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The Educational Views of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois: A Critical Comparison

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THE EDUCATIONAL VIEWS

of

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

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W.E.B. Du BOIS:

A CRITICAL COMPARISON

by

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THE EDUCATIONAL VIEWS OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND W.E.B. DUBOIS: A CRITICAL COMPARISON

This dissertation analyzes the educational views of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois by critically comparing and contrasting their ideas as they relate to the education of Blacks and schooling in general. An introductory statement of the problem and a review of the relevant literature make up the first two chapters.

Washington and Du Bois were products of the social, political, economic, intellectual and cultural mold of the times they lived in. Chapter III examines the origins and growth of both Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois through their educational backgrounds. An understanding of how they both matured into two of the most influential leaders of the Blacks begins to come to light in the analysis of their exposure to the leaders and teachers, whom they admired, who shaped their minds on a range of issues such as education, race, politics and economics. For both men the key to solving the political, social, racial and economic problems of any group, particularly the Blacks, was education.

Their contributions to educational theory and practice are defined and critiqued. Where Washington implemented his ideas along the lines of Tuskegee and industrial education curriculums, Du Bois emerges as the relentless proponent of education for Black leadership

as the avenue best to take. Both have their strengths and weaknesses.

Chapters IV and V analyze the educational philosophies of Washington and Du Bois by referring to their political and economic views as background to scrutinize the development of their theoretical positions. Du Bois theory of the "Talented Tenth" outlined how the Black race could be uplifted by emphasizing liberal education vs industrial training which Washington was stressing. Hence, the ideas of these two greats came into conflict. Both had convincing arguments to defend their respective positions and yet they criticized each other strongly as their theories were put to various tests. In the final analysis, each made his mark on society: Washington's influence came from his vivid and towering personality while Du Bois, because of his uncompromising stand against Washington, developed his position with his pen.

By way of conclusion, these two giants in the history of Black education seemed to have points of rapprochement when viewed from John Dewey's philosophy of liberal or liberating education. At the same time their differences and the rationales for them are inescapable.

VITA

The author, Rose Dorothy Greco, is the daughter of the late Albert A. Greco and Dorothy Marie Serritella Greco. She was born and raised in Chicago, Illinois.

She was educated at St. Gertrude School at the elementary level. She attended St. Scholastica High School for four years, located in Chicago and received an A.A. degree from Mallinckrodt College in Wilmette in 1971. In the fall of 1971, she entered Loyola University. In June, 1973 she graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree. She completed her student teaching at St. Gregory High School in Chicago. The following year she was accepted in the Graduate School of Education. In 1976 she was awarded an M.Ed.

In May, 1979, she was accepted into the Doctoral Program at Loyola University with a major concentrating on the History of Education and with collateral fields in Comparative Education, Documentary Research, Educational Psychology and Student Personnel.

The author has had experience as a teacher, instructing a college level Human Behavior course as well as teaching in the social studies at the high school level; as a student personnel administrator and counselor at Mallinckrodt College in Wilmette and also as counselor for the Chicago Park District; as a public relations coordinator through the development of special interest features such as, field trips to the college and an advertising campaign which she formulated for the admissions department, (the enrollment doubled at Mallinckrodt).

She personally went out to speak and make contacts with high school students in the Chicago area; as a curriculum coordinator, developing a co-op student activities program between Northwestern University and Mallinckrodt College. She also assisted in constructing a two-year accounting program for Mallinckrodt; as a Planning Analyst, working for the Department of Human Services, City of Chicago by compiling and analyzing a variety of social, economic and environmental data, trends and services to prepare planning recommendations; at present, Senior Planning Analyst for the Department of Public Works, City of Chicago. Her duties include: working on preliminary budgets in accordance with prescribed guidelines; analyzing proposed work programs to ensure conformity to federal, state, local and departmental policies, guidelines, goals and objectives; reviewing and interpreting pending legislation to determine funding eligibility and applicability for municipal departments to determine the impact upon existing programs; writing grant applications, impact statements and related planning data in order to obtain funding for designated urban projects; designing demonstration projects to test new methods of providing urban services and provide technical assistance to agencies and community groups. Also represents the department at intergovernmental meetings and conferences.

She is a member of Alpha Sigma Nu, Loyola University, Phi Delta Kappa, Loyola University and the International Education Committee, Loyola University. She is also a member of the Regular Democratic Ward Organization, 49th Ward and volunteer and secretary for the Community Youth Association and Action Group "Louie's" People.

She was also a member of the Mayor's Advisory Committee for Community Development Funds; Illinois Guidance and Personnel Association-Representative for the Admissions Counselors on College Student Personnel Employees Accreditation in the Illinois State Legislation; Illinois Association of College Admissions Counselors-Representative for Illinois Legislation on Accreditation of College Student Personnel Employees; Illinois College Personnel Association; American Guidance and Personnel Association; Advisory Committee on Education in Illinois; Advisory Board of Mallinckrodt College and Illinois Psychometrists Association.

Honors received: in 1981, she was named as one of the outstanding young women of America, nominated by Dr. Gerald L. Gutek, Dean of the School of Education, Loyola University; Humanitarian award from Louie's People Community Youth Organization and Action Group; President of Student Body and Government Association, Yearbook and College Newspaper editor, President of Athletic and Choral Clubs, and Dean's List at Mallinckrodt College. At Loyola University: officer in a National Sorority, Alpha Sigma Alpha and Committee Chairman of Italian Club as well as an alumni member. She currently belongs to the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans and Loyola Alumni Association.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

This dissertation is designed to historically analyze the educational views of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois by critically comparing and contrasting their ideas on the education of Blacks and schooling in general.

Du Bois believed in the higher education of a "Talented Tenth" who through their knowledge and achievement in liberal education would gain for American Blacks a status of economic and political equality. On the other hand, Washington believed that Blacks as efficient and skilled workers could generally improve their economic status and eventually achieve a recognized place in the Southern society which would slowly lead to the easing and abolition of Jim Crow legislation. For this reason, he proposed placing the emphasis upon training Black children and youth in the skilled trades so they would believe in the dignity of common labor and contribute to the expected Industrial Revolution in the South.

There were some issues on which Washington and Du Bois were in agreement. Du Bois recognized the importance of Blacks gaining a foothold in trades, industry and common labor. Washington was not opposed to college training, he sent his own children to college. However, Washington minimized the importance of Negro liberal colleges and discouraged philanthropic support for higher education while Du Bois criticized Washington's belief that through gradual economic

advancement the Southern aristocracy would eventually give the Blacks political and social rights was disputed by Du Bois.

The most serious disagreement between these two giants in the history of the Black people in America concerned Washington's belief that Blacks would gradually gain political rights as their economic situation and industrial skills continued to improve. Du Bois maintained that under the American system only a political struggle by the use of protest and then of the ballot would gain for Blacks a measure of equality. This was the crux of their dispute and it had a decisive influence on their educational disputes.

Limits of the Topic

Although a voluminous literature exists on the Washington-Du Bois controversy, this study focuses on their contrasting educational views. By an "educational view," the author means the way in which the individual perceived educational reality and the implication of that reality to social, political, and economic conditions. For this dissertation, an educational view means a perspective rather than a complete philosophy or ideology of education.

Methodology

In investigating the topic, the author has used the historical method which involves the critical analysis of the available sources. The emphasis in the study is a critical examination of the published sources that relate to the topic. In this instance, a published source is a publication of either Washington or Du Bois, which is regarded as a primary source, or a publication about the principals of this study, which is regarded as a secondary source.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Washington-Du Bois controversy has been the subject of several books, articles, and dissertations. In contrast, the particular orientation of this study is to bring together--as an integrative synthesis--the major interpretations of these various analyzes. The major sources consulted follow:

Du Bois has authored 19 books in addition to hundreds of editorials, articles and pamphlets. Du Bois's published writings spanned for some 60 years--longer than most people live. His writings included history, novels, poetry, sociological research, autobiography, short stories, but above everything, his crusading editorials. Almost all of his writings in some way deal with the racial problem. In his later years we observe that he becomes concerned with world peace. Du Bois, we find was more than a writer, he also founded and edited four periodicals: The Brownies, Horizon, Phylon and The Crisis.[1]

Du Bois has studied the Black problem from an educational, political, economic and social perspective. His book, The Education of Black People, consists of seven essays selected by Du Bois for the 1940 volume plus three additional ones, dated 1941, 1946 and 1960, selected by the editor, Herbert Aptheker. First Du Bois was concerned with the education of Blacks in the U.S. and that education would be

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[1]Walter Wilson, ed., The Selected Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois, with an introduction by Stephen J. Wright (New York: New American Library, 1970), p. ix.

part of the process to liberate his people.[2]

The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870, written by Du Bois as a doctoral dissertation, indicated that Du Bois was aware of how economic power could be used to crush human rights as well as legal amenities even though he was not familiar with the theories of Marx. He also gives close attention to political and moral factors that were important not only for the continuation of the trade for a half century after its formal proscription but also in its final elimination.[3]

In 1899 he published the first important sociological study of the Black community in the U.S.--The Philadelphia Negro. This study looked into the condition of the forty thousand or more people of Black blood living in Philadelphia. I sought to ascertain the geographical distribution of race, occupations, homes, daily life, their organizations and relationship to millions of whites. This study was intended to lay before the public a guide to help solve the Black problems in an American city. Du Bois divided the Black population into four grades: 1. middle classes and above; 2. working people--fair to comfortable; 3. the poor and 4. vicious and criminal classes.[4]

Du Bois's purpose is to uplift the Black race. To him education is the key. He advocates the idea of a "Talented Tenth" suggesting

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[2]W.E.B. Du Bois, The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques 1906-1960, edited and introduction by Herbert Aptheker (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), p. xi.

[3]W.E.B. Du Bois, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870, with a foreword by John Hope Franklin, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), p. xi.

[4]W.E.B. Du Bois, The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study (New York: Schocken Booos, 1967), p. 1.

they could lead the way for all Blacks however as cited in his books, referred to previously, Du Bois also studies the problem from the political, economic and social aspects.

Du Bois and Washington collaborated on a book together, The Negro in the South: His Economic Progress in Relation to His Moral and Religious Development. Du Bois writes on the "Economic Revolution in the South" and "Religion in the South" in chapters I and IV, while Washington deals with "The Economic Development of the Negro Race in Slavery" and "The Economic Development of the Negro Race Since Its Emancipation" in chapters I and II. Each addresses their own topics.[5]

The tool Washington uses to uplift the Blacks is the institute he founded, Tuskegee. Washington has written several books that refer to the type of education he felt would be best for the Blacks. This is explained in his books, Working With the Hands, Up From Slavery: An Autobiography, The Story of My Life and Work, and My Larger Education. These books also deal with the incidents occuring in his life.

