseth me shall get as much

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[19]Du Bois, The World and Africa:..., pp. 218-219.

as he deserves."

Third, the lead casket: "Who chooseth me must give and hasard all he hath."[20]

Both the Prince of Morocco and the Prince of Arragon came out as losers because they failed in their judgment by choosing the golden and silver caskets, respectively. Bassanio, on the other hand, wins because he was right in choosing the leaden casket.[21] Here again, the important thing to remember is that race was not an issue; a man was respect for what he was and what he could do, rather than stigmatized on the basis of skin color.

(d) Historical Accounts

In this section, Du Bois first noted some of the places in the world traditionally associated with the beginnings of human culture. These cradles of human civilization include the valley of the Yangtse and of the Hoang Ho in present-day China, the Nile valley in Africa, and the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates in Mesopotamis, Iraq today. While not minimizing the importance of the developments outside the continent of Africa, he maintained that it was in the Nile valley that "the most significant and continuous human culture arose, significant not necessarily because it was absolutely the oldest or the best, but because it led to that European civilization of which the world boasts today and regards in many ways as the greatest and last word in human

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[20]Shakespeare, The Merchant of Venice (New York: Charles E. Merrill & Company, 1910), pp. 74-75.

[21]Ibid., pp. 75-79.

culture."[22]

Du Bois expressed his dissatisfaction with the distorted history of Africa in these words:

> ...it is one of the astonishing results of the written history of Africa, that almost unanimously in the nineteenth century Egypt was not regarded as part of Africa. Its history and culture were separated from that of other inhabitants of Africa; it was even asserted that Egypt was in reality Asiatic, and indeed Arnold Toynbee's Study of History definitely regarded Egyptian civilization as "white" or European! The Egyptians, however, regarded themselves as African. The Greeks looked upon Egypt as part of Africa not only geographically but culturally, and every fact of history and anthropology proves that the Egyptians were an African people varying no more from other African peoples than groups like the Scandinavians vary from other Europeans, or groups like the Japanese from other Asiatics....[23]

Returning to the main thesis of his book, Du Bois concluded:

> There can be but one adequate explanation of this vagary of nineteenth-century science: it was due to the slave trade and Negro slavery. It was due to the fact that the rise and support of capitalism called for rationalization based upon degrading and discrediting the Negroid peoples. It is especially significant that the science of Egyptology arose and flourished at the very time that the cotton kingdom reached its greatest power on the foundation of American Negro slavery. We may then without further ado ignore this verdict of history, widespread as it is, and treat Egyptian history as an integral part of African history.[24]

It is impossible in this paper to deal with Egyptian/African history in depth. Briefly, the major developments may be summarized:

Primitive man started off as a hunter and a gatherer, moving from place to place in search of food. He used wooden, stone tools and later on discovered the use of iron. From being a hunter, he

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[22]Du Bois, The World and Africa:..., pp. 98-99.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid.

learned how to domesticate animals, and later on how to grow crops. He became more settled with the discovery of agriculture, which in turn led to family life, communal settlements, organized government, and the development of the arts, religion, and science. This development occurred over several centuries beginning from about 5000 B.C. in the Nile valley from where it spread to other parts of Africa and the world. In many respects, what the Africans achieved has not been improved upon even up to this day. The Pyramids of Gizeh, the Sphinx (with the lion's body and Negro head entirely carved in native rock),[25] the treasures of King Tutankhamen, whose tomb was discovered by Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter[26]--these and more are examples of magnificent achievements of the Negro nearly three thousand years ago.

Ironically, Charles Darwin, the celebrated originator of the theory of the origin of the species, upon which the doctrine of racial superiority has developed along with other authorities--notably Sir G. E. Smith, Alfred Rutot, and Griffith Taylor--to mention but a few, supported Du Bois' interpretation basically.[27]

While admitting the cultural intercourse between Africa and Greece, Italy, Arabia, and Turkey from the third century B.C. to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and the modification of the population racially, the author maintained that the evidence points to Egyptian/African civilization as essentially Negroid and unique in origin.

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[25]Ibid., pp. 110-111.

[26]Ibid., p. 130.

[27]Ibid., pp. 86-88.

III. Reactions to the Publication by Critics

As indicated earlier, the author expected mixed reactions to his book, some favorable and others not. The following excerpts are representative of the type of mixed responses that followed the publication of this monumental work in 1947.

1. Though Dr. Du Bois is a distinguished scholar and his book is based on extensive research, the result is not sober anthropology and history, but poetry and legend. It is full of corroded passion, of anger opening into illumination, of logic dwindling to nostalgia. It moves proudly, like a pageant. This is history as Herodotus understood it. It is also special pleading which will antagonize as much as it convinces.[28]

2. The book is exceedingly timely in that the United Nations' spotlight has been turned on questions of colonies, trusteeships and human rights in Africa.... At once brilliant, readable and brief. Highly recommended.[29]

3. Great books of history are of two sorts--those which make monumental contributions of historical fact and those that introduce new and illuminating historical perspectives. This culminating work of Dr. Du Bois' forty-odd years of writing in the field of Negro history merits high rank in the latter category.... Many readers will dispute some of its conclusions and be unconvinced by some of its suggested hypotheses, but none will be able to deny that the book successfully challenges the traditional views and conventional opinions about Africa, both academic and popular.[30]

4. /Dr. Du Bois/ does not seek exaggeration of Africa's role, but he insists that the role must not be forgotten. And his insistence is firm. It is persuasive, eloquent moving. Considering the magnitude of the provocation, it is well tempered, even gentle.... He overlooks no fragment that might bolster

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[28]Mertrice M. James and Dorothy Brown (eds.), Book Review Digest (New York: The H. W. Wilson Co., 1948), p. 254.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid.

his thesis. But the witnesses are reputable, their affidavits relevant and valid.[31]

IV. The Cultural-Historical Relevance of the Book to the Western Educational Experience

All available experience--mythical, biblical, literary, and historical point to cultural contact between the ancient peoples of the world, and inevitably to cultural borrowing of ideas. In this connection, the role of "eternal Egypt and Ethiopia." in creating and preserving the wisdom of the past upon which western civilization and indeed all of modern civilization seem to be based upon, cannot be exaggerated. Let us take the period from the fall of the Roman Empire in the west--476 A.D.--to the capture of Constantinople in 1453 A.D., i.e. from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance period: we find that immediately following the collapse of the empire in the West, the only hope of salvaging what remained of ancient learning lay with the Christian Church. Christianity had become well-established in North Africa and Ethiopia, at a time when much of Europe was still pagan. Commenting on the role of Africa in the spread of Christianity, Theodore Mommsen said:

> It was through Africa that Christianity became the religion of the world. Tertullian and Cyprian were from Carthage; Arnobius from Sicca Vernia; Lactantius, and probably in like manner Minucius Felix, in spite of their Latin names were natives of Africa, and not less so, Augustine. In Africa the Church found its most zealous confessors of the faith and its most gifted defenders.[32]

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[31]Ibid.

[32]Theodore Mommsen, The Provinces of the Roman Empire, translated from the German by Dickson (London: Bentley, 1886), Vol. II, p. 345, quoted in Du Bois, The World and Africa:..., p. 146.

Augustine later became the Bishop of Hippo and a Saint of the Catholic Church. His books, The Confessions, City of God, and De Magistro, are among the great books of the western world.

The western world owed other developments in the Middle Ages to Africa: these were the rise of medieval universities, hastened by the contact between Africa and Europe during the Crusades which resulted in cultural exchanges to the advantage of the West. Specifically, both the superior oriental medical works and Aristotelean philosophy reached the West via Africa. The University of Salerno, one of the oldest of the medieval universities located in Southern Italy and noted for its work in the medical field, owed its origins in the tenth century to the study of ancient Greek medical works. Constantinus Africanus or Constantine the African was responsible for the translation of "a large number of Arabic medical works into Latin, including the treatises of Hippocrates and Galen...."[33]

Salerno thus attracted scholars from all parts of Europe who wanted to take advantage of the new opportunity. Such related factors as the Crusades, the rise of commerce, the rediscovery of ancient learning, etc., led to the Renaissance and its attendant ramifications. The foundations of western institutions--religious, political, social and economic gradually evolved during this period. From these developments, one can conclude that the case for the cultural-historical relevance of Du Bois' book, The World and Africa:..., has been

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[33]Gerald L. Gutek, A History of the Western Educational Experience (New York: Random House, Inc., 1972), pp. 85-86. See also Du Bois, The World and Africa:..., pp. 216-217.

established.

But beyond that, for our purpose, is the larger interpretation to be made from Du Bois' historical works. The research findings were quite significant and useful to Du Bois and his followers. First, the point was forcefully made that Africa had a history and culture of its own; secondly, that ancient Egyptian civilization was essentially Negro civilization, and therefore it was wrong to separate Egypt from the rest of Africa as historians in the west had done. Du Bois' objective in researching the African past was primarily in order to instill pride of race in his fellow blacks. It was a psychological imperative that was meant to inspire and boost the morale of people of Negro blood, particularly in the Americas where they had been subjugated for nearly four centuries and lost contact with their past. A knowledge of the past, for him, was the proper starting point from which organization for common goals would follow in the interest of the race and for the good of mankind. Du Bois now pursued the thesis that blacks are not inferior to any other race, and therefore they must organize and demand civil rights. He outlined how that could be done in his theory of education, "The Talented Tenth," and in his famous essay, "Of Booker T. Washington and Others," which will constitute the subject matter of the next chapter.

Before analyzing Du Bois' theories of education, a commentary on his masterpiece, The Souls of Black Folk, is quite appropriate at this time, since it was this book that established him as the alternative to Booker T. Washington in the Afro-American leadership struggle in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Souls of Black Folk was first published by A. C. McClurg & Company, Chicago, Illinois, in 1903. Since that time, it has undergone more than 26 editions.[34] The book is a brilliant, imaginative and powerful articulation of the personal attitudes and views of the author on the social, political and economic problems of black people in America. Du Bois directed the book to a white audience primarily; the idea was to appeal to their conscience by presenting the plight of the Afro-Americans to them in a realistic manner, thereby persuading them to change their policies towards people of color. To the black audience, particularly the educated ones, the author called for educating those who were intellectually capable to the highest possible level so that they would be in a position to lead the masses. This view conflicted with Booker T. Washington's position, and Du Bois, while acknowledging the contributions that Washington had made in uplifting people of the Negro race, criticized him for compromising on the political front and for opposing higher education for young brilliant blacks.

Du Bois thus challenged Booker T. Washington's leadership. He called for organization, leadership by the elite, and full citizenship rights for blacks.

Basically, Chapters IV through IX deal with social, political, and economic issues and are based on sociological studies developed by Du Bois at Atlanta University where he headed research projects on the "Negro Problem." He based his work in part on personal experience and

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[34]Clarke, et.al., p. 51.

participant observation--his travels in the deep South, for instance. Chapters X to the end deal with the Negro Church, Du Bois' personal tragedy (the death of his son), a tribute to Alexander Crumwell, hope--the coming of John, and the Negro spirituals, respectively.

The Negro Church, with the preacher as the central figure, occupied a very unique position in the black community. The Church served religious, social, political and economic purposes. It provided spiritual nourishment for the soul, comforted the sorrowful, and gave hope to those who were on the verge of despair. The music provided an emotional release for those who were depressed. The social interaction and information on matters of interest to the community, whether economic or political, enhanced a feeling of solidarity within the group. The overall goal was freedom from oppression.

In Chapter XI, Du Bois described a very touching incident--his personal tragedy, the death of his only son. He accepted the incident with philosophical calm. In a way he felt that it was better for the child to die at that age than to grow up in a world where he would be discriminated against on account of his color. His death, therefore, was an early escape from bondage.

Chapter XII is a tribute to Alexander Crumwell, whom Du Bois regarded as a hero and an inspiration to many black people. Du Bois lamented the fact that this great pioneer seems to have been forgotten today.

Chapter XIII, "Of the Coming of John," illustrates the alienation which an educated young man returning home experiences when his ideas conflict with a set way of life. In addition, it demonstrates the

power of whites in the society: they regarded every educated black as a threat and usually stopped at nothing to discredit him or cause confusion within his rank and file.

The last chapter, "Of the Sorrow Songs," tells the story of the Negro from slavery to the present day. They tell of the suffering and degradation that the slave community encountered until the dawn of freedom. Today they have become an invaluable part of the Afro-American history and culture.

Du Bois demonstrated great skill in his writing. He was a literary genius, with a poetic and figurative use of the language that rivalled Shakespeare as illustrated in the following passage:

> I sit with Shakespeare and he winces not. Across the color line I move arm in arm with Balzac and Dumas, where smiling men and welcoming women glide in gilded halls. From out the caves of evening that swing between the strong-limbed earth and the tracery of the stars, I summon Aristotle and Aurelius and what soul I will, and they come all graciously with no scorn nor condescension. So wed with Truth I dwell above the Veil.... Is this the life you grudge us, O knightly America? Is this the life you long to change into the dull red hideousness of Georgia? Are you so afraid lest peering from his high Pisgah, between Philistine and Amalekite, we sight the Promised Land?[35]

The book is certainly an indispensable classic in Afro-American studies; it is history, sociology, and above all political and economic ideology all rolled into one. It has raised fundamental issues that concern not only Afro-Americans, but oppressed people everywhere; it challenges men of conscience to rise up in defense of "justice and fairness," regardless of race of creed. It is probably the most

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[35]W. E. B. Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk (New York: New American Library, Inc., 1969), p. 139.

complete and eloquent articulation of the "black experience."

Much southern criticism greeted the publication of The Souls of Black Folk. This is understandable, since Du Bois' ideas challenged the status quo, particularly in the southern states, in opposition to Washington's phrases of compromise. The Atlanta Constitution of Georgia, after reviewing the book, concluded:

> The Souls of Black Folk...is the thought of a Negro of northern education who has lived among his brethren of the South, yet who cannot fully feel the meaning of some things which these brethren know by instinct--and which the southern-bred white knows by a similar instinct--certain things which are by both accepted as facts.[36]

The Nashville Banner took a similar position and warned: "This book is dangerous for the Negro to read, for it will only excite discontent and fill his imagination with things that do not exist, or things that should not bear upon his mind."[37]

The American Negro leader, James Weldon Johnson, spoke for most blacks when he stated that the book had "a greater effect upon and within the Negro race in America than any other single book published in this country since Uncle Tom's Cabin."[38]

Francis L. Broderick, in his book, W. E. B. Du Bois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis, describes The Souls of Black Folk as Du Bois' "most successful volume." He commented:

> In its judicious fairness, skillful writing, and resourceful adaptation of scholarly material to a popular audience, it is

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[36]Clarke, et.al., p. 50.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid., p. 49.

> Du Bois' best statement of the Negro's case to white America, and despite a looseness of imagery which clouds meaning, it is a minor American classic.
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> ...Fairness, restraint, and scholarly reporting--these qualities in The Souls of Black Folk were useful as part of a long-range campaign to coax the white man into justice for the Negro. In moments of crisis, however, that method was too slow, and the pressure of the color line on a sensitive Negro, proud and emotional, led Du Bois into a direct statement of Negro demands, even into direct attack on the Negro's enemies.[39]

The next chapter will examine Du Bois' ideas on education, which are intricately connected with his political, economic, and social ideology.

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[39]Francis J. Broderick, W. E. B. Du Bois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 46-48.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DU BOIS' IDEAS ON EDUCATION

Du Bois' ideas on education are not contained in a single book or books; his views on the "nature, theory and purpose of education," and specifically the education of black people, are found in his addresses and speeches, newspaper articles, editorial pages of the Crisis, and in some chapters of his published works. Scattered as the ideas are, they may be arranged or grouped under the following themes:

1) The theory of the Talented Tenth--education of the elite for leadership;
2) The relationship between the family, the child, and the school;
3) The school curriculum; and
4) The ultimate purpose of education--service for humanity.

In essence, the source materials give a rare insight into Du Bois' thinking on the subject of "education" and the "educated man". First, he revealed himself as a man deeply concerned with the uplifting of the Black race to take their rightful place among other races in the progressive march of human culture through education. Blacks under trained leadership could achieve this goal. Secondly, Du Bois regarded education as an instrument for social regeneration, a means for the elimination of racial prejudice. He believed that the more liberal

education one received, the broader one's outlook, and the less likely it would be for such a person to discriminate against others on racial grounds alone. For Du Bois, the only true education was that which enabled an individual to know himself, think critically, and distinguish between the things that are more important in life than others. Du Bois' faith in education was unshakable since, as he defined it, "by derivation and in fact, education is the drawing out of human powers."[1] The analysis that follows will show an intriguing connection between education, politics, economics, and social problems in Du Bois' scheme of things.

1. The theory of the "Talented Tenth"

Du Bois was probably best known in educational circles for his theory of the Talented Tenth. The Talented Tenth theory first appeared in 1903 in the Negro Problem, a book co-authored by several Negroes, among whom the name of Booker T. Washington and Du Bois were well known. The book was published a few months after the publication of Du Bois' famous work, The Souls of Black Folk.

In the Negro Problem, the first article was on "Industrial Education for the Negro," written by Booker T. Washington, in which he extolled the virtues of industrial education. The second contribution was Du Bois' "The Talented Tenth." In it, Du Bois argued the case for liberal arts education, which would train "men," not "money makers" or

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[1]Herbert Aptheker (ed.), W.E.B. Du Bois, The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques 1906-1960 (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), p. 9.

"artisans",[2] He maintained that, in times of crisis, the most capable men in all races throughout human history had provided leadership, in thought and action, which made the difference between catastrophe and salvation. The future progress of Blacks, in his view, lay in a cadre of college-bred Negroes to lead the masses out of ignorance and degradation to a place of respectability. Du Bois stated:

> The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Negroes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the best of this race that they may guide the mass away from the contamination and death of the worst, in their own and other races. Now the training of men is a difficult and intricate task. Its technique is a matter for educational experts, but its object is for the vision of seers. If we make money the object of man-training, we shall develop money-makers but not necessarily men; if we make technical skill the object of education, we may possess artisans but not, in nature, men. Men we shall have only as we make manhood the object of the work of the schools--intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and of the relation of men to it--this is the curriculum of that Higher Education, which must underlie true life. On this foundation we may build breadwinning, skill of hand and quickness of brain, with never a fear lest the child and man mistake the means of living for the object of life....[3]

Having stated his main thesis, and convinced of the validity of his thinking, Du Bois set out to fill in the details. Three tasks lay before him: firstly, to show the leadership role of the Talented Tenth in Negro history in the past; secondly, to outline how to educate and

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[2]W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth" In Booker T. Washington, et.al., The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative Negroes of Today (New York: James Pott & Co., 1903), pp. 35-75. Quoted in Julius Lester (ed.), The Thoughts and Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois: The Seventh Son, Vol. I (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 385.

[3]Ibid., p. 386.

develop the Talented Tenth in the future; and thirdly, to show the relationship of the whole enterprise to the "Negro Problem."[4]

The first problem took Du Bois on a historical excursion into American history from the 18th century to the early 1900s when he was writing. He maintained that it had always been the educated and intelligent Negroes who led and elevated the downtrodden, and that the main obstacles that retarded their progress were slavery and racial discrimination. Defining slavery as "the legalized survival of the unfit and the nullification of the work of natural internal leadership," Du Bois asserted that Negro leadership from the early days sought to rid the race of the awful incubus that it might make way for natural selection and the survival of the fit-test.[5] Phyllis Wheatley, Paul Cuffe, and Benjamin Banneker, the almanac maker, were cited by Du Bois as Negro leaders who in the colonial days fought racial prejudice and voiced the aspirations of their people. Banneker, in particular, had confronted Thomas Jefferson with the argument that the Negro right for freedom was analogous to the American struggle for independent from Britain during the Revolutionary War. The implications were obvious, since Jefferson was the author of the Declaration of Independence, which contained the universal and invaluable doctrine, "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with certain unalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness...." Banneker wondered why

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

Negroes could not enjoy the same freedom and tranquility which whites enjoyed.[6]

Other leaders of the time mentioned by Du Bois included: Dr. James Derham, who exchanged medical ideas with "the learned Dr. Rush"; Lemuel Haynes, who was awarded an honorary A.M. by Middlebury College in 1804. Du Bois called these men "the revolutionary group of distinguished Negroes--persons of marked ability, leaders of a Talented Tenth standing conspicuously among the best of their time." These men, he stressed, strove by word and deed to elevate the less fortunate members of their race, but unfortunately their work was undone by Eli Whitney and the "curse of gold".[7]

According to Du Bois, the demise of the pioneers did not mean the end of the struggle for Negro freedom and equality. Other exceptional men arose to take the place of those who had fallen. Perhaps the most important voice which in 1829 aroused the conscience of southern legislators regarding slavery was that of David Walker. Du Bois called his "the voice crying in the wilderness" saying:

> I declare it does appear to me as though some nations think God is asleep, or that He made the Africans for nothing else but to dig their mines and work their farms, or they cannot believe history, sacred or profane. I ask every man who has a heart, and is blessed with the privilege of believing--is not God a God of justice to all His creatures? Do you say He is? Then if He gives peace and tranquility to tyrants and permits them to keep our fathers, our mothers, ourselves, and our children in eternal ignorance and wretchedness to support them and their families, would He be to us a God of justice? I ask, O, ye Christians, who hold us and our children in the most abject ignorance and

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[6]Ibid., p. 387.

[7]Ibid.

> degradation that ever a people were afflicted since the world began--I say if God gives you peace and tranquility, and suffers you thus to go on afflicting us, and our children, who have never given you the least provocation--allow that we are men, who feel for each other, does not the blood of our fathers and of us, their children, cry aloud to the Lord of the Sabaoth against you for the cruelties and murders with which you have and do continue to afflict us?[8]

Du Bois maintained that the impact of David Walker's address and similar pronouncements by other Negro leaders like Alexander Crummwell and Frederick Douglas made the Free Negro Movement and the Movement for Abolition possible. Both movements later merged into one, uniting like-minded Whites and Blacks in the great abolition crusade.[9]

Returning to the crucial problem, Du Bois raised the question of where the abolitionists were trained. His response to the question was that some of them, like Frederick Douglas, were liberally self-trained, while others like Alexander Crummwell and McCune Smith graduated from famous foreign universities. Most of them received their education in the Negro schools of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia.

Negro leadership after the Emancipation, as in earlier periods, fell on the shoulders of a new group of educated and gifted men. Among the most prominent of them were: John Mercer Langston, Robert B. Elliot, and Daniel A. Payne. These leaders "through political organization, historical and polemic writing, and moral regeneration" kept the freedom flame burning. He rejected the argument that Negro

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[8]Ibid., pp. 387-388.

[9]Ibid., pp. 388-389.

leadership during that period should have begun with the plow on the farms, and not in the Senate, by pointing out the futility of two-and-a-half centuries of toil by Blacks without any noticeable change in their condition. He argued that without political rights and "righteously guarded civic status," the Negro would continue to be ignorant and poor.[10]

The panoramic view of Afro-American history brought Du Bois to the realities of his time--the early 1900s when Booker T. Washington (1856-1915) was the acknowledged Negro leader. While stating that the exceptional men were still the ones guiding the work of Negro people, he lamented the "cowardice and vacillation, of strident wide-voiced wrong and faint-hearted compromise; of double-faced dallying with Truth and Right,"[11] which characterized the period. The charge of cowardice, vacillation, and compromise was directed at Booker T. Washington; Du Bois was alluding to Washington's Atlanta Exposition Address of 1895, which urged Negroes to forget their political rights and improve their economic conditions first. In fact, Du Bois' theory of the Talented Tenth was a repudiation of some of Booker T. Washington's policies. The controversy between the two men will be treated later in this section of the dissertation.

The second task which Du Bois had to deal with was how to train the future Negro leaders. The solution which he proposed was that the best and most capable young Blacks should be trained in colleges and

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[10] Ibid., p. 389.

[11] Ibid.

universities. Defining a university as "a human invention for the transmission of knowledge and culture from generation to generation through the training of pure minds and pure hearts...", he felt strongly that trade and industrial schools could not take the place of liberal education.[12] Without giving details of the nature of the curriculum, Du Bois hinted that it would be a peculiar one, designed to reflect the needs of the Negro race. He would later deal with the curriculum issue in subsequent writings. His ideas on the curriculum will be treated separately in the appropriate section.

Returning to the main problem of educating the Negro, Du Bois pointed out "two great aims" which the educational system must seek to achieve: the first goal should deal with the acquisition of knowledge and character training, and the second should deal with technical skill necessary for earning a living. The objectives, as Du Bois saw them, could be met in part by opening up the common schools on the one hand, and the industrial schools on the other. But of paramount importance was the task of training those who would teach in the schools--"men and women of knowledge and culture and technical skill who understand modern civilization, and have the training and aptitude to impart it to the children under them."[13] For Du Bois, therefore, any system of education that did not provide for the higher training of its best teachers, was a farce and a waste of money. As he emphasized:

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[12]Ibid., p. 390.

[13]Ibid., p. 396.

> It is the trained, living human soul, cultivated and strengthened by long study and thought, that breathes the real breath of life into boys and girls and makes them human, whether they be black or white, Greek, Russian, or American.[14]

The third and final task which Du Bois had to deal with was to show the relationship of his theory of the Talented Tenth to the "Negro Problem". In dealing with the first problem, he had surveyed Afro-American history, and justified the position that the exceptional men and women had always been at the helm of Negro leadership from the 18th century to the first decade of the 20th century; for the second question, as to how the future Negro leaders should be trained, he recommended higher education in colleges and universities for the most intellectually capable youth. The last task, as he saw it, was intertwined with the entire political, economic, and social problems of the Negro and the whole nation. Du Bois argued that because of the peculiar status of the Negro--a race transplanted from Africa to the Americans through slavery--the Negro people needed leadership more than most groups, since they had no traditions to fall back upon, no long-established customs, no strong family ties and no well defined social classes. He warned that unless the Negro race was lifted up politically, economically, and socially, they would pull the rest of the nation down. Reiterating the familiar argument that "education and work are the levers to uplift a people," he forcefully concluded that the "Talented Tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders of thought and

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[14] Ibid., p. 397.

missionaries of culture among their people."[15]

The Clash of Ideologies--Washington v. Du Bois

As indicated earlier in this chapter, Du Bois' theory of the Talented Tenth in the Negro Problem was published a few months after his classic, The Souls of Black Folk, appeared. In this book, two chapters are relevant to this discussion--Chapter III, "Of Booker T. Washington and Others", and Chapter VI, "Of the Training of Black Men." An attempt will now be made to examine the nature of the controversy between Washington and Du Bois.

The various strategies which Du Bois advocated for the liberation of the Negro race landed him on a collision course with Booker T. Washington (1856-1915). Booker T. Washington was regarded as the chief Negro spokesman of the day after the death of Frederick Douglas. Washington was depicted as an "accommodationist" or "realist", who was willing to accept White domination in order to achieve his goals, while Du Bois was portrayed as an "idealist" or "radical intellectual", proud and unwilling to be classified below any human being, and therefore demanding full equality for all regardless of color or race. The terms "accommodationist", "compromise", and the like had their origins from Washington's Atlanta Exposition Address in 1895. In that address, Washington had declared:

> As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sickbed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, as in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a

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[15]Ibid., pp. 394-403.

> devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious lives 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.[16]

His critics, the most vocal of whom was Du Bois, assailed subsequent policies following the speech. Initially, Du Bois' reaction was cautious. But as events unfolded, he and others--Monroe Trotter and George Forbes, who founded the Boston Guardian--went on the offensive. In one of his most famous essays, "Of Mr. Washington and Others", Du Bois stated his position in the controversy very clearly when he wrote:

> ...and yet the time is come when one may speak in all sincerity and utter courtesy of the mistakes and shortcomings of Mr. Washington's career, as well as of his triumphs, without being thought captious or envious, and without forgetting that it is easier to do ill than well in the world....
>
> The black men of America have a duty to perform, a duty stern and delicate, a forward movement to oppose a part of the work of their greatest leader. So far as Mr. Washington preaches thrift, patience, and industrial training for the masses, we must hold up his hands and strive with him, rejoicing in his honors, and glorifying in the strength of this Joshua called of God and of man to lead the headless host. But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles the emasculating effects of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds,--so far as he, the South, or the Nation, does this,--we must unceasingly and firmly oppose them. By every civilized and peaceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men....[17]

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[16]Booker T. Washington, Selected Speeches of Booker T. Washington (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1932), p. 34. Quoted in G. L. Gutek, A History of the Western Educational Experience, p. 404.

[17]Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk, pp. 81-94.

Du Bois pointed out the inconsistencies in Washington's policies by posing rhetorical questions and responding to them. "Is it possible, and probable," he asked, "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 of developing their exceptional men? If history and reason give any distinct answer to these questions, it is an emphatic 'no'."[18]

According to Du Bois, Washington's position on the fundamental issues of the day were paradoxical under closer examination. First, his noble effort to train Negro artisans, businessmen, and property owners was meaningless without political power. Second, his insistence on "thrift", "self-respect," and "submission" to "civil inferiority" were incompatible and in the long run would sap Negro manhood. Third, his advocacy of the common school and industrial training, while opposing higher education for the Negro, overlooked the fact that neither the common schools nor Tuskegee Institute, founded by Washington himself, and of which he was principal, could function without teachers trained in Negro colleges or trained by their graduates.[19]

But even more alarming to Washington's critics, was his use of the "Tuskegee machine." The "Tuskegee machine" was a subtle alliance between Washington, Northern investors and the government designed to muzzle opposition to Washington and silence his critics. It took the forms of--financial assistance to Tuskegee Institute, wide press

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[18]Ibid., p. 88.

[19]Ibid., pp. 88-89.

coverage of Washington's work, intimidation of opponents, and political refereeing on the past of Washington of all Federal appointments or actions taken with reference to Negroes.[20] As Du Bois noted, the controversy was more than opposition to an educational program. "It was opposition to a system and that system was part of the economic development of the United States at that time."[21] The strategy, as he saw it, was clearly designed to suppress and hammer the Negro intelligentsia to conformity. Any opposition to Washington was considered radical and dangerous. Du Bois' ideas belonged to this category; they were construed by Washington as misleading the masses by raising false hopes of freedom and equality incapable of realization.[22]

It should be pointed out that Du Bois was not the only Negro opposed to Washington's philosophy; William Monroe Trotter, Harvard 1895, and George Forbes, Amherst, 1895 were also among the leading critics of Washington. In 1901, both men had joined together to found The Boston Guardian. The Guardian was a weekly periodical which carried "bitter, satirical and personal" attacks on opponents.[23] In one of his biting editorials in The Guardian, captioned "Why Be Silent?" Trotter denounced Washington as the agent of the forces of

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[20]Du Bois, Autobiography, pp. 239-240.

[21]Ibid., p. 241.

[22]Ibid., p. 240.

[23]Ibid., p. 238.

oppression, and a traitor to the Negro race.[24] Trotter asked:

> ...What man is a worse enemy to a race than a leader who looks with equanimity on the disfranchisement of his race in a country where other races have universal suffrage, by constitutions that make one rule for his race and another for the dominant race, by constitutions made by conventions to which his race is not allowed to send its representatives..., by constitutions in violation to the national constitution; because forsooth, he thinks, such disfranchising laws, will benefit the moral character of his people. Let our spiritual advisers condemn this idea of reducing a people to serfdom to make them good.[25]

Trotter's continued criticism and heckling of Washington led to the former's arrest and imprisonment in Boston in 1905. As Du Bois remarked, the incident was the last straw that broke the camel's back. Instead of stifling the opposition, the incident led to the formation of the "Niagara Movement"--the forerunner of the N.A.A.C.P. as already indicated in Chapter II of this dissertation.