Washington entered the field of politics; in fact his students were the ones who suggested this to Washington. Washington became the most influential Black in the U.S. This was due mainly to his strong personality, plus his shrewdness in politics. Du Bois was not able to connect himself with powerful whites as Washington had done and his personality was not that of Washington.

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[5]Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois, The Negro in the South: His Economic Progress in Relation to His Moral and Religious Development (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1973; reprint ed., Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co., 1907), p. 5.

There are many authors who researched the lives, educational backgrounds, contributions and controversy between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois:

1. Dr. Gerald L. Gutek's discussion on the controversy between B.T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois clearly cites problems that existed between the two. One of the problems being the type of education each designed--Washington's Tuskegee's education program was to teach the dignity of labor, to thoroughly and effectively teach the trades in order to supply trained leaders and help students meet their educational expenses.

   Du Bois suggested that Washington's position involved a triple paradox.

2. Anderson, Hullfish & Gordon discuss the adequacy, problems and needs of Black America.

3. Henry Allen Bullock's book examines the History of Black Education in the South, from 1619 to the Present.

4. Vincent P. Franklin & James D. Anderson cite new perspectives on Black education in history.

5. Basil Mathews discusses B. T. Washington as educator and Interracial Interpreter.

Toll, William. "The Booker T. Washington - W.E.B. Du Bois Controversy: The Negro Racial Ideals During the Progressive Era" Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1972. In this study Toll limits the scope by relating the ideas of Washington and Du Bois to a specific era. Toll does not emphasize the role education must play if the various strategies for achieving independence and development are to be successful.

Heiting, Thomas James. "W.E.B. Du Bois and the Development of Pan Africanism 1900-1930" Ph.D. Dissertation, Texas Tech University, 1969. Heiting's research touches on the major controversies of the period--Booker T. Washington versus W.E.B. Du Bois 1904-1909 and the

conflict with Marcus Garvey in the 1920's. Heiting's approach in the study is documentary and descriptive; it does not deal with the problem from the ideological perspective. This study is also limited in scope; it covers the period from 1900-1930.

Okoro, Martin Umachi. "W.E.B. Du Bois Ideas on Education: Implications for Nigeria" Dissertation, Loyola University, 1982. The purpose of Okoro's research is to critically analyze Du Bois's ideas on education and the implications of these ideas for Nigerian education. It also contains a biographical sketch of Du Bois and demonstrates the relevance of his ideas today.

In addition the Atlanta compromise and its effect has been treated historically in many sources, namely, Dr. Gerald Gutek's book, An Historical Introduction to American Education and in Negro Education in America: Its Adequacy, Problems and Needs, Part I, Chapter I, by W. A. Low, both give an objective analysis of Washington's rationale and Du Bois's challenge to that rationale.

Unlike the above studies, my research will attempt a critical examination of Washington's and Du Bois's ideas on education and the implications of these ideas for the education of Blacks and vocational school. I will then attempt to relate their ideas to education today.

The primary sources are books and articles by Washington, Booker T. and Du Bois, W.E.B.: See Bibliography attached.

CHAPTER III

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND W.E.B. DU BOIS

Booker T. Washington and His Educational Background.

Booker Taliaferro Washington (Apr. 5, 1856 and/or 1858-59--Nov. 14, 1915)

As near as Washington can remember he was born in 1858 or 1859 on James Burrough's plantation at Hale's Ford in Franklin County, Virginia. He probably is one of the great men who did not know the year of his birth. Born a slave, Washington never knew his father who was believed to be a white man from a plantation near-by. Washington did not know much about his ancestors. What he did know he had heard in the slave quarters among the Black people.[6] Washington's nuclear family consisted of his mother, Jane Ferguson, a Black cook for the Burroughs family, stepfather, elder brother, John (about two years older), who later became the Director of Industries for Tuskegee and a sister, Amanda. After Washington's stepfather had secured employment in the salt furnace near Malden, in Kanawha County, his mother took in an orphan boy who was given the name of James B. Washington by his family.[7]

Washington never remembered sleeping in a bed until his family was declared free by the Emancipation Proclamation.[8] It was after

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[6]Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery: An Autobiography (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1903), p. 2.

[7]Booker T. Washington, The Story of My Life and Work (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), pp. 38-40.

[8]Washington, Up From Slavery: An Autobiography, p. 5.

the Emancipation that Washington's family moved to Malden. This is where his mother taught him to master the alphabet by using Webster's "blue-back" spelling-book.[9] It was shortly thereafter that a school teacher named Mr. William Davis came to the community and opened a school. Washington remembers that after he and his family moved to Malden, West Virginia, he saw "a young colored man among a large number of colored people, reading a newspaper and this fired my ambition to learn to read as nothing had done before. I said to myself, if I could ever reach the point where I could read as this man was doing, the acme of my ambition would be reached."[10] At this time in the South, an education made the difference between the condition of whites and Blacks and most Blacks recognized this fact.[11] People seemed to listen to a literate Black person as well as a Yankee schoolteacher. The main goal to be sought by the people was an education for their children.

At first Washington took classes at night while working during the day. His mother hired someone to teach him.[12] Booker believed he could learn more at night. Later Washington became an advocate of night schools.[13] Washington then finally persuaded his stepfather to

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[9]Ibid., p. 27.

[10]Washington, The Story of My Life and Work, p. 43.

[11]Louis R. Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 33.

[12]Washington, The Story of My Life and Work, p. 49.

[13]Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901, p. 35.

send him to the public school in the community for a half a day. The first embarrassment he experienced was being asked his name. He had been called Booker, so the problem was to pick a surname. Before this time slaves usually took the surname of their owners, however, after they were freed there was a prejudice against this and most of the time they picked their own names.[14] So when Washington was asked what his full name was he said Booker Washington, thus he picked his stepfather's first name as his last and thus it was recorded. Later he found out that his mother named him "Booker Taliaferro, pronounced 'Tolliver'", so his full name became Booker Taliaferro Washington.[15]

Washington's early formal education was under William Davis who was considered to be conscientious, earnest and energetic. In time Davis was recognized by the county superintendent, in 1872. Mr. Davis received, after the superintendent's visit, a first grade teaching certificate.[16] As referred to previously, Washington's mother hired someone to teach him at night who knew, more often than not, little more than he did. However, this was not the case with William Davis. Washington considered him his first effective teacher.[17] At a strategic moment in Booker Washington's growing

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[14]Washington, The Story of My Life and Work, p. 45.

[15]Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901, p. 36.

[16]Ibid., p. 39.

[17]Washington, The Story of My Life and Work, p. 49.

sense of his own identity and purpose in life, William Davis provided something essential for his development.[18]

Washington's life took another good turn when his mother secured a position for him as a houseboy for General Lewis Ruffner and his wife Viola. Washington moved into what was considered the largest and best-appointed house in town.[19] Washington started working for the Ruffners around 1867. While working for them sporadically, he sometimes lived with them and the rest of the time lived at home. They were indeed, one of the leading families in Malden. Lewis Ruffner was engaged in business in Kentucky and served in the Virginia legislature; however, his main interest was managing the family salt furnaces and ancillary coal mines.[20]

It was through Viola Ruffner that Washington learned the Puritan Ethic of thrift, hard work and cleanliness. Mrs. Ruffner was described by people who knew her as a lonely, bitter, sharp-tongued woman. But she was very fond of Washington. Viola was the second wife of General Ruffner. Unlike his first wife she came from parents of small means, she was shy and was rejected by the Ruffner children. Viola was a teacher who headed the English department of a secondary school in New Jersey until her health deteriorated. That is when she received news of Ruffner's search for a governess

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[18]Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901, p. 38.

[19]Ibid., p. 39.

[20]Ibid., pp. 39-40.

and later married the General.[21]

Washington learned other valuable lessons from Mrs. Ruffner such as trustworthiness. For instance, Washington helped Mrs. Ruffner cultivate a garden big enough to be considered a truck farm. He then sold the fruits and vegetables for her. He showed he was honest by accounting for every penny and by showing how much produce was unsold.[22] The patronage at the Ruffners was of crucial importance in Booker T. Washington's early life.[23]

After being employed by the Ruffners for approximately four years, Washington decided to attend the Hampton Institute in Virginia. At times Washington would grow tired of working for Mrs. Ruffner and would leave periodically, but he always returned. After Washington lived with the Ruffners for a while, Mrs. Ruffner allowed him to attend school in the afternoon.[24]

According to Washington, aside from his training at Hampton, Mrs. Ruffner was the most valuable part of his education. Her ideas on cleanliness, neatness and order helped him in future endeavors. At first, he thought she was too strict, however he learned to understand her and as a result she became one of his best friends.[25]

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[21]Ibid., pp. 39-40.

[22]Ibid., pp. 44-45.

[23]Ibid., p. 48.

[24]Washington, The Story of My Life and Work, pp. 49-50.

[25]Ibid., p. 58.

It was when Washington was working in the coal mines that he overheard some men talking about a school for black boys and girls and poor students who could work their way through to pay for room and board. So, in October of 1872, Washington started out for the Hampton Institute.[26]

Washington's mother and brother, John had secured a few extra garments for him in addition to what he provided for himself, thus he was ready to start his journey. As he traveled to the Institute he worked at odd jobs until he arrived at Hampton. The first person he met at Hampton was Miss Mary F. Mackie, the principal. She asked him several questions and then after some consideration she asked him to sweep the large recitation room. This is where his training from Mrs. Ruffner helped him. When Miss Mackie saw how clean the room was, after giving it the white glove test, he was admitted to Hampton. Washington was assigned to the position of assistant janitor. This is how he worked his way through. He rose early in the morning in order to complete his work and then found time to prepare his lessons.[27]

Life was changing for Washington, "the matter of having meals at regular hours, of eating on a tablecloth, using a napkin, the use of the bathtub and of the toothbrush as well as the use of sheets upon the bed..."[28] He always tried to teach Blacks that cleanliness

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[26]Ibid., p. 52.

[27]Ibid., pp. 55-59.

[28]Washington, Up From Slavery: An Autobiography, p. 58.

should be a part of their life.