In reassessing the Washington--Du Bois controversy, it is appropriate at this juncture to put events in their proper perspective. In fairness to Washington, the period in which he propagated his ideas, which his opponents labelled variously as "compromise", "appeasement", and "acquiescence", was a difficult period in Negro history in the South. Between 1880 and 1896, black people were blatantly disfranchised and, thus, excluded from political participation in Southern politics through illegal devices. The anti-Negro tactics included: (1) "intimidation on an extensive scale"; (2) lynching; (3) political trickery--

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[24]Meir, Rudwick and Broderick, Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century, Second Edition (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merril Co., Inc., 1978), p. 32. Originally published in The Boston Guardian, Editorial April 4, 1902.

[25]Ibid., pp. 33-34.

such as setting up polling places far from Negro communities, gerrymandering--a system that joined the Negro population to a predominantly white constituency to render the former's vote ineffective, etc.[26] John Hope Franklin's observations seemed to sum up the mood of the people at that time. He wrote:

> The North had grown weary of the crusade for the Negro. Perhaps Stevens, Sumner, Butler, and old anti-slavery leaders could have gone on with it, but younger people with less zeal for the Negro, took their places. They were loyal partymen, practical politicians who cared more about industrial interests in the North and South than Radical governments in the South.[27]

It would seem that the North and the Nation acquiesced in accepting the segregationist attitude in that people in authority looked the other way and let the South settle the Negro problem its own way. Booker T. Washington sensed the mood of the times and capitalized on it. With all its shortcomings, which Du Bois and other critics had pointed out, Washington's policy of reconciliation was probably the only realistic alternative under the circumstances. An open confrontation between blacks and whites would have spelled disaster for the former since they were the minority and the weaker side. Seen against

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[26]John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans, Fourth Edition (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1974), pp. 266-268.

[27]Ibid.

that background, Washington deserves respect and admiration.[28] On the other hand, if Du Bois and other critics had not taken the uncompromising stand on the fundamental issues--higher education for the Negro, the right to vote and be voted for, equality of opportunity etc., the progress that was made in this area from 1954 to the present would have been further delayed. By tenaciously clinging to the cause in which he believed, and by his powerful articulation and clarification of political, economic and social issues of the day, Du Bois showed remarkable courage, foresight and dedication to duty that may very well immortalize him.

In Chapter VI of the Souls of Black Folk, "Of the Training of Blackmen," Du Bois again stressed the importance of education in general, particularly higher education for the Negro. He first discussed what he called the "three streams of thought" which flowed down from the colonial period to his day. The first was a noble thought which called for world-wide cooperation in satisfying human needs. However, behind that marvelous idea "lurked the afterthought of force and dominion." The second idea was that of the older South--the belief that the Negro was less than human. The afterthought was

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[28]Rodney Carlisle has noted a new study by August Meir, in which Meir documented another side to Washington's ideology, showing him as a man with a keen sense of racial justice, who fought for the constitutional rights of blacks behind the scenes. Washington is said to have resorted to coded language whenever he raised funds for such purposes. In the same study, there was evidence to substantiate Du Bois' charge of Washington's manipulation of patronage under President Theodore Roosevelt. See Rodney Carlisle, The Roots of Black Nationalism (New York: Kennikat Press, 1975), pp. 113-114. See also Hugh Hawkins, Booker T. Washington and His Critics.

that by some chance some of them might become men, but the instinct of self-preservation dictated that they should not be allowed to develop their capable men. The third idea concerned the Negroes themselves--"the confused, half-conscious...men who are black and whitened," yearning for freedom. The afterthought behind that, was the question whether the world was right or wrong about Negroes being less than men.[29]

How could these ideas be reconciled?

Du Bois stated that education was the only panacea that could reconcile "the three vast and partially contradictory streams of thought." Acknowledging the existence of the explosive issue of race prejudice, he emphasized the role education could play in defusing the racial time bomb. On color-prejudice he wrote:

> ...Such curious kinks of the human mind exist and must be reckoned with soberly. They cannot be laughed away, nor always successfully stormed at, nor easily abolished by act of legislature. And yet they must not be encouraged by being let alone. They must be recognized as facts, but unpleasant facts; things that stand in the way of civilization and religion and common decency. They can be met in but one way,--by the breadth and broadening of human reason, by catholicity of taste and culture...The guiding of thought and the deft coordination of deed is at once the path of honor and humanity.[30]

Du Bois next returned to his pet-project--the education of gifted Negroes in colleges and universities. He advanced ideas similar to the theory of the Talented Tenth, but stated that the ideal type of education was "A combination of the permanent and the contingent--of

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[29]Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk, pp. 121-122.

[30]Ibid., p. 123.

the ideal and practical in workable equilibrium."[31] In every age and place, such a system he said, was subject to experimentation and a matter of trial and error. He specifically charged the Negro college with the following responsibilities:

> (1) it must maintain a high standard of population education; (2) it must contribute to the social regeneration of the Negro; (3) it must promote racial harmony; and (4) most of all, it must develop independent cultured men.[32]

2. The relationship between the family, the child and the school

The second theme which Du Bois considered was the critical relationship between a child's upbringing in a suitable home and environment, and how that was related to the child's formal education. The crucial role of the family in human society cannot be exaggerated; it is a universal institution, even though it varies in structure from one society to another. What is the explanation for the universal nature of the family? Anthropologist Murdock offered the following explanation:

> In the family...we see assembled four functions fundamental to human social life--sexual, the economic, the reproductive, and the educational. Without provision for the first and the third, society would become extinct; for the second, life itself would cease. For the fourth, culture would come to an end. The immense social utility of the family and the basic reason for its universality thus begin to emerge in strong relief.[33]

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[31]Ibid., p. 124.

[32]Ibid., p. 138.

[33]George Peter Murdock, Social Structures (New York: Macmillan, Inc., 1949), p. 2. Quoted in Harold M. Hodges, Jr., Conflict and Consensus: An Introduction to Sociology. Second Edition (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1974), p. 252.

The family is, therefore, a socially useful institution. Among other important functions which it performs are: (1) it communicates social values to the immature by acting as "intermediary agent", for the larger society; (2) it links the individual to the social structure by motivating him to serve the needs and roles which are considered crucial in the cohesion, continuity and survival of any culture; finally, (2) as the first "primary group" it is the only one capable of providing the individual with the type of affection, understanding, sympathy, and a sense of worth and identity which no other group can provide.[34]

The viewpoints expressed above, are basically consistent with those of famous educators and scholars. Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), laid great emphasis on "emotional security as the foundation for all of man's moral, social, religious and aesthetic values" in his "General Method".[35] The reciprocal parent-child relationship is the proper atmosphere for developing love that leads to harmonious perfection.[36]

Du Bois shared views similar to those discussed above on the crucial role of the family in the socialization process. For him, the word "family" meant, not just the nuclear or conjugal family, made up of parents and their off-spring, but also "a group"; by that he meant "a cultural group"--a race. According to Du Bois, the cultural entity from which a biological family sprung was more important than the

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[34]Ibid., p. 253.

[35]Gutek, The Western Educational Experience, pp. 205-206.

[36]Ibid.

nuclear family or family of orientation. As he puts it:

> Gentlemen are bred and not born. They are trained in childhood and receive manners from those who surrond them and not from their blood. Manners maketh Man, and are the essence of good breeding. They have to do with forms of salutation between civilized persons; with the care and cleanliness, and grooming of the body.... The elementary rules of health become to them second nature and their inbred courtesy one to another makes life liveable and gracious even among crowds.
>
> Now this breeding and infinite detail of training is not learned in college and may not be taught in school. It is the duty and task of the family group and once the infinite value of that training is missed it can seldom be replaced through any later agency.... Unless a new type of Negro family takes the burden of this duty, we are destined to be, as we are too largely today, a bad-mannered, unclean crowd of ill-bred young men and women who are under the impression that they are educated.
>
> We have got to create a new family group; and a cultural group rather than a group merely biological. The biology and blood relationship of families is entirely subordinate and unimportant as compared with its cultural entity.[37]

Du Bois was again stressing the need for black organizations led by the elite to give direction to the masses, especially the young in all areas of human endeavour. He saw the growth of such organizations with high ideals, as the foundation upon which the nuclear family would be strengthened. He argued that since the institution of slavery had done havoc to Negro culture, particularly the conjugal family, it was up to the Negro leadership to regenerate Negro life and culture. Fearful of being charged with racist ideology, he stated that "Negro ideals must always be in accord with the greater ideals of mankind."[38]

He was opposed to sacrificing Afro-American history and culture

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[37]W.E.B. Du Bois, The Education of Black People, p. 105.

[38]Ibid., p. 152.

on the altar of racial harmony. In what could be termed "a case for cultural pluralism," he stated:

> ...I am not fighting to settle the question of racial equality in America by a process of getting rid of the Negro race; getting rid of black folk, not producing black children, forgetting the slave trade and slavery, and the struggle for emancipation; of forgetting abolition and especially of ignoring the whole cultural history of Africans in the world.
>
> No! What I have been fighting for and I am still fighting for is the possibility of black folk and their cultural patterns existing in America without discrimination, and on terms of equality....[39]

The ideas which Du Bois advanced for dealing with the problem, called for intelligence, cooperation and careful planning. As difficult as the road to progress seemed, he was optimistic about a future in which color discrimination would disappear from American life, and the preservation of African history and culture as a valuable contribution to modern civilization, as it was to ancient and medieval civilization, would become a reality.[40]

It is not difficult to see how Du Bois' ideas relate to the formal education of a child. Like other educators, he saw a connection between a child's up-bringing in a suitable home and environment as a contributory factor in his overall success in school and society at large. Under normal circumstances, such a child would be able to read, write, count and perform other activities at the level that was appropriate to his or her age. As Du Bois noted: "Not even the dumbest college professor can spoil the education of the man who as a child

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[39]Ibid., pp. 150-151.

[40]Ibid.

has learned to read, write and cipher; so too Aristotle, Immanuel Kant and Mark Hopkins together are powerless before the illiterate who cannot reason."[41]

Du Bois also recommended parental and community interest in the formal education of their children. With the family, the community and the educational institutions pursuing similar goals in the education of the child, he believed that positive results were inevitable.

3. The School Curriculum

The third theme to be considered in Du Bois theory of education is the Curriculum. His ideas on the curriculum were linked to his program for education and social change. Interestingly enough, they consisted of a mixture of traditionalism and pragmatism. As an intellectual, he himself had been schooled in the classics. He knew the value of traditional or classical education, and it was the type of education which he recommended for the "Talented Tenth." However, as a liberal, he was open to new ideas. The rapid industrial and economic development during the Progressive Era (1890-1920's), with all its political and social ramifications, probably convinced Du Bois that the classical curriculum had its limitations, and that necessary adjustments in the education of black people were imperative, if they were to move with the times.

What then were the values and limitations of the classical curriculum as Du Bois saw them? In The Souls of Black Folk and his

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[41]Ibid., p. 107.

Autobiography, he referred to the traditional curriculum in idolizing terms:

> ...Nothing new, no time-saving devices,--simply old time--glorified methods of delving for Truth, and searching out the hidden beauties of life, and learning the good of living. The riddle of existence is the college curriculum that was laid before the Pharaohs, that was taught in the groves by Plato, that formed the trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and logic) and quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music), and is today laid before the freedmen's sons by Atlantic University. And this course of study will not change; its method will grow more deft and effectual, its content richer by toil of scholar and sight of seer,....[42]

Extrapolating from the above quotation and from other sources on the subject, the following points could be made for the traditional curriculum: (1) it embodied the wisdom of the ages past; (2) it disciplined the intellect; (3) it provided models of personalities worthy of emulation; and (4) it enhanced the understanding of the meaning of life and life worth living.[43] Du Bois' emphasis was mainly on the college curriculum. His explanation for that focus was that culture filters from the top downward. In other words, the institutions of higher learning provided leadership by training the elite according to acceptable traditional standards and they in turn would pass on the knowledge to others. It is a credit to Du Bois, that he had the foresight to recognize the limitations of classical education, when as noted in the preceding section, he stated that the ideal curriculum should blend the classical with the practical in workable balance. The two

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[42]W.E.B. Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk, p. 115. See also Du Bois, Autobiography, pp. 211-212.

[43]W.E.B. Du Bois, The Education of Black People, p. 6. See also Harry G. Good, et.al., A History of Western Education, 3rd Edition (London: The Macmillan Co., 1969), pp. 114-115.

main weaknesses of the traditional curriculum were (1) it over-emphasized the acquisition of knowledge rather than on the use of that knowledge for the solution of problems, and (2) it was not very useful in an industrialized society where technical skills were needed to function effectively. As Brody R. Samuel noted in his study, "Du Bois vehemently opposed any curriculum which he believed would assign blacks ultimately to an inferior caste or restrict them to particular occupations."[44] Another factor which was related to the above idea was the concern that Afro-Americans as missionaries of culture must not be left behind in any field of education, since they would be the ones to carry technology to Africa and other parts of the world.[45] If Du Bois saw himself as the messiah, the elite born of his ideas were his missionaries, and both had a mission to accomplish at home and abroad.

The waning of the classical curriculum at the turn of the century, led Du Bois to recommend changes in the college curriculum. He recommended shorter periods for Greek and Latin, and more time for English, and modern languages--French, German, Spanish and Portuguese. He emphasized the study of history, sociology, economics, psychology, political science, natural sciences and research methods. He urged institutions of higher learning to introduce an interdisciplinary approach in the study of social science subjects in order "to give

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[44]Brody R. Samuel, "W.E.B. Du Bois' Educational Ideas" (Ed.D. Dissertation, Rutgers University, New Jersey, 1972,), p. 156.

[45]Ibid.

their students unified knowledge of social conditions and modern trends."[46]

Consistent with his belief that Afro-American history had been distorted, Du Bois recommended that Negro history be taught by Negroes from their own perspective, to dispel the wrong notions about the black man and his achievements. In teaching black history, he argued that it should begin with the Negro in America and Africa, and from there to the interpretation of general history, instead of the common practice of teaching it the opposite way.[47] Du Bois was uncomfortable with religion as it was taught and practiced. He was opposed "to religious dogma clung to because of fear and inertia and in spite of logic."[48] He stated that the Negro Church instead of concentrating on "building edifices, paying old debts, holding revivals and staging entertainment," should devote its attention to the teaching of ethics.[49] In his view, the following ethical questions were worthy of research:

> When is it right to lie? Do low wages mean stealing? Does the prosperity of a nation depend upon the number of its millionaires? Should the state kill a murderer? How much money should

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[46]Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. 314-317.

[47]Sumpter R. David, "A Critical Study of the Educational Thought of W.E.B. Du Bois" (Ph.D. Dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1973), pp. 106-107. See also W.E.B. Du Bois, "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?" The Journal of Negro Education, IV (1935), 335.

[48]Andrew G. Pascal, A W.E.B. Du Bois Reader (New York: Macmillan Co., 1971), p. 322.

[49]Du Bois, The Education of Black People, p. 114.

you give to the poor? Should there be any poor? And as long as there are what is crime and who are the criminals?[50]

Du Bois was, thus, quite concerned with character training, the problem of right and wrong, justice and injustice in human relations. For him, a society that did not seriously address those issues was courting disaster.