While Washington was at Hampton he took literary and industrial courses, however Washington was very fond of the debating societies. He had even organized the "After Supper Club". Students had about twenty minutes after tea with no special duties, so this was the time Washington picked for public speaking sessions. About twenty-five joined the club.[29]

After two years at Hampton, Washington returned home for a four month vacation. His mother passed away shortly after he returned. This was Washington's severest trial, for it was his mother who encouraged and helped him get an education. Washington was able to return to Hampton by working for Mrs. Ruffner. He also received help from his brother, John.[30]

Several people influenced Washington at Hampton. General Armstrong was one, who as a teacher and friend had the strongest influence on him besides his mother. General Armstrong was Washington's idol, he was a truthful man, Washington always looked up to him and patterned his life after him. Miss Nathalie Lord and Miss Elizabeth Brewer, two teachers from New England, helped Washington to understand the Bible.[31]

Hampton, a Normal and Agricultural Institute located in Hampton, Virginia, was founded for Blacks in 1868 by Samuel Chapman Armstrong. Booker T. Washington attended Hampton when it was only four years old.

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[29]Washington, The Story of My Life and Work, p. 61.

[30]Ibid., p. 63.

[31]Ibid., pp. 59-63.

At that time Hampton had only one brick building on campus, a three-story Academic Hall. This building housed recitation rooms, the large assembly rooms and an attic that provided inadequate living quarters for male students. The old barracks that were built for the Union soldiers in the early sixties were scattered around the campus. Portions of these barracks served as living quarters for female students while other portions served as the school kitchen, dining room and laundry. Those barracks were one and two-story frame buildings painted white.[32] Washington recalls, "Our tea and coffee--nobody ever knew what that was. We sometimes called it tea; sometimes coffee. It didn't make any difference."[33]

Washington graduated in 1875 from Hampton; he had learned the trade of a brick mason. In the fall of 1875 he returned to Malden and obtained his first teaching job at the first school he attended. He taught for three years.[34] In 1878 he studied at Wayland Seminary. Rev. Dr. King, who was the president made a lasting impression on Washington.[35] During that same year, Washington was invited to Hampton

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[32]Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901, p. 54.

[33]Booker T. Washington to editor, Southern Workman, XII (Nov. 1883), 115; Booker T. Washington, "The Privilege of Service," a talk at Hampton Chapel, Oct. 13, 1907, ibid., XXXVI (Dec. 1907), 685-86, quoted in Louis R. Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 54.

[34]Washington, The Story of My Life and Work, p. 67.

[35]Ibid., p. 69.

by General Armstrong to give the commencement address. His subject was "The Force that Wins." General Armstrong then asked Washington to take a position at Hampton as a teacher part-time and post-graduate student.[36]

According to Washington he had the advantage of going to an exceptional school such as Hampton which lead him into contact with such an inspirational teacher as General Armstrong.[37] At a crucial point in Washington's life General Armstrong was the charismatic figure at Hampton who set him upon an adult course and style of life. Washington began to emulate the style of General Armstrong. Washington was not alone in his hero worship for Armstrong, students, teachers and Southern whites alike responded to his grand style.[38]

In his autobiography, Washington made this statement concerning Armstrong, "I shall always remember that the first time I went into his presence he made the impression upon me of being a perfect man: I was made to feel that there was something about him that was superhuman."[39] Not only in the Freudian sense but in a literal sense Armstrong became Washington's white father figure. Later when Washington became Hampton's most distinguished graduate, the relationship between both Armstrong and Washington strengthened. Thus, Washington modeled his career, school, social outlook and even his clothing

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[36]Ibid., p. 71.

[37]Booker T. Washington, My Larger Education (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1911), p. 16.

[38]Harlan, Booker T. Washington: Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901, pp. 57-8.

[39]Washington, Up From Slavery, pp. 54-57.

after Armstrong.[40] With this background he later elaborated his own plans for organizing and perfecting his educational methods at Tuskegee.[41]

W.E.B. Du Bois and His Educational Background.

Du Bois was born to Alfred Du Bois and Mary Burghardt on February 23, 1868 in the town of Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Du Bois was of mixed ancestry, African and European. He was Afro-Dutch on his mother's side and on his father's side he was Afro-Gallic.[42] As Du Bois explained it "he was born with a flood of Negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch, but, thank God! no Anglo-Saxon."[43]

In his psychobiographical study of Du Bois, Allison Davis elaborates from that point of view on the impacts on Du Bois' personality of his father's desertion and his mother's disgrace (she had borne an illegitimate half-brother Idelbert by her first-cousin). She later had Du Bois by Alfred Du Bois, who deserted mother and child a few months after the boy's birth. These facts forced him to rely largely upon charity during his growing up years so that he not only felt the external attacks of the racial bigotry

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[40]Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901, pp. 57-8.

[41]Washington, My Larger Education, p. 10.

[42]W.E.B. Du Bois, The Emerging Thought of W.E.B. Du Bois, with an introduction, commentaries and a personal memoir by Henry Lee Moon (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977), p. 12.

[43]Julius Lester, ed. The Thoughts and Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois: The Seventh Son, 2 vols. (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 3.

but was also internally torn by conflicts precipitated by family circumstances. According to Davis, "One of these inner conflicts caused him, unlike his contemporary Booker T. Washington, persistently to alienate wealthy or powerful whites who could have helped him attain his goals, and finally drove him to end his life disgraced in their eyes as well as in those of the Negro middle class as a member of the Communist Party."[44]

It is interesting to note that during the year of his birth in the month of July the Fourteenth Amendment conferred citizenship upon Blacks. When Du Bois turned two years of age, the Fifteenth Amendment ratified the right to vote to ex-slaves.[45]

Davis makes this illuminating observation:

> Born just five years after the Emancipation Proclamation, in the same year American Negroes got the vote and President Andrew Johnson was impeached, Du Bois lived through nearly a century of the greatest industrial expansion in American history, bloody world wars, and the increasing subordination, segregation, and disfranchisement of American Negroes. Unfortunately, he died just before the federal Civil Right Act of 1964 and the tremendously effective Voting Right Act of 1965, which were the crowning success of his great admirer, Martin Luther King, Jr.[46]

In the midst of all the frontier leveling and romantic liberalisms of the 1870's, New England's culture at the time of Du Bois' birth was uncreative and timid. The culture of the day laid its inhibitions on each generation that was content to live in the past.

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[44]Allison Davis, Leadership, Love and Aggression (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1983), pp. 105-7.

[45]Du Bois, The Emerging Thought of W.E.B. Du Bois, p. 13.

[46]Davis, Leadership, Love and Aggression, p. 106.

The intellect of New England after 1870 was a repetition of the story of New England after 1790. Traditional Toryism prevailed as the custodian of all intellectual matters. This was all well and good except for the fact that New England tried to set up a cultural dictatorship over the entire country.[47]

The genteel tradition of the seventies became the refuge of a stale mentality. "Its taboos were no more than cushions for tired or lazy minds. The idea of morality--with its corollary of reticence--and the idea of excellence were well enough in the abstract, but became empty conventions, cut off from reality, they were little more than a refuge for respectability, a barricade against the intrusion of the unpleasant. In compressing genteel morality and a genteel excellence, New England was in a way of falsifying it."[48]

Hence, out of these times two political movements emerged--the Democratic and the Plutocratic:

> The former, drawn chiefly from agrarian and labor elements with a considerable following of the middle and professional classes, was determined to carry forward and supplement the Jacksonian movement. It was honestly concerned for the development of the democratic principle. It would purify government by the application of civil service reform, it would steadily enlarge the bounds of social control of economic forces, and it would strengthen the political state to enable it to cope with corporate wealth and constrain the ambitions of the plutocracy into conformity

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[47]Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought: 1620-1920, 3 vols. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1927), 3:52.

[48]Ibid., p. 54.

> with democratic ends. To such a democratic program the plutocracy was necessarily opposed. It professed the warmest loyalty to the abstract principle of democracy while bending every energy to emasculate effective democratic control. The problem confronting it was the familiar Federalistic problem--how to protect the minority from the majority and set property interests above human interests, but the problem had been immensely complicated by the strategic advances made by democracy. The democratic principle could not be easily thrust aside, it must be undermined. And so while awaiting the time when it should be strong enough to set up boldly its mastery of society, plutocracy took refuge in two principles, the superman theory and the laissez-faire theory, both of which it asserted to be democractic, the very essence of democracy. The former was 'The public be damned' theory, which held that the economic leaders of society must be left free to manage their properties as they saw fit; and the latter was the familiar document of individual initiative, that looked with suspicion on any interference by the political state with economic activity. If a bureaucracy may stick its nose into the citizen's private affairs what becomes of individual liberty?[49]

During this period, referred to as the Gilded Age, a number of systematic studies of political theory developed. One of the most important was Woolsey's Political Science, or the State (1877) which illustrated the changing thought of the time. Woolsey's work, a revision of notes from his classes between 1846-1871, was colored by pre-war views. Other significant works at this time were, Bryce's The American Commonwealth (1888), Woodrow Wilson's The State (1889) and Burgess's Political Science and Constitutional Law (1891), which also demonstrated the changing thought of the times and revealed academic sympathy with the movement of centralization.[50]

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[49] Ibid., p. 118.

[50] Ibid., pp. 119-20.

Into these contexts on February 23, 1868, Du Bois was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, a middle class town composed of white Americans of Dutch and English descent. Its government was in theory and practice a democracy of the New England type as previously discussed. Almost everyone who lived in Great Barrington was a Republican because it was not respectable to belong to another party.[51]

Massachusetts during the Civil War was overwhelmingly Republican. An anti-slavery spirit existed that gave way to the abolitionist movement. In fact, a great deal of support for recruitment of Blacks in the Union army came from Massachusetts; thus the first Black regiment that joined the Union army around 1862 came from Massachusetts. These Black troops were commanded by devoted Christian white officers including Generals Ruffner and Armstrong who played such an important role in the life of Booker T. Washington. Hence, that large toleration was experienced by the small number of Blacks who lived in smaller Massachusetts towns like Great Barrington.

Throughout Massachusetts, at this time, Black families were scattered especially in towns like Great Barrington. As a result Du Bois was one of the only Blacks throughout elementary and high school. Du Bois excelled in high school and he also participated

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[51]W.E.B. Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century (New York: International Publishers Co., Inc., 1968), pp. 78-83.

in extra-curriculum activities i.e., in school plays and as editor of the newspaper "Howler". He graduated as the valedictorian of his class in 1884.[52]

Davis notes the wisdom of the high school principal in getting the young Du Bois into a college-preparatory program from which his mother saw him graduate only to die in the fall.

David analyzes further this crucial mother-son relationship:

> Although Du Bois expressed no grief over the loss of his mother, and seems to have been as emotionally detached from her as he was from his wife later, he was grateful to his mother for having taught him to achieve. She had taught him that his only chance to escape the hopelessness of being a Negro in Great Barrington was to outdo whites in his studies and life's work. She had taught him-as every black middle-class parent strives to teach his child-that to escape the humiliation of poverty and racial discrimination, he must study hard and aspire to reap the rewards of education. As Du Bois reported in Autobiography, his mother held that:
>
> > the secret of life and the loosing of the color bar lay in excellence, in accomplishment. If others of my family, of my color kin, had stayed in school instead of quitting early for small jobs, they could have risen to equal whites. On this his mother quietly insisted. There was no real discrimination on account of color (she taught). . . it was all a matter of ability and hard work.[53]

"This was the typical middle-class Negro effort to deny the inescapable nature of the color barrier. (inescapable for Du Bois because although he became the greatest sociologist in America, he was not recognized by white scholars or offered a post in a white university in his own

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[52]W.E.B. Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century (New York: International Publishers Co., Inc., 1968), pp. 84-8.

[53]Davis, Leadership, Love and Aggression, pp. 114-15.

own country.)"[54]

> Du Bois, like many millions of other educated Negroes later, was taught to internalize white middle-class values; and to renounce the magnificent sexual vitality and sensualism of the underclass Negroes. The black middle-class code actually was in some ways even more stringent than the value system of the white middle-class. It taught Du Bois to work harder and renounce more than a white boy of his low economic status would; and it encouraged him to commit himself to academic achievement as the highest goal, whereas most working-class whites--among older Americans as among German, Swedish and Irish immigrants--put education last, and money or politics first.[55]

> Du Bois realized quite clearly as he wrote, that his mother had started and encouraged him along this upwardly mobile climb. He found the journey exhilarating but endlessly demanding, difficult, and burdensome. With no money to buy school texts and no parents to help teach him, he started out handicapped in comparison to middle-class white children. But his mother insisted that he outdo them. She pushed because she felt it a matter of his life or death: death, as an unskilled black or a ne'er-do-well like his own father; life, as the nearest one could come to the status of a middle-class white professional, without actually being one.[56]

> Du Bois wrote that he was relieved when his mother suddenly died. He felt "free." Du Bois may well have silently resented his mother's pushing him all those years. For she herself had failed, and, by disgracing them, was actually responsible for their downward mobility. Although rationally he saw that she had chosen the only course which could satisfy him, he has to bear the burden of gaining and holding the first place in his class, and of overcoming poverty, shame, and color. He felt sorry for his mother, he nursed her, and he expressed his concern and solicitude for her. But these are not love.

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[54] Ibid., p. 115.

[55] Ibid., p. 115.

[56] Ibid., pp. 115-16.

> In fact, they might have been defensive expressions of guilt from resentment for having disgraced him.[57]

The color bar in the community was not as pronounced as in other American communities during this period. Du Bois mingled freely with his schoolmates who looked at him as he puts it "just like ordinary people, while my brown face and frizzled hair must have seemed strange to them."[58]

Davis explains how characteristically the psychobiographer enters a large demurral.

> What can one do if, in school one surpasses whites in intelligence as well as in aspirations, but is obligated to depend upon the charity of a white woman for schoolbooks, live in a rented room beside the railroad track with a poor white madwoman, and move from shack to shack with a crippled, husbandless, penniless mother who does a day's work as a servant? What does one do with the inevitable discovery in high school that one is regarded with condescension, if not contempt, despite one's excellence in Latin, Greek, and algebra - and despite all attempts to be the perfect little gentleman with teachers and with the all-powerful whites? How does one swallow insults and humiliation, for instance, if a white girl deliberately turns her back simply because, in a classroom game, one tried to exchange cards with her, as had all the other students?[59]

In The Souls of Black Folk, Du Bois expresses his own feelings:

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[57]Ibid., p. 116.

[58]Du Bois, The Emerging Thought of W.E.B. Du Bois, p. 12.

[59]Davis, Leadership, Love and Aggression, p. 109.

> one girl, a tall newcomer refused my card--refused it peremptorily.... Then it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others... shut out from their world by a vast veil, to creep through; held all beyond it in common contempt, and lived in a region of blue sky and great wandering shadows. That sky was bluest when I could beat my mates at examination time or beat them in a foot race, or even beat their stringy heads...why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in my own house?.... It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others.[60]

In town Du Bois became friends with Johnny Morgan, of Welsh descent, who ran a bookstore. This friendship developed because of Du Bois' interest in books. It was through Mr. Morgan that Du Bois became Great Barrington's correspondent of the Springfield Republican, the most widely circulated and influential newspaper in Western Massachusetts. When Du Bois was a high school senior he would send in items of interest from time to time.[61]

Outside of school Du Bois's chief communication with people in the town was through the Congregational Church. There he also attended the Church's Sunday School, a source of great joy to him as he engaged in precocious discussions and where he learned much of the Hebrew scriptures.[62]

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[60]W.E.B. Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches (New York: The Blue Heron Press, 1953), pp. 2-3.

[61]Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. 87-8.

[62]Ibid., pp. 88-9.

Then came the important day of graduation in 1884. Du Bois was the valedictorian speaker and his subject was, "Wendell Phillips." As Du Bois remembers, and he admits being hazy on this, he got the idea to speak about this great anti-slavery agitator either from his teachers or it is also possible he chose the subject himself. Another factor that could have influenced his choice was being born in a community that imagined itself as having helped free four million slaves by putting down a wicked rebellion. The people in the community admired Phillips even though he had recently adopted socialism. Nevertheless, Du Bois was fascinated by Phillips' work and life. In addition, his mother, who was so full of pride in him, would be in the audience.[63]

Wendell Phillips (1811-1884) the subject of Du Bois's valedictorian speech was a reformer, major U.S. abolitionist and orator. The following synopsis of Phillips' life seems warranted because of his importance to Du Bois.

> After graduating from Harvard College in 1831 and from Harvard Law School in 1834, he opened a law office in Boston but soon became active in the antislavery movement. In 1837 he married Ann Terry Greene, a fervent disciple of the noted abolitionist editor William Lloyd Garrison, and thereafter Phillips collaborated closely with Garrison. He lectured for antislavery societies, wrote editorials and pamphlets, and contributed financially to abolition enterprises. Public recognition as an orator came to Phillips in 1834, chiefly after his dramatic impromptu speech at Faneuil Hall in Boston denouncing the murder of the abolitionist editor Elivah P. Lovejoy in Alton, Ill. He was one of the most eloquent orators of the day and introduced to the U.S. public platform a direct and colloquial manner of speaking.

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[63]Ibid., pp. 99-100.

> Sacrificing social status and a prospective political career, Phillips devoted himself to the unpopular cause of the slave. As a reform crusader, however, he refused to link abolitionism with political action. Like Garrison, he condemned the U.S. Constitution for its compromises over slavery and he advocated disunion rather than association with slave states. He opposed the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War. During the Civil War he assailed Lincoln's unwillingness to uproot the institution of slavery, and after emancipation he contended that the Negroes should be guaranteed full civil rights. In 1865 he broke with Garrison over the discontinuance of the American Anti-Slavery society; and, after Garrison resigned, he served as its president until the organization disbanded in 1870....
>
> In 1870, in a brief and futile political episode, he was the gubernatorial candidate in Massachusetts of the Labor Reform Party and the Prohibition Party. Thereafter remained active on lyceum circuits until the 1880's, giving popular lectures on a number of noncontroversial subjects.[64]

Also in that same period, roughly 1811-1884, there were other abolitionists who had greatly affected the mood of the times. Chief among them were the Tappen brothers who helped form the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. Arthur Tappen, along with his brother Lewis, who made more than one million dollars in his New York silk-jobbing firm established in 1816, became the chief financial supporters and co-founders of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Hence, Arthur Tappen became their first president. Arthur Tappen supported many civic efforts; in fact, he also helped found Oberlin College and Lane Seminary. It was not until 1840, that Arthur and Lewis broke away from the Society due to the radical beliefs of William Lloyd Garrison, referred to before in Phillips' history as an abolitionist editor. Lewis Tappen's greatest contributions were his antislavery publications in the "National Era", an antislavery paper in Washington, D.C. and the founding

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[64] Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1972 ed., s.v. "Phillips, Wendell."

of the American Missionary Association in 1846. Both men contributed to the welfare of Blacks, however Arthur Tappen lost his fortune in a speculative investment and died in 1865; Lewis died in 1873.[65]

Harriet Elizabeth Beecher Stowe, who was the author of Uncle Tom's Cabin, also had a unique effect on the times. She was born in 1811 and died in 1896, thus she lived in the same period as Phillips. Stowe's background for her accomplishments as a writer is extremely interesting. After the death of her mother in 1815, she was most influenced by her eldest sister, Catharine, who set up a school in Hartford, a few years after the death of their mother, where Harriet was a student and then a teacher. Their father, a pastor of a church in Boston for six years, accepted in 1832 the presidency of the newly founded Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio. At this time Catharine went with her father to Ohio, where she established a pioneer college for women, the Western Female Institute. Stowe became her sister's assistant at the school. She also took an active role in school life by contributing sketches and stories to the local journals and compiled a school geography until the school closed in 1837. In 1836 Harriet Stowe married one of the professors at the Lane Theological Seminary, Calvin Ellis Stowe. They lived in Cincinnati for eighteen years, separated by the Ohio River from the nearest slave-holding community. Her knowledge of slavery came from her contact with fugitive slaves, visits to the South and talking with friends. In 1850, Mr. Stowe was elected to a professorship in Bowdoin College,

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[65]The Encyclopedia Americana, 1982 ed., s.v. "Tappen, Arthur and Lewis Tappen", by Bertram Wyatt-Brown.