4. The ultimate purpose of education--service for others

The idea of self-sacrifice and dedication to duty is an important theme in Du Bois' ideology. On his twenty-fifth birthday while a student in the University of Berlin, he composed a very moving piece which in retrospect turned out to be quite prophetic of the career of W.E.B. Du Bois. After a curious little ceremony with candles, Greek wine, oil, and song and prayer, in which he dedicated his library to his dead mother and his life to serve his people, he wrote:

> Night--grand and wonderful. I am glad I am living. I rejoice as a strong man to win a race, and I am strong--is it egotism--is it assurance--or is it the silent call of the world spirit that makes me feel that I am royal and that beneath my sceptre a world of kings shall bow. The hot dark blood of a black forefather is beating at my heart, and I know that I am either a genius or a fool. I wonder what I am--I wonder what the world is ...perhaps I never shall know. But this I do know, be the Truth what it may I will seek it on the pure assumption that it is worth seeking--and /neither/ Heaven nor Hell, God nor Devil shall turn me from my purpose till I die...I am firmly convinced that my own best development is not one and the same with the best development of the world, and here I am willing to sacrifice. That sacrifice to the world's good becomes too soon sickly sentimentality. I therefore take the world that the unknown lay in my hands and work for the rise of the Negro people, taking for granted that their best development means the best development of the world....

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[50]Ibid.

> These are my plans: to make a name in science, to make a name in literature and thus to raise my race. Or perhaps to raise a visible empire in Africa thro' England, France or Germany.
>
> I wonder what will be the outcome? Who knows?[51]

The above passage reveals to the reader what Du Bois thought of himself and his mission in the world. His entire program for the regeneration of the Negro in the U.S. and around the world rested on the leadership qualities of the intelligentsia. On numerous occasions, he emphasized "the ideal of sacrifice". By "sacrifice", he meant "real and definite surrender of personal ease and satisfaction."[52] He felt that the world would be a better place if people could deny themselves certain pleasures to make others happy. He believed that "the larger the number of people ready to sacrifice, the smaller the total sacrifice."[53]

Du Bois' concept of education and the educated man could be summed up in a few words: Knowledge applied to the solution of the political, economic and social problems of a people. The next chapter will examine the relevance of Du Bois' ideas to the Nigeria situation.

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[51]Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. 170-171. See also Du Bois' diary Feb. 23, 1893, Du Bois' Papers, and Francis L. Broderick, W.E.B. Du Bois, Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis, pp. 28-29.

[52]W.E.B. Du Bois, "Education and Work." The Education of Black People, p. 80.

[53]Ibid.

CHAPTER V

THE IMPLICATIONS OF DU BOIS' IDEAS FOR NIGERIAN EDUCATION

The ideas of great men are not always accepted by their generation or by succeeding generations. Du Bois' ideas are no exception. Moreover, as a man who had lost faith in American democracy and turned to radicalism (communism) towards the end of his life, his thoughts suffered a double jeopardy. It would be foolish, however, to reject, or ignore Du Bois' ideas completely, simply because they are considered radical. Certainly, all of his ideas cannot be considered radical by any stretch of the imagination. Francis L. Broderick in spite of his criticism of what he regarded as Du Bois' racist ideology, gave him credit (1) for his talent and courage in raising the morale of the Negro to demand equal rights and accept nothing less; (2) for holding high the "ideal of liberal education" at time when Booker T. Washington was emphasizing industrial education, and measuring civilization in material terms.[1]

Another critic of Du Bois, Elliot M. Rudwick[2], reached conclusions similar to those of Broderick. Most writers on Du Bois agree that Du Bois' clarion call for freedom, equality, higher education and

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[1]Broderick, W.E.B. Du Bois, Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis, p. 230.

[2]Elliot M. Rudwick, W.E.B. Du Bois, Propagandist of the Negro Protest, read especially the concluding chapter.

social justice, was not confined to the U.S.A. alone; it resounded in the Caribbean Islands and in the continent of Africa through the Pan African movement, and ties of friendship which developed between Du Bois and some of the African leaders, notably Kwameh Nkrumah of Ghana, and Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria.

Chapter V will examine the relevance and implications of Du Bois' ideas for Nigerian education. However, an overview of the Nigerian setting, in terms of its history and traditions, its present economic and social problems, is necessary as a background to the understanding of the Nigerian problem.

Nigeria: The Background

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa. With a population of over 80 million, it is one of the ten most populous countries in the world. It is estimated that "one in seven of all Africans is a Nigerian."[3] Ray Moseley, Africa correspondent in a recent article in the Chicago Tribune, estimated the Nigerian population to be up to 100 million people, adding that "at least one of every four Africans is a Nigerian."[4] Nigeria has a geographical land mass of 356,669 square miles or 923,768 square kilometers, which is about four times the size of the United Kingdom or more than twice the size of California. Lying

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[3]Njoku E. Awa, "Structural Barriers to Food Production in Nigeria." Paper prepared for the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research, 4th Annual Conference, Phoenix, Arizona, Feb. 22-26, 1978.

[4]Ray Moseley, "Nigeria: An Oil-Rich 'Dirt-poor' Nation." Chicago Tribune (June 1, 1980), p. 1.

about 4° and 18° lattitude north of the Equator, Nigeria is physically and culturally diverse.

There are six geographical zones in Nigeria. Three of these geographical areas--dry savanna, intermediate savanna, and forest savanna mosaic--are in the North, while the others--Western moist forest, eastern moist forest, and central moist forest--are found in the South. The export crops grown in Nigeria by commercial farmers vary from zone to zone. Thus, in the dry and intermediate savanna areas of the North, groundnuts (peanuts) and cotton are the principal export crops. Cattle is also raised in the region and their hides and skins are exported. The moist forest areas of the South as climatically more suited for rubber, cocoa, palm oil and kernel production. The forest savanna, mosaic region is thinly populated and heavily infested with tsetse flies. Few cash crops are grown in that zone.

Nigeria is largely rural, even though urbanization and industrialization are increasing at a fast pace. Less than 10 percent of the population reside in cities of over 50,000.[5] Nigeria is thus predominantly an agricultural country. Most of the farmers are small cultivators with fragmented holdings. Some cultivate about two to five acres approximately, and others, up to 10 acres or more. Grain crops are grown largely in the North, and root crops are grown in the South. Most farmers in Nigeria use the system known as "shifting cultivation" which involves leaving farmlands to lie fallow between

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[5]N.E. Awa, "Cultural Barriers to Food Production in Nigeria."

seven to twelve years before they are used again. The main criticism against this system is that it is wasteful. But it has unique advantages: (1) it helps maintain soil fertility; (2) it controls erosion; and (3) it aids in weed and pest control.

Despite the gradual acceptance of the Western system of land ownership in urban Nigeria, communal ownership usually by clan and extended families, still prevails in rural Nigeria. Under this arrangement, farmlands are allocated to farmers according to the farmer's needs. Farmlands can also be leased to "outsiders," that is, farmers without joint title to the land they need. Land is leased at a very moderate fee, paid in cash or kind, for the farming season--January to November.

Nigerian agriculture has failed to keep pace with population growth. Before the discovery of oil, Nigeria was an exporter of food. Today, it imports about 35 percent of its food. The import bill exceeded $1 billion in 1979, of which $200 million worth of food was supplied by the United States.[6] If such a trend is allowed to continue, the effect could be disastrous for the average Nigerian.

Nigeria's Wealth and Social Problems

Nigeria is very rich in oil and natural gas reserves. Although coal, tin, iron ore, and other minerals are found in Nigeria, oil accounts for 95 percent of Nigerian exports and 92 percent of government revenues. As Moseley indicated: "The country earned

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[6]Moseley, "Nigeria: An Oil-Rich 'Dirt-poor' Nation." Chicago Tribune, p. 14, Col. I.

$16 billion from petroleum last year (1979) and it can look forward to earnings of up to $22 billion according to estimates."[7]

Most of Nigeria's oil which comes from off-share wells and from its southern swamps, is pumped by American companies--Gulf, Mobil, Phillips, Texaco, Ashland, and Marathon. These companies have a 40 percent stake in the operation, and the Nigerian Government holds 60 percent of the shares.[8]

The crude oil found in Nigeria, like that of Libya and Algeria, is of exceptionally high quality; it has a low sulphur content and thus commands top prices in the world market. In 1979 Nigeria was pumping 2.15 million barrels a day at the selling price of $35 a barrel. Moseley's observations about the present Nigerian society may be highlighted as follows:

> The evidence of Nigeria's oil wealth is easy to see in Lagos: new stadiums, a new international airport, a new national theater, a network of expressways, and modern office buildings.
>
> But for all that, Nigeria remains a country with huge economic problems.
>
> Vast slums stretch out for miles below the downtown skyscrapers. Homeless citizens shelter under the expressway flyovers and sometimes steal the expressway guardrails at night to sell them as scrap metal. Violent crime is rampant. It is hazardous, for example, to take a night flight from Lagos because bandits lay in wait for travelers along the airport road and rob them.
>
> Parts of Lagos are chronically short of water and people regularly get trapped in elevators when electricity fails....
>
> "All this in a land supposedly flowing with milk and honey," a university professor from eastern Nigeria sneered during a recent visit to Lagos....

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[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

> Education, despite heavy expenditures in recent years, remains woefully inadequate. Only 5 million of Nigeria's 25 million school-age children are able to attend school....
>
> Other factors that have contributed to Nigeria's problems are corruption at every level of society, collosal waste, and mismanagement....[9]

Moseley's comments on the situation in Lagos, the present capital of Nigeria, are basically accurate, and have been quoted extensively because of their relevance to this research study. The impression one gets, however, is that he used the capital city as a yardstick for measuring what obtains all over the country. That approach could be misleading because conditions do vary from one community to another, and from state to state, with respect to poverty and crime, development projects, educational and other social problems. There is no doubt about the fact that the wealth in Nigeria is concentrated in the hands of a few individuals. In general, the poor are getting poorer while the rich are getting richer. On the other hand, while there is an increase in the crime rate in the big cities due to frustration, desperation and inability to cope with the rapid economic and social transformation taking place, rural communities are generally free from violent crimes.

Mismanagement, bribery, and corruption in high places in both government and business, especially since the oil boom, have created problems similar to those experienced by the United States during the Progressive Era (1890-1920); Nigerians have become so materially minded that their sense of justice and fairness seem to have been

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[9]Ibid.

replaced by quantitative values in a manner that have left some of their fellow countrymen confused. Seen against that background, Robert Wiebe's book, The Search for Order: 1877-1920,[10] and the searching questions which he posed become particularly relevant: "In a democratic society, who was master and who, servant? In a land of opportunity, what was success? In a Christian (God-fearing) nation, what were the rules and who kept them?"[11]

As Moseley remarked: "In another sense, Nigeria's oil has been a curse instead of a blessing, for it has given many Nigerians the false impression that they no longer have to work as hard as before."[12]

Most knowledgeable Nigerians admit, that despite the oil bonanza, Nigeria has serious economic, political and social problems.* While some are pessimistic about finding solutions to these problems, others are optimistic that some day in the future the right leaders would come along and try to rectify the situation. It is interesting to note that the ordinary Nigerian points an accusing finger to "the people at the top", as being responsible for the bribery and corruption

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*The present writer visited Nigeria (December 23, 1979-January 29, 1980) in search of data for this study. He observed things first hand and held informal discussions with people from all walks of life about the political, economic and social problems in the country.

[10]Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order: 1877-1920. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.

[11]Ibid., p. 43.

[12]Moseley, Chicago Tribune (June 1, 1980), p. 14.

that has gripped the country. Later on in this part of the dissertation, I propose to apply the "Du Boisian" concept of problem-solving to the Nigerian situation. It is my thesis, that the "Du Boisian" theory of education with emphasis on intelligence, strong leadership, integrity and dedication to duty, if integrated with a nationalist ideology, would lead Nigeria away from the path of catastrophe to a place of respectability in the international community.

History and Traditions

The name "Nigeria", is derived from "Niger", the river that rises from the Mountains of Guinea (Futa Jalon). The name was first coined by Lady Lugard, the wife of the first governor of Nigeria, Frederick Lugard, who ruled the country from 1914 to 1919.[13] By mere accident of history, Nigeria found itself under British colonial rule, which lasted approximately from 1861-1960. The British seizure of Lagos, the present capital of Nigeria in 1861, marked the effective occupation of the region. From Lagos, the British extended their colonial control inland.[14] Nationalists' agitation for independence from Britain followed by a series of Constitutional Conferences in London, led eventually to the independence of Nigeria on October 1, 1960. Three years later, the country became a republic within the British commonwealth of nations.

Nigeria's First Republican Government collapsed in January, 1966

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[13]A. Babs Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, 7th edition. (London, England: George Allen & Unwing, 1974), p. 115.

[14]Michael Crowther, A Short History of Nigeria, 2nd edition. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1966), p. 169. See also p. 21 for the origin of the name "Nigeria."

as a result of a military coup d'etat. A second coup d'etat in July, 1967, in which hundreds of officers and civilians, predominantly of the Ibo ethnic group were massacred, led to a full scale civil war (Nigeria v. Biafra). The war and its aftermath claimed over a million military and civilian lives, ending with the Biafrian surrender on January 14, 1970.[15] Military rule in Nigeria ended in October, 1979, with the election of a civilian administration patterned after the American presidential system. The first President of the Second Republic is Alhaji Shehu Shagari. There are currently 19 states in Nigeria, and each state has its own elected officials--governor and members of the legislature, etc.

The foregoing is only a brief sketch of Nigerian history covering the second half of the 19th century to the present; obviously there are gaps, important gaps which remain to be filled. Who lived in this part of Africa before the contact with Europe? How were they organized? How were their young people educated? What were their values? These questions are relevant to this study and will be dealt with briefly.

Although the modern history of Nigeria is only a little more than a century old, cultural life in that part of Africa stretches backwards to at least the 1st century A.D.[16] The Arabs and the Portuguese were the first to encounter African peoples in the Western Sudan during the Trans-Saharam Trade and explorations of the West

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[15]Nduka Okafor, The Development of Universities in Nigeria. (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1970), p. vii.

[16]Crowther, A Short History of Nigeria, p. 29.

Coast of Africa, respectively. The Western Sudanese Empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhai already mentioned in Chapter II of this dissertation grew partly out of the trade that developed between these empires and the Moslem states of North Africa, and partly because of the conversion of their rulers to the Islamic religion. The trade across the Sahara Desert from north to south was practically the only trade route linking the region before the Portuguese explorations of the 15th century. Asian and European goods (salt, cloth, spices, horses, swords, etc.) were able to reach the Sudanese peoples through the Arab middlemen who obtained them in the Mediterranean region in exchange for African products--gold, ivory and slaves.

Accounts of Arab travellers will give the reader an insight into the culture of the Mande, Madingo, Wolof and Hausa peoples of the Sudan. Iban Battuta, an Arab traveller and scholar who visited the area in the 14th century, gave an account of the Negroes he encountered as follows:

> The Negroes possess some admirable qualities. They are seldom unjust, and have a greater abhorence of injustice than any other people. Their Sultan (ruler) shows no mercy to anyone who is guilty of the least act of it; there is complete security in their country. Neither traveller, nor inhabitant in it has anything to fear from robbers or men of violence. They do not confiscate the property of any white man (Arab) who dies in their country, even if it be uncounted wealth.[17]

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[17]Ibn Battuta (trans. H.A.R. Gibb), Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354 (London: Routledge, 1953), pp. 329-330. Quoted in Chukwuemeka Manuwuike, "Alternatives in African Education: The Need for a Synthesis Between the Old and the New Systems" (Ed.D. Dissertation, University of Masscahusetts, 1971), p. 30.

Battuta, here paints the picture of a people with strong sense of justice, a safe and well organized territory under good leadership. However, in the same passage are allusions to the existence of cannibals and heathens,[18] people who were not as cultured as the first account has shown, probably because they had not been converted to Islam.

The influence of Islam on the development of the empires cannot be exaggerated; conversion to Islamic religion meant the introduction to literacy, which in turn opened the opportunity for higher education and administrative service in the empire. Educated moslems became indispensable to the rulers of the empire as elements of Moslem law and administrative system were adopted by the States. Besides, literacy facilitated trade which was the mainstay of these empires. As Michael Crowther remarked:

> Ghana, Mali, Songhai and Kanem-Bornu might more aptly be described as market empires, since the basis of their prosperity lay not so much in what they produced themselves, which was primarily food stuffs and local cloth for internal consumption or export to their immediate neighbours, but as middlemen in the exchange of products between North Africa and areas to the South of them....

Crowther, it must be pointed out, forgot that gold and ivory are very valuable items which these empires provided.[19]

Another visitor to Kanem-Bornu, in present day Northern Nigeria, Ibn Khaldun recorded the receipt of a giraffe by Hafsid Prince of Tunis, from "The King of Kanem and Master of Bornu."[20] Some of the rulers of

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[18]Ibid.

[19]Crowther, A Short History of Nigeria, pp. 35-36.

[20]Ibid., p. 40.

Kanem made pilgrimages to the Islamic holy land of Mecca, passing through Egypt where "a hostel for students and pilgrims from Bornu was built."[21]

All available evidence show similarities in the way the empires were organized--hierarchically. At the head of each state or empire was the royal family (King & Queen, etc.), which was advised by a council in matters of policy. In Kanem-Bornu, council members numbered twelve. Council members were either free or slave-born. The provinces were ruled by governors, who were members of the royal family. Women played important roles in government, and this has led researchers to the conclusion that the whole "political system was a compromise between Moslem requirements and the dictates of earlier practices...."[22] With some exceptions (slave and women participation), the system had parallels in later African Kingdoms of Benin, Jukun, and Ashanti. It has to be emphasized that these Sudanese empires maintained large armies to defend their borders against invasion and to secure the trade routes. Foreign influences prevailed only when the local armies were defeated as in the cases of the Songhai in 1591, and the Ashanti in the 19th century.[23]

The Arabs and the Islamic religion pre-dated the Europeans and the Christian institutions in West Africa. Just as the contact with the Arab world was motivated by peaceful trade initially, which later on degenerated into conquest by Islamic zealots bent on converting

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[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid., p. 41.

[23]Ibid., pp. 48-50.

heathens to Islam, European contact with African peoples had similar motives. As already stated, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to come into direct contact with the peoples of West Africa. Under Henry the Navigator, the explorations of the West African Coast began in earnest. This undertaking had several objectives: first, there was the natural curiosity inspired by the Renaissance to venture into the unknown; second, Henry wanted to discover an alternative route to the sources of the products from West Africa and Asia, thereby avoiding the Moslem-Arabs of North Africa, who had served as middlemen in the trade with the orient for centuries; third, he wanted to discover the legendary, and powerful Christian ruler Prester John[24] and ally with him against the Moslems, who had been spreading their religion by force in the Iberian Peninsula, since the 8th century. As Nduka Okafor noted:

> Religion (including the philanthropy it inspired) and trade appear, however, to have been the most impelling factors in the relationship between Europe and West Africa from the very begining of contact. Indeed these two appear to be the overriding reasons for relationships between Europe and West Africa for the three centuries following the first arrival of the Iberians in West Africa.[25]

Legitimate trade and the spread of Christianity, were soon overshadowed respectively, by the nefarious slave trade, the scramble for sphere of influence among European powers in Africa, and by colonialism

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[24]Prester John was reported to be the ruler of a large Christian empire--Ethiopia. See also William Douglas Hussey, Discovery, Expansion and Empire (England: Cambridge University, 1954), for a more detailed account.

[25]Nduka Okafor, The Development of Universities in Nigeria, p. 6.

and imperialism which still persists today in some parts of Africa.

Before discussing the impact of the Alien systems--political, economic, and social--on the life of the indigenous people, it would be useful to understand the traditional education of the people before the advent of the foreigners.

Traditional African education or indigenous education in Nigeria, for that matter, had many things in common with educational systems in other cultures. Among other things, traditional education aimed at inducting the child into the culture of his people as preparation for adult life, and to ensure cultural continuity. Education was informal. Children were taught by their parents and other members of the extended family in a manner that generally conformed to the societies mores and folkways.

They were taught the totems and taboos of their culture, as soon as they reached a certain level of understanding, and were able to interact with the larger society. Babs Fafunwa has provided an interesting description of traditional African education in the following passage:

> In Old African society the purpose of education was clear: functionalism was the main guiding principle. African society regarded education as a means to an end and not an end in itself. Education was generally for an immediate induction into society and a preparation for adulthood. In particular, African education emphasized social responsibility, job orientation, political participation, and spiritual and moral values. Children learned by doing, that is to say, children and adolescents were engaged in participatory education through ceremonies, rituals, imitation, recitation and demonstration. They were involved in practical farming, fishing, weaving, cooking, carving, knitting and so on. Recreational subjects included wrestling, dancing, drumming, acrobatic display, racing, etc., while intellectual training included the study of local history, legends, the environment (local geography, plants and animals), poetry, reasoning, riddles,

> proverbs, story-telling, story-relays, etc. Education in Old Africa was an integrated experience. It combined physical training with character-building, and manual activity with intellectual training. At the end of each stage, demarcated either by age level or years of exposure, the child was given a practical test relevant to his experience and level of development and in terms of the job to be done. This was a continuous assessment which eventaully culminated in a 'passing out' ceremony, or initiation into adulthood.
>
> For the select or the elect, secret cults served as institutions of higher or further education. It was at this level that the secret of power (reall or imaginary), profound native philosophy, science and religion were mastered.[26]

Traditional education as described above, was (and is), almost universal throughout Black Africa, in terms of its aims, content and methods of education. These facts underscore the common origins of African peoples and their culture. The informal nature of education, rituals and initiation into adult life, to mention but a few aspects, feature prominently among the various ethnic groups in Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone. The purposes of education as well as the curriculum content and instructional methodology, were (and are) not divided into separate compartments, but interwoven, unlike the Westernized system of education.[27] Specifically, traditional Nigerian education stressed the development of individuals who were honest, intelligent, hardworking, and above all respectful to their elders and those in positions of authority. Physical fitness and contribution to the welfare of the community were important requirements for a citizen of any community.[28]

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[26]Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, pp. 15-16.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Ibid., p. 20. For additional information on Traditional African Education, see Chukwuemeka Manuwuike, "Alternatives in African Education: The Need for a Synthesis...", pp. 93-112.

Some of the criticisms to which traditional education has been subjected are: (1) that its goals are limited because it is basically concerned with the individual's needs in a small environment; (2) that it is conservative and not amenable to change; (3) that it has failed to develop a written language or means of communication that could be widely used outside its restricted cultural environment. The first criticism is inaccurate because in ancient Africa, and in fact in most ancient societies, people were generally aware of their neighbours, and sometimes learned their customs, transacted business with them, and even borrowed ideas from them. In the second case, except in a revolutionary situation--French and Russian Revolutions--for instance, education usually serves the need of the dominant group in society; i.e., maintains the status quo. The third criticism that of developing a language that can be used for official business and understood over a wide area, has some truth to it. Traditional African/Nigerian education lacked a systematic method of recording events, etc. Oral traditions cannot be completely relied upon in trying to reconstruct the past history of a people. There is no doubt that much knowledge has been lost as a result of this major weakness of traditional education.

Western Education in Nigeria

Formal education in Nigeria is deeply rooted in the British system. Before independence, and even after independence, much of the curricula followed in schools at all levels, with the exception of the Koranic-Schools in Northern Nigeria, was designed by missionaries and British colonial administrators along western lines. There was over-

emphasis on religious studies and academic and bookish education. Two phases of Western educational influence on Nigeria may be briefly discussed.

The first period 1472-1574, was dominated by the Portuguese who were the first Europeans to set foot on Nigerian soil. At the initial stages, the Portuguese were interested in trade with the people of Benin. Pepper, guns, and gun powder, and wood carvings appear to have been the products exchanged. Later on, the Benin's belief in a supreme God similar to Christian belief, impelled the Portuguese to attempt converting them to Christianity.[29] The Oba of Benin showed some interest, and accordingly in 1515 a Catholic mission school was set up in the Oba's Palace for his sons and the sons of his chiefs who were converted to Christianity.[30] The Portuguese next missionary activity was at Warri, a part of the empire of Benin. An Augustinian priest, Father Francisco founded a Christian settlement between 1571 and 1574.[31] Despite the conversion of the Olu (King) of Warri's first son to Christianity and the education of his grandson overseas in Portugal, the missionary activities of the Portuguese failed because of the ravages of slave trade and native hostility to foreign ideas.

The second phase of missionary activity was marked by the arrival of British missionaries in Badagry on the 24th of September, 1842, under the leadership of the Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman, son of a Negro father

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[29]Nduka Okafor, The Development of Universities in Nigeria, p. 6.

[30]Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, p. 74.

[31]Okafor, The Development of Universities in Nigeria, p. 6.

and an English mother.[32] The idea for embarking upon a full-scale evangelisation and education of the African peoples was the brain-child of T. F. Buxton, a member of the anti-slavery movement in Britain. Buxton in his book, The African Slave Trade and its Remedy,[33] argued that since both international diplomacy and naval patrol of the Atlantic seaboard were ineffective in stopping the slave trade, Christian education working hand-in-hand with legitimate trade would influence African thinking and turn their minds away from the heinous slave trade. He believed that Africans themselves if trained as teachers, technicians, and farmers in the industrial schools managed by the missionaries would be better suited for the task. Buxton's plan was labelled "The Bible and the Plough," and was adopted by the British government, who in collaboration with philanthropic organizations and merchants, intensified explorations that opened up the hinterland. One significant outcome of the "civilizing mission", was the signing of treaties with friendly native rulers who pledged to stop slave trade and to allow the British access to their areas of jurisdiction. In that way, the British were able to acquire ports, and the merchants and missionaries gained a stronger foothold in what is now Nigeria.[34]

The early Christian schools were seen by the various denominations --Anglicans, Presbyterians, Catholics and Baptists--as the most important

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[32]Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, p. 79.

[33]J. F. Buxton, The African Slave Trade and its Remedy (London: 1840). Quoted in Fafunwa, Ibid., p. 77.

[34]Ibid., pp. 77-78.

instrument for conversion. The literary subjects--grammar, reading, writing, spelling, etc.--were taught with one principal objective in mind--the understanding of the gospel, in order for the members to carry out their religious obligations effectively. The missionaries had a snobbish attitude towards African culture. They assumed that African culture and religion "had no system of ethics, and no principle of conduct."[35] With this attitude in mind, they branded as superstitious and pagan, African ways of life which they did not understand. A clear case of misunderstanding was the insistence that Africans change their names to Christian names, when in fact most African names were/are more suggestive of God and His attributes, than English or other foreign names. A few illustrations from Ibo and Yoruba names may clarify this point. In Ibo language, "God" is designated by the following names:

Table 1

Ibo	English Translation
Chiukwu	Supreme God
Chineke Chukwu Okike	God the Creator
Chi or Chukwu	Short name for God

[35]Ibid., p. 81.

Table 2

Ibo Names	English Translation
Chukwu Emeka	God has done wonders, i.e., named with gratitude to God
Ngozi Chukwu	Blessing from God
Ebere Chukwu	God's mercy
Ebube Chukwu	The miracle of God
Lewe Chukwu	Hope or trust in God
Chizoba	God saves

In Yoruba, "Olu" is the short form of "Oluwa", which means God.

Table 3

Yoruba Names	English Translation
Oluwole	God entered the house
Oludele	God touched the house
Olushola	God creates wealth
Olusegun	God has conquered

It must be pointed out that in recent years the Catholic Church has recognized the initial mistakes and now allows the use of African names at Baptism. However, the impact of the early Christian onslaught on traditional African culture, aided by the theory of imperialism, still lingers on today. The educated African in many instances, is still alienated from his culture which makes his interaction with his

people sometimes uneasy.[36] In fairness to the Christian missionaries, the conversion of the native population to Christianity, and the introduction of Western education, helped stamp out some evil practices--slavery, human sacrifice, the killing of twins, and the like. In addition, the introduction of the English language which served/serves as a common and official language for the different tribes in Nigeria, the introduction of cash economy, health facilities, and the opening up of roads, and waterways by the British colonial administration, which improved contact between the various peoples, were steps in the right direction.

The development of Western education in Nigeria was basically the work of the Christian missionaries with the British government playing a very minor role. In fact, there was no British policy on education in Nigeria until 1925, and that was three years after an American philanthropic organization--"The Phelps--Stokes Fund"--had studied and issued a report on educational problems in colonial territories in Africa, including Nigeria.[37] As indicated earlier the curricula followed in elementary, secondary and higher institutions during the colonial period, stressed religious and moral instructions, and classical education respectively.

What were the disadvantages of these types of curricula? The answer to this question brings us to Nigeria's current educational and

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[36]For a full discussion of the problem of cultural alienation resulting from Western education, see Chukwuemeka Manuwuike, "Alternatives in African Education," pp. 76-80.

[37]Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, p. 123.

social problems which are deeply rooted in the past. In the last chapter, the weaknesses of a purely classical curriculum was discussed, and need not be repeated here. However, the discussion of the effect of a similar type of curriculum on the Nigerian setting seems appropriate this time.

Shortly after independence in 1960, it dawned on Nigerians that educational reforms were necessary in order to cope with the challenges that must of necessity be borne by an emerging nation. The feeling in official circles was that the system produced too many people with preparation for white-collar jobs than the country needed. A developing country like Nigeria, it was argued, needed skilled workers--engineers, doctors, nurses, masons, carpenters, welders, and machinists. The place of technicians in the economic development of Nigeria was emphasized. Accordingly, various regional and federal commissions were set up by the respective governments to investigate the problem and make recommendations for improvement.[38] In general, educational policy in Nigeria since independence, has focused on making the system relevant to the man-power needs of the country without much success. For our purpose, the focus will be on the current National Policy on Education in Nigeria with emphasis on higher education.

General Policy Goals

The Guidelines for the Fourth National Development Plan, 1980-85,

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[38]For more discussion of the topic, see, M.U. Okoro, "A Model for the Administration and Control of Education in the East Central State of Nigeria," (M.A. Thesis, Loyola University of Chicago, 1975), pp. 11-17.

states as follows:

> The crucial aim of educational policy during 1975-80 has been defined as the radical expansion and improvement of educational facilities so that every citizen is given full opportunity to develop his intellectual and working capabilities for his own benefit and that of his community.

The stated objectives of this policy were:

(i) to expand facilities for education aimed at equalizing individual access to education throughout the country;

(ii) to reform the content of general education to make it more responsive to the socio-economic needs of the country;

(iii) to consolidate and develop the nation's system of higher education in response to the economy's manpower needs;

(iv) to streamline and strengthen the machinery of educational development in the country;

(v) to rationalize the financing of education with a view to making the educational system more adequate and efficient; and

(vi) to make an impact in the area of technological education so as to meet the growing needs of the economy.[39]

The stated general policy goals can only be concretized if specific policies and programs are worked out for the different levels of education--elementary or primary, secondary, teacher training, and higher education. The different levels may be reviewed briefly.

1. Primary Education (Age 6-12)

A free and universal primary education scheme (UPE) was introduced in September 1976 in order to achieve the important objective of equalization of educational opportunities. Although under the scheme,

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[39]Nigeria Federal Ministry of Information, (Guidelines for the Fourth National Development Plan, 1980-85, p. 67).

primary or elementary education in Nigeria is not yet compulsory, the UPE scheme is viewed as one of the most significant innovations in Nigeria's educational and social development.

After three years, enrollment reached 11.2 million according to offical government statistics. This means that the estimated target enrollment of 11.5 million by 1980 was virtually attained one year ahead of schedule.[40]

Reporting on Nigerian education, Ray Moseley stated that despite heavy expenditures in recent years, education is still inadequate. Out of about 25 million school-age children, only 5 million are actually attending.[41] The truth must lie between the two extremes.

2. Secondary Education (ages 12-18/19)

Secondary education in Nigeria has two broad aims: (a) preparation for useful living within the society, and (b) preparation for higher education. A new policy that will become effective in 1982 aims at replacing the old system--the 5-year grammar school type of secondary school--with a 6-year program that will be provided in two stages: first, a 3-year Junior Secondary School stage which would be both pre-vocational and academic, and secondly, a 3-year Senior Secondary School stage that is also comprehensive in its curriculum.