Brunswick, Maine.[66]

Thus, Mr. Stowe moved his whole family to Brunswick, Maine. It was in Brunswick that Mrs. Stowe wrote, for serial publication in "National Era", the same antislavery paper of Washington, D.C. that Lewis Tappen had published in, the story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and/or "Life Among the Lowly." The book was published in 1852, and hence it sprang into unexampled popularity and it was translated into twenty-three languages. Mrs Stowe was criticized for her inaccuracy about slavery, which lead to her name being banned in the South. In her own defense in 1853 she wrote, A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, in which she accumulated a large amount of testimonies and documentation against slavery to answer her critics.[67]

Then in 1856 she published, Dred: A Tale of the Dismal Swamp, where her argument was that society was deteriorating because of the fact that slavery existed. In 1857, the Atlantic Monthly was established which gave her a constant vehicle for her writings as did the "Independent" (New York) and the "Christian Union", on which papers her brother, Henry Ward Beecher, was successively one of their editors.[68]

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[66]Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1972 ed. s.v. "Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher."

[67]Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin or, Life Among the Lowly (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1888), The Introduction to this new edition gives an account of how the book came to be history and how it was translated around the world, pp. ix-xvi.

[68]Encyclopaedia Britannica, s.v. "Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher," p. 281.

This background gives a composite picture of the times and of the people who must have influenced the thinking of Du Bois and his gradual development into becoming a well-known writer for these causes and on these topics in his own right.

At the time Du Bois was born, the birth of freedom for Blacks and the South had just begun. However by 1884, the year of his graduation from high school, which was twenty years after the Civil War, Black Reconstruction and freedom no longer existed. During the Reconstruction, Blacks were given the right to vote by the Fifteenth Amendment. Together for the first time Blacks and whites brought into existence free public schools for the poor of both races. They also established hospitals and instituted social welfare programs. Unfortunately, this true period of democracy was short-lived. Thus, all the effort put forth to establish freedom in the Black Reconstruction was overturned by former slaveowners, who did not want to give up their source of cheap labor: the freed Blacks. By 1880 the majority of southern states had leaders that designed programs which would deny freedom to Blacks. The Ku Klux Klan was surfacing again after it had been outlawed by Congress in 1871. Hence, this was the climate of America as Du Bois graduated from high school.[69]

Of course, Du Bois had his own problems at this time, mainly, the main one being where to go to college. Du Bois' choice was Harvard

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[69]Virginia Hamilton, W.E.B. Du Bois: A Biography (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1972), pp. 17-18.

"because it was oldest and largest and most widely known."[70] However, the decision of where Du Bois went to college was not his to make. It lay in the hands of his family and white friends, who felt he was too young to go directly to college (Du Bois was sixteen upon high school graduation). In addition to the age factor, the high school he attended, Great Barrington, was below the standards of entrance requirements for Harvard. The advice Du Bois was given was to work and study for another year and then enter college in the fall of 1885. Unexpectedly a tragedy occurred when his mother died in the Fall of 1884.[71] Du Bois, now an orphan, without any property in his name, felt as he puts it

> Now it was the choking gladness and solemn feel of wings! At last, I was going beyond the hills and into the world that beckoned steadily. There followed the half-guilty feeling that now I could begin life without forsaking my mother. I had realized all along that even college would not have induced me to leave my mother in want. I somehow argued that the family would support mother in my absence, yet I must have known this was impossible; that what she would always need was for me to be near. Now I was free and unencumbered and at the same time, more alone than I had ever dreamed of being.[72]

The death of his mother made him want to succeed more than ever because that is what she desperately wanted.[73]

There were three white men in Great Barrington who helped Du Bois plan for the future. They were Frank Hosmer, Edward Van

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[70]Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. 101-102.

[71]Ibid., p. 102.

[72]Ibid., p. 102.

[73]Ibid., p. 102.

Lennep and Rev. C. C. Painter. Frank Hosmer, principal of Great Barrington, had recommended that Du Bois take the college preparatory course. Du Bois elaborates in his own words, "I did not then realize that Hosmer was quietly opening college doors to me, for in those days they were barred with ancient tongues."[74] Edward Van Lennep, principal of the only local private school, also active in the Congregational Church, where he was the superintendent of the Sunday School Du Bois attended, believed Du Bois should go to college regardless of the color of his skin; lastly, Rev. C. C. Painter whose son Charles was a classmate of Du Bois, was a Congregational Church minister and had served in the Federal Indian Bureau. He recognized the problems of the reconstructed South and believed this was the place for Du Bois's education and future work.[75]

The Burghardt family who looked upon Du Bois with the greatest pride, was very much against the idea of his going South to college. They believed, naively, that the North did not show prejudice toward Blacks.[76]

> Unknown to them, Great Barrington was an isolated island of peace and tranquility for black people. They knew nothing of the abject poverty and discrimination experienced by Blacks in cities such as Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. However, they knew instinctively that the South would be a dangerous place for William and the idea of sending him there for an education made them both fearful

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[74]Ibid., p. 101.

[75]Ibid., p. 103.

[76]Hamilton, W.E.B. Du Bois: A Biography, p. 19.

> and furious. What most disturbed the black Burghardts was the fact that Great Barrington seemed not to want William. Instead of being given an opportunity for advancement right in his home-town or in the state, their gifted son was being quickly hustled away.[77]

Even though no one denied Du Bois was equal to the young whites who became teachers and store clerks in the town, the white elders could not adjust to the idea of his living among prominent members of the community instead of being a poor Black grateful for handouts.[78]

Hence, Rev. Painter offered him a scholarship to Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. The funds for this scholarship came from four Connecticut churches where Rev. Painter had formerly pastored. Du Bois accepted the scholarship to Fisk because this would help him to achieve his dreams of obtaining a college education. However, he never did give up the idea that someday he would attend Harvard. Du Bois would now be entering a different way of life. He would be going into the South of slavery and rebellion. For the first time in his life he would be meeting young Blacks that had ambitions similar to his own.[79]

In the South it seemed that the most successful method of stopping Blacks socially and politically was through violence. Blacks were intimidated and arrested for minor infractions of the law; in

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[77]Ibid., pp. 19-21.

[78]Ibid., p. 20.

[79]Ibid., pp. 20-1.

fact, they were shot or lynched whenever they were too outspoken. By the end of the 1880's the "Jim Crow" laws had been passed by the conservatives. The result of these laws segregated Blacks completely from Whites. Du Bois at seventeen, who saw this discrimination, believed it was a temporary setback for Blacks. For his race to take its rightful place in the South, Du Bois believed it would need trained leadership (his theory of a "Talented Tenth" begins to develop).[80]

Once at Fisk, Du Bois was impressed with the sight of Black men and women of all shades, Black, yellow, brown and near-white.[81] Du Bois said, "A new loyalty and allegiance replaced my Americanism: henceforward I was a Negro."[82]

Davis notes: "Attending a Negro college, Fisk, did something to loosen his rigid sexual defense system; certainly it increased his ability to enjoy life. In addition to having adolescent crushes on girls, he made the acquaintance of many Negro men.[83]

Fisk, founded at the end of the Civil War by the American Missionary Society, was a training ground for the most capable Black youth who would later become the leaders of their race in America and Africa. Similar to Howard University in Washington, D.C. and Atlanta University in Georgia, Fisk was also supported by white philanthropy

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[80]Ibid., pp. 21-2.

[81]Ibid., p. 22.

[82]Ibid., p. 22.

[83]Davis, Leadership, Love and Aggression, p. 117.

from the South and North and its Black students were drawn from all over the South. In comparison to Du Bois, the other Black students from Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia and Alabama, were more worldly individuals who had seen the horrors of lynchings.[84]

Du Bois was only seventeen, a rarity at Fisk when he began there as a sophomore because of his excellent high school record. His classmates were five to ten years older than he. An annual school-wide exam was administered at Fisk, which gave poorly trained students a chance to review their arithmetic, reading and writing. Du Bois ranked second to Mary Bennett, a white German teacher's daughter. He never forgot the fact that he came in second not only to a girl but a white girl as well. In addition, Du Bois felt the test was unfair because most of the students were poorly trained in the South's "impoverished black public schools."[85]

> Nevertheless, William wrote, my popularity rather went to my head. I was bright, but sharptongued and given to joking hard with my fellows. Some resented this and I remember C. O. Hunter, a big, black earnest boy near twice my size who resented some quip of mine. He took me so firmly by the arm that I winced. He said, 'Don't you do that again!' I didn't.[86]

Du Bois as a young student did not set out to cause any revolutionary change in fact, he believed the condition of Blacks would improve through education and natural progression. Du Bois, just

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[84]Hamilton, W.E.B. Du Bois: A Biography, pp. 22-3.

[85]Ibid., p. 23.

[86]Ibid., pp. 23-4.

like most people at that time believed that men could improve and expand the culture and the foundation of democracy was the permanent base of security.[87]

While Du Bois studied at Fisk, America and Europe were in a period of "industrial expansion". Cities became the centers of life. Inventions such as the telephone, the development of the internal combustion engine and the harnessing of electricity came into being. Also Darwin's "Origin of Species" was published in 1859, during this period. Unfortunately, Darwin's theory was misused in a social context to justify the claim that whites were and would be superior to Blacks and to illustrate that those who had wealth deserved it. Darwin's theory was originally meant to be purely biological. Hence, men such as Rev. Josiah Strong and John Fiske wrote books and gave lectures proclaiming the fact that the Anglo-Saxon race was destined "by God and evolution" to rule the world. This type of thinking had a large influence on what Du Bois and other college students at this time would be exposed to.[88]

While Du Bois was at Fisk he had a good relationship with his teachers. Adam Spence taught him Greek and Frederic Chase taught him natural science. He also had great admiration for the president of Fisk, Erastus Cravath, whom he considered to be completely honest. At Fisk, Du Bois was the editor and founder of the college newspaper,

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[87]Ibid., pp. 26-7.

[88]Ibid., pp. 28-9.

the Fisk Herald. As the newspaper's editor, Du Bois wrote a column "An Open Letter to the Southern People" whose purpose was to convey the message that educated whites and Blacks should unite and help lead the poor and ignorant. Also, Du Bois warned the southern whites that they would face hatred from the Blacks if they did not grant the Blacks equality. No one took Du Bois seriously at this point, which was regrettable. The South answered this request with silence.[89]

Davis corroborates the positive values of his Fisk experience:

> "As editor of a college paper he learned the skills of editing, writing, and running an organization. In his account of his life there, he reveals-as he seldom does-a feeling of being genuinely accepted, and of accepting others. He liked his white Yankee Fisk professors, whom he found both able and honorable.'
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> But the city of Nashville was something else again, 'a cracker society in which lynchings were frequent, where Du Bois was quickly taught that his status in the South was that of something sub-human'.[90]

During the summers he taught in East Tennessee not more than fifty miles from Fisk; yet it was a totally different world from Fisk. The reason why he decided to teach in the countryside of Tennessee was to know all he could about his people--what their worries were and what they dreamed of. This must have been an inspiring experience for Du Bois for one day he would immortalize the country Black people of eastern Tennessee in a volume of essays titles: The Souls of Black

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[89]Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. 114-115.