State governments bear the main responsibility for financing secondary education. Federal government assistance is quite minimal.

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[40]Guidelines, p. 68.

[41]Ray Moseley, Chicago Tribune, p. 14.

It is projected that from 1981-1982 secondary education will cost about 1,092.5 m. naira or $1,718 m.[42]

3. Teacher Training

Teacher education is considered very crucial for the successful implementation of the UPE program. Emergency training programs were initially undertaken to produce a hardcore of teachers required for the successful launching of the program, with the federal government bearing full financial responsibility. The emergency period has since passed, and the program has been converted to a more regular teacher training program. Also, to facilitate rapid recruitment and retention of in-service teachers, new incentives were built into their conditions of service and basic salaries. Teacher education has grown very rapidly, reflecting a considerable measure of success in the various programs instituted by government. Enrollment in teacher training colleges virtually doubled within the two-year period from 1974-75 to 1976-77, increasing from 78,377 in 1974-75 to 149, 145 in 1976-77.[43]

4. Higher Education

Since 1974, university education in Nigeria has expanded very rapidly. Today, the number of universities in Nigeria stands at thirteen, and more universities are anticipated. It was projected that enrollment will increase from 23,000 in 1974-75 to about 53,000 in the 1979-80

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[42] Implementation Committee for the National Policy on Education: Blue Print. Nigeria Federal Ministry of Information, Printing Division, 1979, p. 29.

[43] Guidelines, p. 69.

school year, but this figure has already been exceeded. The abolition of tuition fees, availability of scholarships, student loans and bursaries have eased the financial problems of students from low socio-economic families. Boarding fees were fixed at an all-time low of N 90 or $144.00 per semester in 1979. Although higher education in Nigeria is laying emphasis on the sciences, technical education, medicine, agriculture, business, and finance, these areas still lag behind.[44]

Quantitatively, the enrollments at various levels in Nigerian educational institutions have increased tremendously since 1976. Based on my informal discussions with teachers, school principals, government officials, and my personal observations, educational standards have decline since the end of the civil war. Nigerian education is plagued by lack of adequate facilities and a shortage of trained teachers at all levels, particularly in the sciences, technical education, and foreign languages. The system is also beset with inefficient administration, waste, and corruption with respect to the conduct of external examinations. Lack of up-to-date statistical data at all levels of education hampers effective planning. Since educational problems are an integral part of the political, economic, and social problems of a larger society, it would seem that all attempts at reform and building a new social order will come to naught unless there is a stable, efficient, political, economic, and social order.

Stability and peace are the corner stones of political, economic

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[44]Federal Government of Nigeria, "Annual Report of the Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board," 1st April, 1977-30th June, 1978, p. 44.

and social progress. If a country is not free from political unrest, national goals cannot be met satisfactorily. Instability leads to uncertainty which scares away potential investors, slows down economic productivity, and thus leads to economic and social unrest. In such atmosphere, the great majority of the population suffer; only a very small minority benefit, and governments resort to repressive measures to stay in power. The antidote for this type of social malady is education. Spiced with a patriotic ideology, education can enlighten the people and make them aware of their political, economic, and social responsibilities to themselves and the country at large. After 14 years of instability (1965-1979), Nigerians must have learned the hard way of what instability means.

What are the implications of Du Bois' ideas for Nigerian education?

As a developing country, Nigeria needs to develop a rationale deeply rooted in the positive aspects of African culture, and blend it with the best that European and other world civilizations have to offer in the arts, sciences, technology, medicine and health in order to solve the problems that beset the country. The task of synthesizing between the old and the new is not an easy one. It calls for intelligence, vision, leadership and dedication of the highest calibre. This is where Du Bois' theory of the Talented Tenth--leadership by the elite--comes in. The intelligentsia serving as curriculum planners, teachers, researchers, civic and political leaders, ministers, and lawyers set standards for the rest of society. Nationalistic aspirations--freedom from political, economic and cultural domination from abroad--could provide a rallying point, and the momentum that might

eventually regenerate the Nigerian society. Education and ideology can lay the foundations upon which to build a new Nigerian society that is sensitive to the needs of its citizens, and subscribes to the principles of peaceful co-existence and international cooperation.

Du Bois' ideas on education and society remain contemporary and relevant to the needs of emerging nations like Nigeria. When he posed these questions: "What is our duty toward the children whom we are educating? ... how shall we govern ourselves?" The refreshing responses were:

> First, we must carefully understand the age in which we live; above all, we must realize that this is an age of tremendous activity; that today no race (nation) which is not prepared to put forth the full might of its carefully developed powers can hope to maintain itself as a world power. On one point, therefore there can be no question--no hesitation unless we develop our full capabilities, we cannot survive... If instead of following methods, pointed out by the accumulated wisdom of the world for the development of full human power, we simply are trying to follow the line of least resistance and teach black men only such things and by such methods as are momentarily popular, then my fellow teachers, we are going to fail and fail ignominously in our attempt to raise the black race to its full humanity and with that failure falls the fairest and fullest dream of a great united humanity....[45]

How relevant and appropriate are the words of wisdom to the current Nigerian situation! There is need for careful planning and continuous assessment of the human and material development of the country's resources, in order to eliminate waste and ensure the relative satisfaction of the Nigerian population. In pursuing that objective, a balancing of the liberal arts curriculum with science and technical education, as indicated in the last chapter, was the ideal for Du Bois.

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[45]W.E.B. Du Bois, The Education of Black People, pp. 9-10.

Although he had great admiration for science and technology, he still placed liberal education above them. As he stated in "Galileo Galilei," "Science is a great and worthy mistress, but there is one greater and that is Humanity which science serves; one thing there is greater than knowledge, and that is the Man who knows."[46]

Thus, for Du Bois, "man" is the most important factor in society. He is more important than any material object--money, inventions, etc. This idea was a constant feature in African and other world civilizations. Unfortunately, in this time and age, it is being relegated to the background in favor of material wealth and other pursuits. Education and ideology should serve as integrating forces reinforcing positive traditional African/Nigerian values. They should serve as a clearing house for all innovations--cultural and scientific. Nigerian higher education should lay emphasis on the rigorous training of teachers, researchers and planners in every field to meet the needs of its rising population and school enrollments at all levels. Consistent with national goals and aspirations, curriculum planners and teachers should draw materials from the rich African heritage where possible and expose the students to foreign ideas that are useful and adaptable to local conditions. It is only the elite or the Talented Tenth who can make this type of assessment based on their exposure and understanding of local and world trends. Nigerian educators should as a matter of policy, continue to identify and determine students' abilities and aptitudes, and place them in academic or occupational

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[46]Ibid., p. 24.

areas where they are best suited.

The principal weaknesses in Nigerian education today which this research study have isolated are: (1) a shortage of trained teachers, especially in the sciences, technical education, and foreign languages; (2) the decline of academic standards, (3) inadequate educational facilities at all levels, and (4) administrative problems--low morale, corruption and waste at the highest level. Du Boisian educational ideas which are both cultural and nationalistic and the literature on education and nation building, should serve as guides to Nigeria in combating the inter-related problems--educational, political, economic and social--that confront it. The four major themes of Du Boisian thought as indicated in Chapter IV of this dissertation stressed: (1) higher education for the most capable men and women, who would provide leadership in every field for their community group, nation or country in which they live, (2) harmonious relationship and cooperation among the various agencies of education--home, community, church and school; (3) curriculum that is balanced between traditional arts subjects and pure and applied sciences, and (4) the ultimate purpose of education--self-sacrifice, dedication to duty and service in the interest of prosterity. If the four themes are juxtaposed with the shortcomings of the Nigerian system, it is not difficult to see the relevance and applicability of the Du Boisian solution to the Nigerian problem. A shortage of trained personnel--teachers, researchers, administrators, technicians, etc.--will obviously affect academic standards and the quality of performance in other occupations. The decline of standards, academically or otherwise, may have multiple explanations, such as (1)

political, economic and social instability deeply rooted in the colonial past, (2) lack of leadership at the high echelon of the educational enterprise, and (3) a new phenomenon that might challenge existing values--rapid economic and social change--that belittles higher education while emphasizing material wealth. Such a situation inevitably leads to narrow educational objectives as momentarily popular subjects are chosen instead of the core.

Du Bois would have attributed the Nigerian problem to the failure of leadership, since he repeatedly maintained that culture filters from the top to the bottom. The leadership factor is an indispensable theme in Du Boisian ideology, and it is upon good leadership at critical junctures that progress in society hinges. While academic excellence was an important quality of a leader, Du Bois perhaps preferred a balance between intelligence and good character. Nigeria needs men and women with vision and courage, and above all, character that is worthy of emulation. There can be no substitute for inspired and enlightened leadership.

Du Bois' educational world view led him to this conclusion:

> When now we have gained for our race training in modern industry, and for our national leaders self-assertion through a higher training in life and thought and power, then we can move toward the goal. What is that goal? It is at present one great ideal: the abolition of the color line; the treatment of all men according to their individual desert and not according to their race.[47]

The solution of the race problem, and the problem of colonialism and imperialism, were over-riding issues in Du Bois scheme of things.

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[47]Ibid., p. 15.

He devoted a great deal of his time on these matters with some success. Nigeria should recognize these problems and sincerely be committed to regional and international understanding by cooperating with UNESCO and other international agencies, and by encouraging and sponsoring exchange programs involving students from different nationalities. Internal cohesion, international understanding and cooperation, should be the ultimate goal of a good national system of education.

The next chapter will contain the conclusions and recommendations of this research study.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

W.E.B. Du Bois, like any other human being, was a product of the intellectual, political, economic, social, and cultural matrix into which he was born and reared. Chapters II and III have examined the origins, growth and maturity of Du Bois' ideas from his childhood impressions through high school, Fisk, Harvard and Berlin Universities. His exposure to liberal education, teachers, professors, and civic leaders whom he admired, influenced his thinking on a range of issues--educational, political, economic, and racial. Convinced that education was the key to the solution of the social, political, and economic problems of any group, Du Bois early in life began to rely on his pen to disseminate the ideas he thought useful in promoting racial harmony. In particular, he sought to enlighten the ignorant members of his race who needed guidance more than any other group in the Americas, because of their unique history--slavery. The theory of the Talented Tenth, represented a stage in Du Bois' intellectual development. He outlined what could be done to uplift the Negro race by stressing liberal education rather than industrial training for the most capable. His ideas, thus, conflicted with those of Booker T. Washington, the most popular Afro-American leader in the first decade of the 19th century. Both Washington and Du Bois had convincing arguments for their respective positions, but Du Bois' fearlessness, and uncompromising stand on

political, economic and civil rights for all, irrespective of race, color, sex or religion, gave him an edge over Washington in the long run.

Du Bois researches into African history and culture highlighted the achievements of Negroid peoples down the ages. Egyptian civilization which had hitherto been treated as if it were not Negro, was shown to be essentially Negro in its origin. In West, East and Central Africa, the existence of ancient kingdoms and empires of grandeur prior to the advent of Europeans in Africa were documented from the accounts of Arab and unbiased European scholars. By refuting the assumptions of many European historians that African had no cultural history of which to be proud, Du Bois raised the morale of Negro peoples everywhere. Such a psychological boost was a factor in laying the foundation for the demand for equality in United States and the decolonization and the independence of African peoples from European powers. The Niagara Movement, the N.A.A.C.P. and the Pan-African Movement had a common trademark in the Talented Tenth theory of Du Bois--the use of knowledge to organize and improve the lot of a down-trodden people. Du Bois' writings on the domestic and international ramifications of the race problem, and the political, economic and social problems that might result from lack of education and racial harmony, are phenomenal. He concerned himself with these issues for more than sixty years. An analysis of the history of the Civil Rights Movement and the struggle for colonial freedom in Africa, show the extent of Du Bois' involvement, and the extent to which he has been vindicated.

At the time of his death in 1963, the status of the Negro had

improved tremendously from what it was in 1868 when Du Bois was born. At that time, the mass of the Afro-American population which was concentrated in the South was still rising from slavery against enormous political, economic, and social odds. The great majority could neither read nor write. In Africa, only Ethiopia and Liberia were independent. Du Bois' programs for action were instrumental in bringing about change, especially in the political sphere. His ideology affected not only the Afro-American, but also the entire history of the United States and of Africa. The achievements of the Civil Rights Movement are well known. The inclusion of Afro-American studies in school curricula, the establishment of institutes of African studies, the widespread use of materials with African symbols, and even the adoption of African names by Afro-Americans were all part of the cultural revolution pioneered by Du Bois. The freedom of colonial peoples in Africa, the Caribbean, and even in Asia were all part of his dreams, which have largely become realities today. In his passing, the world recognized the loss of a scholar, critic, ideologist and a gallant champion of freedom. But he has left behind a monumental legacy in his numerous works and commentaries, which may continue to inspire and guide succeeding generations to noble goals.

Du Bois' ideas remain relevant and contemporary and have implications for a developing country like Nigeria. In Chapter IV, where his educational ideas were analyzed, it was shown that he shared the concerns of other great educators with reference to the agencies of education--family, community, Church and school. The proper foundation for education begins early in life under proper guidance by parents

and family members. The best results are obtained when the family, community, church and school cooperate in educating and socializing the individual. Du Bois favored liberal education over industrial education, but indicated that the ideal type of curriculum would be a mixture of liberal and technical education in workable equilibrium. The uniqueness of Du Bois' educational ideas lay (1) in the stress for higher education for the intellectually most capable students; (2) the use of education as an instrument for reforming society, promoting racial harmony, and creating equal opportunities for all regardless of race, creed or sex; (3) the use of knowledge to guide and serve others.

As a developing country with a large population, political, economic, and social problems as indicated in Chapter V, Nigeria needs to use Du Bois' educational ideas and the research findings of history and other social sciences as guides in combating the problems that it faces today. A rational synthesis of traditional African/Nigerian values blended with the best that European and other civilizations have to offer in various fields of human endeavour, may go a long way to solving Nigeria's problems. Du Boisian ideology has, therefore, obvious implications for Nigeria. Nigeria must have a proper grasp of the roots of the problems that confront it, and accordingly, design plans for solving them. This can only be done via research by competent and dedicated scholars across disciplines. The most critical problems facing Nigeria today are:

(1) The problem of political, economic, and social instability: To combat these problems, Nigerian education should stress the advantages of unity and stability as the basis for progress in all aspects

of human endeavour. Loyalty and respect for the government and the laws of the land as was the case in traditional society, should be stressed. Curriculum planners should draw materials from the experiences of other countries--England, France, U.S.A., Japan, and U.S.S.R.--which faced similar problems in their formative stages.

(2) The problem of leadership: Leadership is essential for the success of any organization, whether big or small. Nigeria needs dynamic, intelligent, and dedicated leaders who are sensitive to the needs of the people. Nigerian leaders should be men and women of exemplary character that younger people can look up to as role models. Curriculum planners should stress the teaching of biographies of great men like Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois and Martin Luther King, who used their education to initiate social, political, and economic reforms. Nigerian leaders should realize that they are the servants of the people not their masters.

(3) Cultural Conflict: Most developing nations face this problem, especially if such nations had been colonized by a foreign power. Educated Nigerians are often torn between two value systems--traditional Nigerian values and Western values. Education and ideology can help resolve this conflict. A synthesis of culture is what the situation demands. Utility, adaptability rather than blind imitation should be the guiding principle. Inter-disciplinary courses in the social sciences should be encouraged in colleges and universities, and teacher training institutions in Nigeria in order to broaden students' ideas and perspectives.

(4) Administrative problems: There should be proper coordination

of functions between the federal and state governments. A leadership council should be established to advise the federal and state governments in educational, economic, and social matters. The most important aspect of their functions should deal with the ordering of priorities of national goals and objectives. Education, health and sanitation, food production, roads and other means of communication, should be given top priority in planning for development. Emphasis should be placed on efficient management of the human and material resources of the country for the relative satisfaction of Nigerian citizens.

In the final analysis, recommendations on education and social action, no matter how neatly set out, are meaningless without a high degree of commitment and dedication to duty on the part of all concerned, especially the leaders.

Suggestions for Further Research

Nigerian Education, both in the tradition and modern sense, is a rich field for educational research. The history, philosophy, curricula, administration, as well as other aspects of education have barely been touched. These need to be researched and related to Du Bois' ideas on education and social regeneration. Suggested areas for further study should include various stages of traditional education, Moslem education, history and policies of the various missionaries bodies involved in Nigerian education--the Church Missionary Society, The Roman Catholic Mission, The Presbyterian Mission, etc. British Colonial policy needs to be re-examined as one of those outside forces that has influenced Nigerian cultural, political, economic and social

history. The study of great educators and civic leaders whose contributions in any way enhanced the progress of education in Nigeria, should form an essential part of Nigeria's educational history. There is need for the writing and preparation of suitable textbooks and materials in the various academic disciplines for use in Nigerian institutions. Such materials, especially in the arts, should correct misconceptions about Africa/Nigeria without distorting the large global picture. The writing of books of the "how to" variety, as well as those that contain balanced information about other nations of the world, are useful guides to people in a transitional society like Nigeria. Research, writing, and dissemination of the findings of historical and sociological studies were important weapons in Du Bois' scheme of things, and should be preserved.

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APPENDIX A

Letter to Mother, Mary Burghardt Du Bois

New Bedford July 21, 1883.

Dear Mam,

I arrived here safely friday after noon. It was just noon when I got to Hartford. After eating my lunch & buying my ticket I went up to the capitol which is but a little ways to the depot. The grounds are laid out beautifully and the building is magnificent. It consists of a main part and two wings. The main part is surmounted by a tower & dome, which, by the way, is gilded, & upon this is a bronzed statue. As you go in the main entrance the first thing you see is a very large statue of a woman holding a wreath. On either side in cabinets are the different flags. The floor is of colored marble. The staircases are also of marble. There is a book to write your names there & of course my illustrious name is there. I looked into the chamber of the House of representatives. It is very nice. The chairs & desks are arranged in a semicircle. The chairmans seat is in the middle. In front are seats for the clerks & at the side for reporters. There is an elevator which anybody can go up & down in when they wish to. The whole building is frescoed splendidly. On the outside there are niches for statues. There is a picture gallery in the state library room. I cannot tell you ½ what I saw there. I did not go up in dome fearing that the train would leave me. When I came down to the depot & finding that I had a little time left I took a walk up a street near by. When I got back to the depot the train was gone, & news agent told me there was no other to providence that afternoon. Imagine my situation! At last however I found out there was another train out on another road. So I had to sell my ticket which I paid $2.70, for $1.50 because I had my baggage checked on it & baggage had gone by the other train. At last I was on the way to providence. The railroad runs down parelal with the Connecticut river & the scenery is beautiful. I saw two or three steamers. After we had got to the coast I changed cars & to took the shore line. There the scenery was magnificent the steamers, sailboat, the beautiful seaside resorts & c. I reached providence about 8 pm. & there was no one to meet me, sarah thinking that I would not come because I did not come on the other train I asked a policeman & he directed me to her residence. Providence is a very nice city & I like it very much.

I went around a good deal what little time I was there.

Sarah has a very nice little cottage. I saw the soldiers monument & I will tell you about it when I come. I started on the 8 A.M. train for N.B. & arrive there about 11 A.M. There was no one to meet me & I was mad, very mad. In fact if I could got hold of some one I should have hurt them, but I didn't. By inquiries I found the house which is about half a mile from the depot. The house is white with green blinds & the yard is full of flower gardens. Grandma is about my color & taller than I thought. I like her very much. Grandpa is

short & rather thick set. I like him better than I thought I would. He says very little but speaks civily when I say anything to him. Grandma says by and bye he'll talk more I like it very much here & am having a nice time.

Last night Grandma & I took a walk up street & visited some of her friends. I have been walking out this afternoon. We are going on a picnic to onset point next week & down to Martha's Vineyard & to hear the Miss Davis the elocutionist & c. I have not been to Mr. Freedom's yet but will go next week. Tell Jennie not to forget the courier. Tell Grace I would like to slap her once I suppose you are very lonesome. I felt a little home sick this afternoon. Will write soon, with love to all, good by

Your son,
W E Du Bois.

APPENDIX B

Letter of thanks to Rev. Scudder

Fisk, Feb. 3, 1886.

Dear Pastor:

You have no doubt expected to hear of my welfare before this, but nevertheless you must know I am very grateful to you and the Sunday-School for what you have done. In the first place I am glad to tell you that I have united with the Church here and hope that the prayers for my Sunday-school may help guide me in the path of Christian duty. During the revival we had nearly forty conversions. The day of prayer for Colleges was observed hear with two prayer-meetings. The Rev. M. Aitkins, the Scotch revivalist spoke to us a short time ago, and tomorrow Mr. Moody will be present at our chapel exercises.

Our University is very pleasantly situated, overlooking the city, and the family life is very pleasant indeed. Some mornings as I look about upon the two or three hundred of my companions assembled for morning prayers I can hardly realize they are all my people; that this great assembly of youth and intelligence are the representatives of a race which twenty years ago was in bondage. Although this sunny land is very pleasant, notwithstanding its squalor misery and ignorance spread broad-cast; and although it is a bracing thought to know that I stand among those who do not despise me for my color, yet I have not forgotten to love my New England hills, and I often wish I could join some of your pleasant meetings in person as I do in spirit. I remain

Respectfully yours,
William E Du Bois

APPENDIX C

W.E.B. Du Bois
Courses Taken at Harvard University

1888-1889
Philosophy 4 - Ethics - Prof. James
Political Economy 9 - Management and ownership of railroads - Mr. Gray
Mathematics 2 - Differential and integral calculus - Prof. C.J. White
Chemistry 3 - Qualitative analysis - Prof. H.B. Hill and Dr. C.L. Jackson
Natural History 4a - Geology - Mr. Harris
Natural History 8 - Geology - Prof. Shaler, Asst. Prof. Davis, Mr. Wolff
English C - Forensics - Asst. Prof. Royce, Messrs. Conant and Baker

1889-1890
English D - Forensics - Messrs. Baker and Thompson
English 10 - Elocution - Mr. Hayes
Philosophy 2 - Logic and psychology - Prof. James
Philosophy 6 - Earlier French philosophy... - Dr. Santayana
Philosophy 11 - Ethics of social reform - Prof. Taussig, Mr. Neso
History 13 - American history - Asst. Prof. Channing

1890-1891
English 12 - English Composition - Asst. Prof. Wendell, Mr. Fletcher
Political Economy 2 - History of economic theory - Asst. Prof. Taussig, Mr. Brooks
History 20a - Seminary in American history - Asst. Profs. Channing and Hart
History 21 - Early Mediaeval institutions - Mr. Bendelari
Roman Law 1 - Mr. Schofield

1891-1892
Political Economy 3 - The principles of sociology - Mr. Cummings
History 20 III - Seminary in American history - Asst. Profs. Channing and Hart
History 28 - History of Continental Europe - Prof. Nacvane and Asst. Prof. Channing
History 29 - Constitutional history of England since the accession of George III - Prof. Nacvane and Asst. Prof. Channing
History 30 - Federal government, historical and comparative - Asst. Prof. Hart
History 31 - Leading principles of constitutional law - Prof. Nacvane

APPENDIX D

Letter of Invitation to supper from Professor William James

Cambr., Feb. 9th 1891

Dear Mr Du Bois,

Won't you come to a philosophical supper on Saturday, Feb. 14th at--half past seven o'clock?

Yours truly
William James

APPENDIX E

A Report to the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund

Berlin, October 28, 1892.

President D.C. Gilman
Sir:

In accordance with the terms of my appointment, I have the honor to make to you my first report as Scholar of the John F. Slater Fund.

Arriving in Rotterdam about Aug 1st, I spent some ten days in visiting the chief places of interest in Holland. I then ascended the Rhine, stopping at Dusseldorf, Cologne, Mainz, and Frankfort. From the latter place I went to Eisenach in Sachsen-Weimar, where I boarded for seven weeks with a German family, and spent my time in reviewing my German grammar, conversing and reading in German, and making excursions to interesting points in the neighborhood.

After making a careful examination of the programmes of lectures offered at the various Universities, I decided to go to Berlin for my first semester. Accordingly I left Eisenach on the 8th of October, and, after spending some time in Weimar and Leipsic, I came to Berlin, and marticulated under the Philosophical Faculty, 17 October. I also registered at Harvard University as a non-resident member of the Graduate School.

Here, after the usual preliminary difficulties, I have finally made myself ready for my term's work. I have hired a room about a mile from the University, take my meals at restaurants, and have the following program of work: First I have, fortunately, succeeded in entering a Seminary of Political Economy, under Professor Schmoller and Dr. Rathgen; here Professor Schmoller has requested me to prepare a paper on the labor question in the southern United States, which I shall do. In addition, I shall take the following courses:

1. Politics, under Prof. von Treitschke
2. Political Economy, under Prof. Wagner
3. Prussian Constitutional History, under Prof. Schmoller
4. Beginnings of Modern States, under Prof. Scheffer-Boichoist
5. Prussian Reforms, under Prof. von Gneist
6. Labor question in England and Germany, under Prof. Sering.

This will make in all about 20 hours a week of lectures. During spare hours I shall give some attention to local politics, administration, etc., and to music and art.

My address is: Oranienstr. 130 A IV, Berlin, S., Germany. I will cheerfully furnish any omitted particulars. With deepest obligation to you and the Board for these opportunities,

I remain, Sir,

Respectfully yours,
W.E.B. Du Bois

APPENDIX F

From Frank A. Hosmer to W.E.B. Du Bois on his fiftieth birthday

Amherst, Mass., Feb. 8, 1918

Dear Friend:

I congratulate you on reaching your fiftieth birthday; that is mere form. But I congratulate you more in what you have accomplished both for the colored race as for the white race. I always dislike to use those terms. To me there is no such distinction. I do not remember that there ever was. I had as much pleasure in introducing you to the expeditions of Caesar, to the speeches of Cicero, & the great poems of Vergil as any one but more in your case as I found response. "The Shadow of Years" I read aloud to Mrs. Hosmer & it impressed us both. And she sits here beside me as I write & we both join in our congratulations to you & your wife.

As you know, I went to Honolulu as president of Oahu College. The faculty was complete & there were no vacancies. I made up my mind I should send for you--not because you were of the "colored" race for the students of the college were mostly white--American, English, Spanish, German, Russian, Italian--& my Hawaiians. I found no race prejudices, except toward the Chinese coolies. It took years to eliminate that. At last I got my Chinese boys into the college & they won their way by sheer merit.

I had always wished to tell you I was proud of you when you gave a strong address on Wendell Phillips, when from the president of Atlanta at the Lake Mohawk Conference /I heard/ how successful you have been at that college, & when I presided at College Hall in Amherst when you lectured, but most of all of what you have taught the people of my country.

Principal Hosmer had a faint vision of what we /see/ in you.

Sincerely,
Frank A. Hosmer

Please ask your Mr. Dill to send me The Crisis. If the price is higher, he will inform me.

APPENDIX G

Letter of Resignation from NAACP

Atlanta, Georgia, May 21, 1934

To the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P.

At the May meeting of the Board, the following action was taken:

On motion of Dr. /Louis T./ Wright, duly seconded, it was voted, That The Crisis is the organ of the Association and no salaried officer of the Association shall criticize the policy, work, or officers of the Association in the pages of The Crisis; that any such criticism should be brought directly to the Board of Directors and its publication approved or disapproved.

I did not know of this action until a week after the June editorials had been written.

I regret to say that I am unable to comply with this vote. I do not for a moment question the right of the Board to take this action or its duty to do so whenever differences of opinion among its officers become so wide as to threaten the organization. On the other hand, I seriously question the wisdom or right of any distinction between the opinions of salaried and unsalaried officials.

In thirty-five years of public service my contribution to the settlement of the Negro problems has been mainly candid criticism based on a careful effort to know the facts. I have not always been right, but I have been sincere, and I am unwilling at this late day to be limited in the expression of my honest opinions in the way in which the Board proposes. In fact, The Crisis never was and never was intended to be an organ of the Association in the sense of simply reflecting its official opinion. I could point to a dozen actions of the Board confirming this. My ideal for The Crisis has always been that anyone's opinion, no matter how antagonistic to mine, or to the Association, could to a reasonable extent, find there free and uncensored expression. I will not edit The Crisis unless this policy can be continued.

I am, therefore, resigning from my position as Director of Publications and Research, Editor of The Crisis, member of the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P., and member of the Spingarn Medal Committee--this resignation to take effect immediately.

I am grateful for the opportunity of service which this organization has given me for twenty-four years, and for many marks of its confidence.

Very respectfully yours,
W.E.B. Du Bois

APPENDIX H

Exchange with George W. Maxey on Segregated Education

Scranton, Pa., July 15, 1935

Mr. W.E. Burghardt Du Bois

Dear Sir:

I wish to tell you how much I enjoyed reading your article: "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?" which appears in the current number of "The Journal of Negro Education." Your article is a masterpiece of sound reasoning, good sense, and superb diction. You say many things which the members of the Negro race should comprehend, well consider, and act upon. You wisely counsel them to believe in their own power and ability and to cultivate their innate qualities. You rise to the level of statesmanship when you write: "What he /the Negro/ needs more than separate schools is a firm and unshakable belief that twelve million American Negroes have the inborn capacity to accomplish just as much as any nation of twelve million anywhere in the world ever accomplished, and that this is not because they are Negroes but because they are human." Your summing up, or closing, paragraph is the quintessence of wisdom.

You possess that practical sense of realism which every person must have if he is going to make any worth-while contribution to the solution of present-day problems, whether these problems be racial, social, economic, or political. As Spengler says in substance in his comments on Bismarck: "The highest art of statesmanship is the art of the possible."

With best wishes,

Very truly yours,
George W. Maxey

APPENDIX I

From Du Bois to wife, Nina Gomer Du Bois

Atlanta, Ga., February 21, 1940

My dear Nina:

I have been meaning to send you some books for reading according to your request but have neglected them until now. I am sending three books, one I am sure you will like, Indians of the Americas by Edwin R. Embree. The others may also interest you although they are rather long; John Gunther's Inside Europe which has been regarded as one of the best of recent books and Carlson and Bates' biography of William Randolph Hearst. I will send you some others as I come across them.

I have just returned from a pleasant trip to the Middlewest: Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, Dayton, Frankfort, Kentucky. I delivered eight lectures and one or two other talks and had an interesting luncheon with Embree of the Rosenwald Fund. There were present among others: Langston Hughes, Arna Bontemps and Richard Wright, the new young Negro author.

I succeeded in getting a cold at last from the change and snow of the North but I think I have gotten it in hand now. I hope you got through the extraordinary weather without harm and that you and the baby were warm enough. I am glad you got the flowers.

Thank Du Bois for her Valentine and birthday greeting.

Yours with love,
Will

APPENDIX J

Correspondence with Lester A. Walton: Belated award of the Order of African Redemption

Monrovia, Liberia Ocotober 20, 1941

Confidential.
Dear Dr. Du Bois:

On October 7, Secretary of State Simpson called the Legation to inform me that President Barclay had given instructions that the decoration--Knight Commander of the Order of African Redemption--be turned over to me for transmission to you. However, a mistake had been made as the decoration had been sent to Mr. Walter F. Walker, Liberian Consul General at New York, who, I presume by this time, has delivered decoration to you.

I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate you on the deserved consideration shown you by the Liberian Government.

I transmit here with a copy of a letter which I wrote Mr. Irving Dilliard, of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, on August 24, 1940, while I was home on leave of absence. For several years we have exchanged correspondence and he has always accorded me a hearty welcome when I visited the Post-Dispatch to say "howdy" to my old friends. Mr. Dilliard has never answered my letter and I have been puzzled regarding his silence. Please inform me if, from your point of view, anything objectionable was stated.