[90]Davis, Leadership, Love and Aggression, p. 117.

Folk, which was published in 1903.[91]

In his senior year at Fisk, Du Bois wrote about a German statesman, Otto von Bismarck, as the subject of his senior paper. Bismarck "made a nation out of a mass of bickering peoples." This was the kind of action Black Americans should follow, Du Bois felt: "marching forth with strength and determination under trained leadership."[92]

Because of the strong impact Bismarck seemed to have upon the young Du Bois, Hamilton states:

> Bismarck had unified Germany into the German Empire. He had not accomplished this feat by any romantic uplift of a people who loved him, as William at first thought. Bismarck had been a Prussian of the landholding class. Democracy, liberalism, socialism were all distasteful to him. He didn't understand or trust the bulk of the German states beyond his Prussia, and he was not always bound by principles or ideas. Close unions with other countries were necessities to be honored as long as they were convenient, for the enemy of today could become the good friend of tomorrow. Bismarck became skilled at what is known as Realpolitik, or the control and use of power to accomplish one's aims. In the realm of Realpolitick, it matters little whether an idea is right or wrong. The question is whether an idea is workable through the proper use of power.[93]

Du Bois, himself, had little knowledge of power politics. His three years at Fisk helped him to know and understand the Negro Problem much more clearly. Du Bois felt the problem could be solved by educated

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[91]Du Bois, Souls of Black Folk, Essays and Sketches, pp. 60-74.

[92]Hamilton, W.E.B. Du Bois: A Biography, p. 34.

[93]Ibid., p. 34.

Blacks like himself. He knew very little about the Industrial Revolution, which enslaved the Blacks as a means of its own development; in fact, his education up to this point had barely touched on economics or the theories of Marx. While Fisk had been a good school for Du Bois's growth as an individual, yet it was small and limited by its facilities and equipment. In June of 1888 he graduated from Fisk University. Du Bois, like most of the students looked forward to a professional career after graduation.[94]

Du Bois still longed to go to Harvard in order to get the best education possible. Interestingly, one of the things Du Bois had little use for was money and at this time in his life, he had no desire for large amounts of money. Frederic Chase, one of his teachers at Fisk, tried to explain to Du Bois that the world did not pay philosophers much of anything, but the explanation was of no avail. The president of Fisk, Cravath, offered a scholarship to Du Bois for the Hartford Theological Seminary. During his first year at Fisk Du Bois had taken part in religious life. However, by his second year dogmatic and organized religion ceased to have meaning for him. Thus, he rejected the offer of a scholarship from President Cravath.[95]

In the late 1880's, Harvard began to encourage students from the West and South to apply in an all out effort to make itself a national institution. Du Bois' timing was right on target, he applied

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[94]Ibid., pp. 32-5.

[95]Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois, p. 124.

to Harvard and was accepted almost immediately, provided he would repeat his junior and senior year. The reason for this was that Harvard felt, even though he was awarded a Bachelor Arts degree from Fisk, that Black institutions were lagging in scholarly requirements. Du Bois was willing to repeat his last two years of college because he wanted the opportunity to attend Harvard. His objective at this time was to study philosophy and science to prepare himself for the leadership of Blacks with the best education possible. At this stage of his life, Du Bois's world was divided into Black and white and he did not have a great affection for white Harvard. This was his frame of mind as he entered Harvard University.[96]

Du Bois received a scholarship from Harvard but he needed money to supplement his funds for Harvard. Thus, he joined a Glee Club, through Fisk, which would spend the summer at Lake Minnetonka near Minneapolis. Du Bois was the business manager for the group. Each member of the group was able to make about $100.00. This extra money helped Du Bois to enter Harvard as a junior in 1888. At Harvard, Du Bois's teachers would help him to reveal the genius of his own mind.[97]

As opposed to Fisk, Du Bois felt unwelcomed at Harvard when he tried to join student organizations. Southern whites refused to sit next to him in class, northern whites seemed to ignore him outside

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[96]Ibid., pp. 125-33.

[97]Hamilton, W.E.B. Du Bois: A Biography, pp. 35-6.

of class, which made him feel quite alone and isolated. Thus, the result of these experiences contributed to Du Bois developing his own style of New England aloofness. Much of what Du Bois was feeling was actual race prejudice against him. At Fisk, he became a member of a closed racial group and by the time he entered Harvard the idea of race separation was strongly instilled in him.[98]

Du Bois, himself, avoided contact with white students because he feared they would insult him. He also believed that the careers whites trained for were separate from the careers Black people were being prepared to enter. Du Bois also disliked the fact that whites believed Blacks long to associate with them. He even went as far as to break-up with a Black girl who looked white because he resented the idea of people thinking he would marry outside of his race. Even though Du Bois felt alienated from the white students at Harvard because of culture and racial myths, he found that his teachers were without prejudice.[99]

Du Bois who intended to make a career out of philosophy, studied under the philosophers William James and George Santayana. James guided Du Bois to pragmatism. Albert Bushnell Hart, another teacher of Du Bois, taught him history and the techniques of documentary research. Under William Taussig, the political economist, he studied what would be later known as sociology. Du Bois also

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[98]Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. 134-37.

[99]Hamilton, W.E.B. Du Bois: A Biography, pp. 37-8.

took courses in geology and chemistry because he planned to teach in order to support himself after college.[100] Importantly, during this time the current theory of social evolution at Harvard was that Black people could advance to the level of whites within a reasonable period of time. Du Bois had no argument with this theory.[101]

At Harvard, Du Bois joined the philosophical club and became a member of their eating club which allowed him to purchase his meals at a cheaper rate. Occasionally, he would receive invitations to dinners and receptions from his teachers, James and Taussig. Nevertheless, the fact remained that Du Bois knew very little about the whites at Harvard, the important social groups on campus or about Phi Beta Kappa, the honorary society of American college students of high scholastic achievement.[102]

Davis also offers several insights that are supporting of and relevant to this account:

> At Harvard, Du Bois suffered social rejection, but he claimed there were compensations. 'I was there to enlarge my grasp of the meaning of the universe,' Du Bois wrote of his year in Cambridge. He enjoyed studying psychology under the great William James, history under Albert Bushnell Hart, and economics under Frank Taussig. He also met immutable barriers against Negroes, set up by the sons of New England Brahmins. In recalling his exclusion from the Harvard Glee Club, and his failure to meet any Brahmins socially, Du Bois claimed he did not feel resented. (He took refuge behind his old defense of denial.) Seventy-five years later, he still maintained in his Autobiography that being a pariah among students at Harvard did not much

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[100] Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. 132-33.

[101] Hamilton, W.E.B. Du Bois: A Biography, p. 40.

[102] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

disturb him, for William James often had invited him to his home, as had Hart--and the blow had thus been softened. Furthermore, he says, he enjoyed the educated and lovely colored girls of Boston much more than he would have the cold Brahmins.

'I was happy at Harvard, but for unusual reasons,' he wrote fifty years later. 'One of these circumstances was my acceptance of racial segregation...' which he said he learned to accept in the South at Fisk. But this 'reason' was exactly that given by whites, North and South, for segregating Negroes: 'they are happier together.' Du Bois said the difference was that he planned to organize Negroes when he went out into the world, and 'break down the boundaries of race.' In the meantime, he would 'forget as far as possible that outer white world.'

The fact that this pose was a conscious form of denying reality is made clear by his next paragraph from Dusk of Dawn:

Naturally it could not be entirely forgotten, so that now and then I plunged into it, joined its currents and rose or fell with it. The joining was sometimes a matter of social contact. I escorted colored girls, and as pretty ones as I could find, to the vesper exercise and the class day and commencement social functions. Naturally we attracted attention and sometimes the shadow of insult, as when in one case a lady seemed determined to mistake me for a waiter. A few times I attempted to enter student organizations, but was not greatly disappointed when the expected refusal came. My voice, for instance, was better than the average. The glee club listened to it but I was not chosen a member it posed the later recurring problem of a 'nigger' on the team.

In general, I asked nothing of Harvard but the tutelage of teachers and the freedom of the library. I was quite voluntarily and willingly outside its social life. I knew nothing of and cared nothing for fraternities and clubs. Most of these which dominated the Harvard life of my day were unknown to me even by name.

I was in Harvard but not of it and realized the irony of 'Fair Harvard.' I sang it because I liked the music.

Actually, he sang 'Fair Harvard' because he was not clear how he felt. Half a century later, however, he saw Harvard as the reactionary defender of capitalism, and saw the men who owned and controlled it as the guardians of reaction. At the height of post-reconstruction industrialization in 1896 they were making 'Harvard rich but reactionary. This defender of wealth and capital, already half-ashamed of Sumner and

> Phillips, was willing finally to replace an Eliot with a Lowell. The social community that mobbed Garrison, easily hanged Sacco and Vanzetti." At the time he wrote this, Du Bois was not a Communist; on the contrary, he was advocating black economic nationalism, segregated business, and Negro cooperatives.[103]

In June of 1890, Du Bois was awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree cum laude in philosophy. Hence, he was one of five students to speak at Commencement. The topic of his address was, Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederacy. His purpose in this selection was to confront Harvard and the nation with a discussion of slavery. He also wanted to reveal the type of civilization that had been represented by Jefferson Davis. The following is an excerpt from Du Bois's address:

> Under whatever guise, however a Jefferson Davis may appear as man, as race, or as a nation, his life can only logically mean this: the advance of a part of the world at the expense of the whole; the overwhelming sense of the I, and the consequent forgetting of the Thou ... A system of human culture whose principle is the rise of one race on the ruins of another is a farce and a lie.[104]

Du Bois received noteworthy recognition for his address by Bishop Potter of New York who wrote in the Boston Herald "When at the last commencement of Harvard University, I saw a young colored man appear ... and heard his brilliant and eloquent address, I said to myself: 'Here is what an historic race can do if they have a clear field, a high purpose, and a resolute will.'" The New York

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[103]Davis, Leadership, Love and Aggression, pp. 121-122.

[104]Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. 146-7.

Nation commented editorially:

> When the name of William Edward Du Bois was called and a slender, intellectual-looking mulatto ascended on the platform and made his bow to the President of the University, the Governor of Massachusetts, the Bishop of New York, and a hundred other notables, the applause burst out heartily as if in recognition of the strange significance of his appearance there. His theme ... heightened this significance. Du Bois handled his difficult and hazardous subject with absolute good taste, great moderation, and almost contemptuous fairness.[105]

At the age of twenty-two, Du Bois had already received more education than most young white men. However, he did not feel prepared for the new and extraordinary situations then developing in the U.S. and the world.[106] Thus, in 1890 he became a fellow in the Harvard Graduate School. Du Bois, now seriously applied James's pragmatism and Hart's research methods to the social sciences. It was at this point that he began to research Black history. He decided to continue his studies until he obtained a Ph.D. The subject of his doctoral thesis, "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to America," was approved by Dr. Hart. He compiled his research from Congressional records of the period, U.S. statutes and laws of the states and the colonies. His research was first published in preliminary form, under the title, "The Enforcement of the Slave Trade Laws" in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1891.[107]

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[105] Ibid., pp. 147-8.

[106] Ibid., p. 148.

[107] Hamilton, W.E.B. Du Bois: A Biography, p. 46.

At twenty-four Du Bois had B.A. degrees from Fisk and Harvard, a master's degree from Harvard and was working toward a Ph.D. Du Bois now decided to study in Europe, preferably in Germany, because traditionally only the best scholars were trained there and the universities were considered the best. To help finance this venture Du Bois obtained a grant of $750.00 from the Slater Fund which was created for the education of Blacks in 1882. Former U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes was the guardian of the fund.[108]

Du Bois was in Germany for two years, from 1892 to 1894. This was customary for doctoral students to study abroad. Germany during this period, early 1890's, was a nation of parades and patriotism. As Du Bois traveled about he found that Europeans were not without prejudice, e.g., nobility expected worship from commoners; military looked down on civilians; shopkeepers felt above the artisans; and German Jews rejected the Polish Jewish immigrants. However, skin color for Europeans was not a mark of inferiority according to Du Bois's observations. The university students, in particular, were a group that was especially admired in Europe.[109]

At the University of Berlin Du Bois studied under such historians as Gustav Schmoller and Adolf Wagner, who had helped bring together economics, history and politics, and it was Schmoller who influenced

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[108] Ibid., pp. 47-8.

[109] Emma Gelders Sterne, His Was the Voice: The Life of W.E.B. Du Bois, (New York: Crowell-Collier Press, 1971), p. 47.

Du Bois to choose a career dedicated to scholarship. Also while in Berlin, Du Bois found himself attracted to the Socialist movement but concluded that Marxism was too difficult for him because he had little background in its history and development.[110]

In summing up his European experience, Du Bois said: "Of greatest importance was the opportunity which my years in Europe gave of looking at the world as a man and not simply from a narrow racial and provincial outlook. The unity beneath all life clutched me."[111]

Thus, Du Bois finished his thesis "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade" in Germany. The professors were so impressed with it that they tried to award him a Ph.D. from the University of Berlin, but precedent and tradition proved insurmountable.[112] His doctoral thesis was his second work published and it was the first book published in the Harvard Historical Series of 1896. The same year his thesis was published Du Bois received his Ph.D. from Harvard.[113]

Du Bois received the first doctorate to be conferred on a Black by Harvard and it was the fifth to be conferred on a Black by an American University. Again among his teachers were such luminaries and greats as the philosophers William James, George Santayana,

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[110]Hamilton, W.E.B. Du Bois: A Biography, pp. 50-1.

[111]Sterne, His Was the Voice: The Life of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp.51-2.

[112]Ibid., p. 51.

[113]Du Bois, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870, p. v-x.

Albert Bushnell Hart, all previously mentioned, as well as Josiah Royce and George Lyman Kittredge. Du Bois received a quality education, the best available at that time, even for very talented Black students. His educational background was bound to lead him into controversy with Booker T. Washington about the industrial education Washington advocated for the Black.[114]

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[114]Walter Wilson, ed., The Selected Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois, with an introduction by Stephen J. Wright (New York: New American Library, 1970), p. x.

Booker T. Washington's Contributions to Educational Theory and Practice.

"Oh, Washington was a politican. He was a man who believed that we should get what we could get. It wasn't a matter of ideals or anything that sort... With everybody that Washington met, he evidently had the idea: 'Now, what's your racket? What are you out for?'" This quote was made by W.E.B. Du Bois.[115] While Washington's image was one of a reserved Black leader, he was always seeking power and influence, privately. Thus, he did become the leader of Blacks.[116]

Washington probably was one of the few black educators to present his educational philosophy in such a clear cut fachion.[117] It was General Armstrong who asked Washington to teach at Hampton after he requested him to deliver a commencement address to the graduates. General Armstrong decided to start a night class at Hampton for the students who had to work during the day. It was Armstrong's intention to have Washington organize and teach the class. The class started with only a few and then it grew to accommodate six to seven hundred.[118]

Indians were admitted into Hampton about the same time the night classes were being organized. In his second year, Washington was put in charge of the Indian dormitory. Washington concluded from his experiences at Hampton, that "the main thing that any oppressed

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[115]Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901, p. 254.

[116]Ibid., p. 254.

[117]Virgil A. Clift, Archibald W. Anderson, and H. Gordon Hullfish, eds., Negro Education in America: Its Adequacy, Problems and Needs (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 63.

[118]Washington, The Story of My Life and Work, p. 71.

people needed was a chance of the right kind and they would cease to be savages."[119]

His ideas were soon to see the light of day.

> Washington's conversion to the Armstrong philosophy must have been exceptional, for early in 1881 the general selected him, on the application of the citizens of Tuskegee, Alabama, to start in that town a Black normal school for which the Alabama legislature had just granted a charter, in addition to an annual appropriation of $2,000 for teachers' salaries. The school was to be modeled on the plan of Hampton.[120]

This appointment boosted Washington's career. General Armstrong who recommended Washington, answered a letter he received from George W. Campbell, who was a prominent white citizen in Tuskegee. At first, Mr. Campbell wanted a white man to be principal. It was only at General Armstrong's suggestion that Mr. Campbell changed his mind and decided to have a competent Black man take the position. Thus, Washington became principal.[121]

Washington started out with thirty Black students. His goal was to make these students "self-supporting industrious citizens of the South." Education to Washington "had to be related to the common needs of life." This is what he was taught by General Armstrong. Washington wanted to make the school a part of the community and he succeeded at this task. The graduates at the school became farmers,

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[119]Ibid., p. 72.

[120]Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South: from 1619 to the Present (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 79.

[121]Washington, The Story of My Life and Work, p. 73.

mechanics and teachers. Washington's ideas began to spread to the midwest instead of the region he was in.[122]

In 1884, Washington spoke in Madison, Wisconsin as did General Armstrong before him. The group he spoke to was the National Education Association. As Washington explained his program and the way he was executing it at Tuskegee, he pointed out his two major convictions: "first, that the two races had to live together; second, that they could coexist symbiotically."[123] The confidence Washington placed in the symbiotic--"in the tendency for racial groups to be useful to and dependent upon each other"--was not just whistling in the dark. This was born in Washington's fundamental belief in the inevitability of human progress. "Progress is the law of God," Washington said. "One might as well try to stop the progress of a mighty railroad train by throwing his body across the track as to try to arrest the ceaseless advance of humanity."[124] We must remember that Tuskegee was the product of Southern thinking. Washington believed that the South was the home of the Black and that the interest of one race was tied to another. Washington's basic aim was to train the Black to do better what they had already been doing. During his early years at Tuskegee, he studied how the Black people lived. These lessons helped him develop the

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[122]Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South: from 1619 to the Present, p. 80.

[123]Ibid., p. 80.

[124]Samuel R. Spencer, Jr., Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life, ed. Oscar Handlin (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1955), pp. 91-3, quoted in Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South: from 1619 to the Present (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 80.

curriculum for the school. Other factors that helped him shape the curriculum were the aimless mobility of the Black people as well as the landlessness of the masses. Washington said, "Something must be done to stem the swelling tide which each year sweeps thousands of black men and women and children from the sunlit monotony of the plantation to the sunless iniquity of the slums; from a drudging that is not quite cheerless to competition that is altogether merciless." Thus we see agriculture becoming the major course at the Institute. The purpose of the school was to supply teachers that would be able to teach gardening and carpentry as well as grammar and arithmetic.[125]

Washington detected that the students viewed education as a tool to set them apart from the community rather than an influence to help them work with the community. However, Washington felt that his students should be prepared to go back to the rural areas and work with their people. And with this in mind he felt that the way of converting students to his view was probably that of integrating theory and practice. At the Institute the student body was divided into day and night students. The day students usually had parents who could pay for most or part of their education. The night students worked all day and attended classes in the evening. Students who attended classes in the day or evening were required to do the same work. Through his courses the student was introduced to the work idea. The method of teaching was to incorporate vocational

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[125]Ibid., pp. 80-82.

training into the academic courses. For example, a boy in agriculture, would need to know the selling price of cotton as well as the current price per pound. "Of this method Washington would say, 'An ounce of application is worth a ton of abstraction.'"[126]

Washington made two very important impressions upon the course of education for the Blacks in the South. First, his practice and philosophy reduced the fears of Southern whites concerning the Black while on the other hand, he also gained their support for the public education movement. The underlying factor for the Southern white concerning the Black was their own security that the Blacks were struggling for mixed schools, political control and social equality. Secondly, and this was probably his greatest influence, was the attention he gave to the "special education" movement. Washington believed Blacks needed a particular type of education for their particular condition. He seemed to be anticipating a completely biracial society of benevolent coexistence with whites. Thus he decided to educate Blacks within the framework of a racial division of labor that had always existed in the South. Although he did not advocate industrial education for every Black to the exclusion of the professions and other branches of learning, he did imply that the sole excuse for these latter branches was in the existence of the segregated communities where Blacks were compelled to live. His emphasis upon the "industrial" hit the Black radical leaders with

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[126]Ibid., pp. 82-83.

an exaggerated force. Du Bois championed the idea of changing the existing views that now prevailed thus there was a debate between Washington and the "classical" educational leaders for a long period of time. In the end, both the industrial schools like Hampton and Tuskegee and the liberal arts schools like Atlanta and Fisk were engaged in the task of "Black education". The two types of schools educated Black youths for different classes within the same caste system.[127]

Washington's purpose was to send Black men and women back into the community so they could contribute their own experiences to their community. Washington, like Pestalozzi, believed education could bring about the "social regeneration of humanity" which is based upon the principle of student activity. In his address delivered at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895, Washington stated, to the satisfaction of the Southern whites, "In all things, that are purely social we can be as separate as the five fingers, yet one of the hand in all things essential to mutual progress".[128]

Despite the opposition to the "Tuskegee Idea", a number of schools adopted the philosophy of Washington and were established in the South. They include Snow Hill Industrial School in Alabama, Fargo Institute in Arkansas and Utica Institute and Prentiss Institute in Mississippi. All these are examples that apply this point of view.