I note with great misgivings the growing tendency in the United States to put into the mouths of our people Negro dialect. In every advertisement I have seen in magazines or daily newspapers wherein the Negro appearing in the advertisement is quoted, it has been "dis," "dat," "sho," "dese," etc,

I should like to see the colored American make an organized protest against making our people speak other than the plain "United States." Moreover, I should like to see an organized campaign waged against the presentation on the screen of but one type of Negro, that is, the subservient, bowing and scraping servant; and usually both men and women must put on cork. I feel confident if a united protest is made some favorable results can be obtained.

I shall appreciate hearing from you in the near future.

Very sincerely yours,
Lester A. Walton

APPENDIX K

Exchange with Marshall Gray: Portrayal of Negroes by the movie industry

Atlanta, Ga., 26 September 1941

Mr. Marshall Gray
My dear Sir:

The attitude of the Negro toward the movie industry is something like this: Negroes have received some recognition and employment; the roles which they portray have improved somewhat in character during the last twenty years, that is, the Negro appears now not simply as clown and fool but now and then in more human and natural roles. On the other hand, all Negroes are quite aware that anti-Negro propaganda still goes on through the films; that in every scene that brings in a jail there will be Negro prisoners prominently displayed; that the Negro clown is still frequently used; and that almost never can a Negro take a role which involves real manhood. The result of this is that Negroes are afraid to protest too much against this propaganda for fear that those Negroes who are employed regularly by the Movie industry like Louise Beavers, Clarence Muse, Rex Ingram, and others might lose their jobs.

Personally, I think that a determined fight against propaganda with regard to Negroes might be made but should be done carefully so that distinction is made between hurtful propaganda and the beginnings of real recognition of Negro manhood.

Very sincerely yours,
W.E.B. Du Bois

APPENDIX L

Correspondence with Mrs. A. Jacques Harvey (wife of Marcus Garvey) introduction of Nmandi Azikiwe of Nigeria

Windward Road P.O., Jamaica, B.W.I.
April 26, 1944

Personal
Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois

My dear Professor:

In continuation of my letter to you, of the 24th inst., I think it is of vital importance, from all angles, that you include a born African, as one of the Conveners of "The Pan African Congress." I suggest Nmandi Azikiwe, M.A. Editor in Chief of "The West African Pilot," Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa. He is also Editor-in-Chief of three other newspapers, namely:--

"Eastern Nigerian Guardian" of Port Harcourt, Nigeria
"Nigerian Spokesman" of Onitsha, Nigeria
"Southern Nigeria Defender" of Warri, Nigeria

He was the Chairman of the West African Press Delegation that visited England, last year, at the invitation of the British Government, and before leaving presented The West African Memorandum for self-government, by stages. I brought this matter to your attention last month.

Mr. Azikiwe attended Lincoln University, also Howard. If you met him, perhaps you may not like him personally, but we have long ceased to allow personalities to hamper unity of efforts, in this great and wise-spread work. The West African Memorandum is a practical, informative, well-balanced series of reforms leading up to self-government, and bespeaks the minds of Statesmen, worthy of the most progressive Races.

Now my dear Professor, perhaps you may misunderstand the tone of my letters, as I have been so accustomed to talk with M.G. and take part in Conferences with men, as "man to man," that I don't think or act, as if I "were just a woman."

By the way, established governments, such as Liberia and Ethiopia could not send Official Representatives, but their Representatives would be called "Observers."

Please send Mr. Azikiwe's letter by Trans-Atlantic Air-express, via Trinidad, and it will reach him quickly, by going across from Trinidad to the mainland of W. Africa.

Best wishes,

Yours fraternally,
A. Jacques Garvey

APPENDIX M

Du Bois' Statement on his indictment, Feb. 16, 1951

It is a curious thing that today I am called upon to defend myself against criminal charges for openly advocating the one thing all people want--Peace. For 83 years I have worked and studied hoping that in some way I might help my people and my fellowmen to a better way of life, free of poverty and injustice.

My interest in world affairs is long standing. For two years, from 1892 to 1894, I studied at the University of Berlin and travelled in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy and France. I attended the World Races Congress in 1911 in London. I organized the Pan-African Congresses in Paris, London, Brussels and Lisbon in 1919, 1921 and 1923. I was in consultation in 1919 and 1921 with the founders of the League of Nations. I attended the first meeting of the League Assembly in Geneva and met with the Directors of the Commission on Mandates and the International Labor Organization. In 1924 I had the honor of serving as Special Minister from the United States to Liberia. In 1936, as a Fellow of the Carl Schurz Foundation, I spent five months in Germany and then went on to China, Japan, Manchuria and Russia. I was appointed special consultant and attended the founding conference in San Francisco of the United Nations. Later, in 1945, I attended the Pan-African Congress in London /actually Manchester/. I cite these facts simply to indicate that my personal concern and activities for peace these last few years are fully consonant with my entire life interest in the cause of promoting peace through understanding among the peoples of the world.

With me today are three of my co-workers in the Peace Information Center, persons of integrity and principle who share with me the deep moral conviction that differences between nations must not be allowed to bring about the destruction of the human race.

It is a sad commentary that we must enter a courtroom today to plead Not Guilty to something that cannot be a crime--advocating peace and friendship between the American people and the peoples of the world. These indictments are a shameful proclamation to the world that our Government considers peace alien, and its advocacy criminal. In a world which has barely emerged from the horrors of the Second World War and which trembles on the brink of an atomic catastrophe, can it be criminal to hope and work for peace?

We feel now as we have always felt that our activities for peace, and in particular, the outlawing of atomic warfare cannot conceivably fall within the purview of a statute such as the Foreign Agents Registration Act. As Chairman of the Peace Information Center during its existence, I can categorically state that we were an entirely American organization whose sole objective as Americans was to secure peace and prevent a third world war.

It is revealing that the Justice Department can find no statute which provides protection for the Negro people from such outrages as

execution of the Martinsville Seven, yet it displays great ingenuity in distorting legislation to make it apply to advocates of peace.

A great demand for peace is being voiced throughout the country. Men and women everywhere are questioning our tragic military adventure in Korea and the prospect of war with China. There is deep apprehension at the thought that an atomic war may be unleashed. In the light of this, the shabby trick of branding those who seek peace as "aliens" and "criminals" will not stem this tide. I am confident that every American who desires peace, Negro and white, Catholic, Jew and Protestant, the three million signers of the World Peace Appeal and the tens of millions more will join us in our fight to vindicate our right to speak for peace.

APPENDIX N

From Hubert T. Delany to Du Bois: Expression of joy for acquittal

New York City, November 27, 1951

Personal
My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I send you this note to express my gratification that the indictment against you was dismissed.

It has seemed to me from the very beginning that your indictment was, to say the least, unusual in that the effect of your indictment tended to silence all champions of minority rights in this country. I am sorry to say that if this was the motive of the government, it was in far too many respects successful, because our so-called leaders today have folded their tents, closed their mouths and have become apologists for all of the injustices our government permits against the Negro people of America.

You probably do not know it, but I was subpoenaed to testify as a witness at your trial. I, of course, cannot be sure of the reason that I was subpoenaed, but I assume I was subpoenaed as a character witness. I also assume that whoever subpoenaed me knew that regardless of the issues involved, I would tell the truth. While I am glad that you did not have to go through the ordeal of having your case presented to the jury, I would have considered it an honor to have given testimony to the excellent reputation you have always borne in the community in which you live and far beyond that.

As I look over the record I know of no single individual in this country who has fought longer, harder, more consistently and more militantly for the rights of Negroes than you. If I could not make that statement today, I could not face myself, and that is why I am glad to make it not only to you, but would have not cringed if I had been asked a question that would have permitted that answer on the stand.

With kind personal regards to you, I am

Sincerely yours,
Hubert T. Delany

APPENDIX O

Du Bois to Dr. Einstein

New York City, November 29, 1951

Personal
My dear Dr. Einstein:

I write to express my deep appreciation of your generous offer to do anything that you could in the case brought against me by the Department of Justice.

I was delighted that in the end it was not necessary to call upon you and interfere with your great work and needed leisure, but my thanks for your generous attitude is not less on that account.

Mrs. Du Bois joins me in deep appreciation.

Very sincerely yours,
W.E.B. Du Bois

APPENDIX P

To Ghana Academy of Science and Learning

Brooklyn, N.Y., August 25, 1961

Ghana Academy of Science and Learning
Gentlemen:

On May 23rd I wrote you with regard to your kind letter informing me that you wished I should become the first Director of the Secretariat to carry out the project of the Encyclopedia Africana.

I spoke then of my age and my plan to visit Rumania and put myself under the care and treatment of the Sanitarium for several weeks. I have just returned from Rumania after two months stay. I feel improved in health and think that I will be able to give one or two years service to the planning of the Encyclopedia. Also the situation in the United States is such that I have changed my palns in other matters.

I propose to go to Ghana in October and to spend several weeks in consultation with you and the authorities of the University concerning the Encyclopedia. I shall also take up with you, at the time, the question of participation in the peace mission with various African States and other matters. I trust that this plan will be satisfactory to you.

I am Gentlemen,

Very sincerely yours,
W.E.B. Du Bois

APPENDIX Q

From Ghana's permanent representative to the United Nations

New York City, September, 1961

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I have been instructed by the Osagyefo, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, to convey to you the following message.

"Much regret impression created by Boateng for which he had no authority whatever. Please come as soon as ever you are ready. Let nothing stop you. I await your arrival."

I would appreciate hearing from you indicating when it would be convenient for you to undertake the trip to Ghana.

Yours sincerely,
Alex Quaison-Sackey

APPENDIX R

From Kwame Nkrumah to Du Bois

Accra, Ghana, December 4, 1961

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Thank you very much indeed for your kind letter of the 30th November.

Believe me, I am delighted that you arranged to come to Ghana when you did. You must not think that your arrival in any way inconvenienced me. My only regret is that owing to my heavy schedule since you arrived, I have been prevented from seeing as much of you as I would have liked.

I hope that your house will be ready soon. Tell Shirley that she must keep an eye on it and arrange for things to be done the way she wants them.

I hope to see you before very long.

Yours very sincerely,
Kwame Nkrumah

APPENDIX S

Citation for Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois: This commencement marks the seventieth anniversary of your graduation from Fisk University. In the course of these three score years and ten, you have combined prophetic vision, heroic courage, creative imagination, indeftigable energy and an articulate pen to advance the cause of education, enlightenment, freedom and opportunity for men everywhere.

Following your graduation from Fisk University in 1888, where you edited the Fisk Hearld with distinction you earned the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Harvard University. You later taught at Wilberforce and Atlanta Universities and your Atlanta University studies are, even today, primary source material for scholars concerned with the History of the Negro in America.

As the problems of race became more acute towards the end of the first decade of this century, you left Atlanta University and later fathered the Niagara MOvement which flowed into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. You founded The Crisis and developed it into the powerful irritant that awakened America's racial conscience and aroused a dormant racial pride.

As the higher education of Negroes became a burning issue, your voice helped America to see that higher education for Negroes could not be developed on the false philosophy of limited capacities and limited needs.

You extended your concern for freedom, enlightenment, education and opportunity to the far reaches of the world and organized the Congress of Races and Pan African Congresses.

During all these years, you added richly to the world's literary heritage: Souls of Black Folk, John Brown, Overt of the Silver Fleece, The Negro, Darkwater, The Gift of Black Folk, Dark Process, Black Reconstruction, Black Folk: Then and Now, Dusk of Dawn, Color and Democracy, The World and Africa, and In Battle for Peace. Even now, in your ninetieth year, you are completing Volumes II and II of your trilogy, The Black Flame, which later will be added to this heritage.

And so, William E.B. Du Bois, educator, scholar, prophet, founder and organizer, crusading editor for freedom and opportunity, voice of the matriculate, distinguished man of letters, and member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, Fisk University salutes you with pride as one of her most illustrous sons on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of your graduation from this institution.

Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee
May 26, 1958

APPENDIX T

/Ghana - The Rising Sun/

"I lifted my eyes to Ghana
And swept the Hills with high hossana
Above the sun, my sight took flight
Till from that Pinnacle of light
I saw dropped down this earth of
crimson, green and gold
Roaring with colour, drums and songs."
"I lifted my last voice and cried
I cried to heaven as I died;
O turn me to the Golden Horde
Summon all Western Nations
Towards the Rising Sun."

W.E.B. Du Bois

APPENDIX U

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

*Water Tower Campus * 820 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611 * (312) 670-3030*

July 31, 1980

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to certify that Mr. Martin Okoro is currently enrolled in a doctoral program in the Department of Foundations of the School of Education of Loyola University of Chicago. He is presently conducting research on his dissertation -- on W. E. B. DuBois. We would appreciate it if your institution would permit him the use of whatever research materials are available in your library. Thank you.

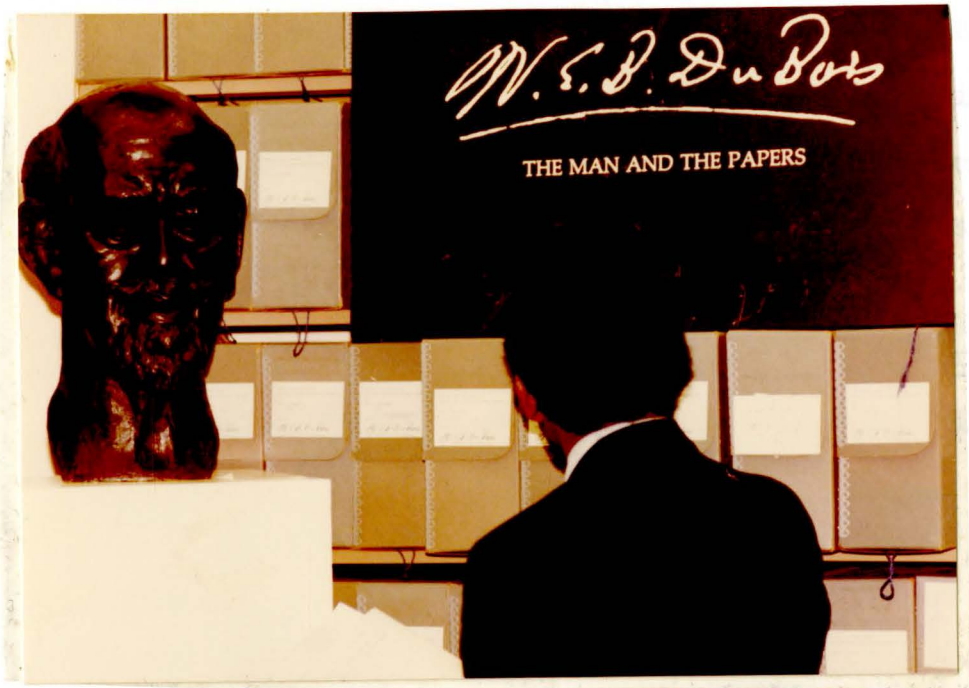
Sincerely,

Gerald L. Gutek

Gerald L. Gutek, Dean
School of Education

GLG:et

Du Bois' Room, University of Massachusetts



Research in Progress at the Du Bois' Room #2546, University of Massachusetts Library, Amherst, October 30, 1980.

NOTE:

Sources of Appendices: The correspondence of Du Bois deposited at the University of Massachusetts Archives, was the principal source of the appendices. Appendices C and U were obtained from Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Loyola University of Chicago, respectively. For a deeper insight and perspectives on the correspondence of Du Bois, consult Herbert Aptheker, ed., The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois: Volumes I, II and III (Selections 1877-1963).

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Martin Umachi Okoro has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Gerald L. Gutek, Director
Dean, School of Education and Professor, Foundations,
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Fr. Walter P. Krolikowski, S.J., Professor, Foundations,
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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December 9, 1981 — Date

Gerald L. Gutek — Director's Signature