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[127]Ibid., pp. 83-5.

[128]Clift, Anderson and Hullfish, eds., Negro Education in America, p. 65.

W.E.B. Du Bois Contributions to Educational Theory and Practice

Du Bois, despite a brilliant record became a proud and often even a domineering man.[129] In 1894 until 1896, he was a professor of Latin and Greek at Wilberforce University, Ohio.[130] Then he became an assistant instructor at the University of Pennsylvania in 1896 for approximately fifteen months. This is where he investigated the condition of the Blacks in the seventh ward of Philadelphia. In 1899, "The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study" was published.[131] This study "revealed the Negro group as a symptom, not a cause; as a striving palpitating group, and not an inert, sick body of crime, as a long historic development and not a transient occurrence."[132]

From 1897-1910, Du Bois was a professor of History and Economics at Atlanta University. The years at Atlanta were probably his most productive years as a writer, scholar and editor. During his thirteen years at Atlanta his newer publications were: "John Brown," "Horizon; A Journal of the Color Line," founded and edited by Du Bois; and the Atlanta University Publications, a scientific study of the conditions of Black life.[133] The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches, by Du Bois began the historic controversy on the education of the Blacks between Washington and Du Bois.[134]

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[129]Edgar A. Toppin, A Biographical History of Blacks in America (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1971), p. 167.

[130]Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy On Viewing My Life From the Last Decade of Its First Century, pp. 198-99.

[131]Du Bois, The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study, pp. 1-4.

[132]Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy On Viewing My Life From the Last Decade of Its First Century, pp. 198-99.

[133]Wilson, ed., The Selected Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois, p. xi.

[134]Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches, pp. 41-44.

In 1905 the Niagara movement was organized by Du Bois and other interested individuals, both Black and white, who were concerned with the advancement of the cause of racial equality. "Among the principles of the new movement were freedom of speech and criticism, abolition of distinctions based on color and race, recognition of human brotherhood, and the right of all to education.[135] This movement was an alternative to the humble moderation of Booker T. Washington.[136]

In 1910 Du Bois decided to leave Atlanta University so that he could serve as the Director of Publicity and Research for the NAACP. The purpose of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), was to secure justice and equal treatment for Black people. This organization also helped to integrate Blacks into the mainstream of life in America. Du Bois was the founder of this organization's major publication, "The Crisis".[137]

"The Crisis" was a newspaper which recorded important events and movements that related to the problem of inter-racial relations especially those that affected the American Black. Its purpose was to demonstrate the dangers of race prejudice.[138] Du Bois was the

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[135]Gerald Lee Gutek, An Introduction to American Education (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1970), p. 212.

[136]Hamilton, W.E.B. Du Bois: A Biography, p. 90.

[137]Toppin, A Biographical History of Blacks in America Since 1528, p. 172.

[138]Lester, The Thought and Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois: The Seventh Son, 2:373.

editor of "The Crisis" until 1934. Also during this time, between 1910-1934, he published two novels: Dark Princess and The Quest of the Silver Fleece. The more scholarly books that were published at this time were: The Gift of Black Folk, The Negro and Darkwater: the Twentieth Century Completion of Uncle Tom's Cabin. He also published in the following periodicals: Outlook; The Atlantic Monthly; The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science; Independent; American Historical Review, etc. Du Bois also edited and was the founder of "The Brownies Book." This was a monthly magazine for Black children. It helped them to realize and appreciate the history and achievements of the Black race. Shortly after the death of Booker T. Washington, Du Bois soon became the voice of the Black protest. It is also important to note that during this time Du Bois became involved in Pan-Africanism.[139] In 1910 he joined the Socialist party.[140]

In 1934 Du Bois resigned from "The Crisis" and Board of NAACP because of a difference of opinion over the editorial policy. Du Bois through his editorship of "The Crisis" was trying to change not only the ideology of the NAACP but also the ideology of the Black race. Du Bois wanted to create a racial program for economic salvation through socialism. The NAACP did not accept what Du Bois proposed. In 1933 he returned to Atlanta University and a year later became the Chairman

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[139]Wilson, ed., The Selected Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. xi-xii.

[140]Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois, p. 438.

of the Department of Sociology.[141]

John Hope, a good friend of Du Bois who became President of Atlanta, encouraged him to return to Atlanta. Hope promised Du Bois that he would have leisure to write and freedom of expression, of course as far as Georgia would permit. In 1934 both Du Bois and Hope wanted to revive the University conferences and studies of the Black problems. Unfortunately, Hope died in 1936, thus it was obvious that Atlanta did not have sufficient funds to carry out any type of investigation. However, in 1935 the Federal government was offering $18m, annually, to the land-grant colleges in the Southern States that had colleges separated by race. So, Du Bois developed a program of race studies that would be planned for Black colleges. He used this as a basis to demand more federal dollars for Blacks. In 1943, he organized the first conference of the Black Land-Grant Colleges which coordinated a program of cooperative social studies.[142]

At the age of 65, when Du Bois returned to Atlanta he wrote: Dusk of Dawn, an autobiography; Black Reconstruction, Color and Democracy; and Black Folk: Then and Now. In 1940 he also founded and edited "Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture".[143]

In 1944, at a meeting with the Board of Trustees it was proposed and seconded that Du Bois retire from Atlanta. Thus, he retired,

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[141]Ibid., pp. 297-301.

[142]Ibid., pp. 300-19.

[143]Wilson, ed., The Selected Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois, p. xii.

but the matter had never been discussed with him. Retirement age was 65 but Du Bois was 65 when he started there under President Hope. Du Bois was never sure why he was retired perhaps it was due to the young, unknown president, Clement, who felt Du Bois overshadowed him. In 1944 until 1948, he returned to the NAACP as the Director of Special Research. In 1945, along with Walter White, Secretary for the NAACP, Du Bois was accredited as consultant to the Founding Convention of the United Nations. That same year he also presided at the 5th Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England. We now see a new turning point in Du Bois' life, he becomes more involved with race problems on an international level. In 1948 he again left the NAACP because of differences with Mr. White.[144]

The final years of his life, 1948 to 1963, we see Du Bois involved in many international projects such as helping to organize the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace in 1949; Chairman of Peace Information Center, 1950; also that same year he ran as a candidate for the Senate in New York for the Progressive Party; in 1961, he joined the Communist Party of the U.S.; became a citizen of Ghana, and he died on August 27, 1963.[145]

For the larger part of his life Du Bois was recognized for doing deeds of goodness and valor that even segments of the "white Establishment" highly commended. However, for a relatively short period of time in his later years he accused America of being a

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[144]Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. 322-36.

[145]Ibid., pp. 439-40.

bastion of war, reaction and colonialism. He even goes so far as amending his earlier prophecy that the "problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line," now he states the problem was one of class-caste-color line.[146]

In 1961, at the age of 93 Du Bois turned to the Communist Party. And in 1963 he became a citizen of Ghana, a country he had helped to personally, create and which offered to subsidize his Encyclopedia Africana project, first planned in 1909. There were two factors that contributed to Du Bois' move to Ghana: one, he could be a man "not a nigger"; and two, his bitterness about the American government placing him in handcuffs for his advocacy of peace on his 84th birthday. Du Bois's enemies felt when he became a Communist and a citizen of Ghana he cancelled out all the good years. However, on the other hand, his admirers passed no judgment and believed his place in America and world history is secure.[147]

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[146]Wilson, ed., The Selected Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois, p. 329.

[147]Ibid., pp. 329-30.

Critique

After researching the background of both men, it becomes clear that both were reared in two different ways. Du Bois was influenced by the formal education he received and his training in New England. He was educated in the public schools of Great Barrington, Massachusetts. In 1885, he attended Fisk, and graduated in 1888. This prepared him to attend Harvard, graduating cum laude in 1890 and receiving still another baccalaureate degree. In 1896, he was awarded a Ph.D. degree from Harvard, the first to be conferred by Harvard on an American black and the fifth to be conferred on a black by an American University. Du Bois also spent a few years studying history and economics at the University of Berlin between 1892-94. His thesis subject was "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638 to 1870," this later became Volume I in the Harvard University Historical Series.[148]

Washington, on the other hand, had a less structured early education. He worked and went to school at the same time. His early formal education was under the tutelage of William Davis, who was a conscientious, earnest and energetic teacher. Washington's mother also had hired someone to teach him in the evening, however, he considered Mr. Davis to be his first teacher.[149]

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[148]Wilson, ed., The Selected Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. ix-x.

[149]Washington, The Story of My Life and Work, p. 49.

In 1872, Washington started at Hampton Institute, where he was greatly influenced by the ideas of General Armstrong. An important moral lesson that was impressed on Washington by General Armstrong was a dislike for the existence of hypocrisy. In 1875 he graduated from Hampton where he had learned the trade of a brick-mason. In the fall of 1875 he obtained his first teaching job in Malden. In 1878, he studied at Wayland Seminary for one year under Rev. Dr. King, who impressed Washington by his deep religious spirit.[150]

In 1879, Washington returned to Hampton, at the request of General Armstrong partly as a teacher and partly to pursue supplementary studies. An important opportunity for Washington's career occurred in 1881 when General Armstrong received a letter asking him to recommend someone to be in charge of a Normal School for blacks in Tuskegee, Armstrong selected Washington and thus, Washington opened the school.[151]

Washington was an advocate of industrial education or as it would be more properly called today, vocational education. Du Bois proposed a liberal education for Blacks. He believed education was synonymous with black victory over discrimination. Du Bois encouraged the Blacks to get as much education as possible. He thus developed the theory of the "talented tenth" which proposed that the privileged educated members of the race should devote their time and talents to racial uplift.[152]

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[150]Ibid., pp. 55-69.

[151]Washington, Up From Slavery: An Autobiography, pp. 96-108.

[152]Wilson, ed., The Selected Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois, p. 138.

Washington proposed industrial education not because he wanted to limit the blacks but because he wanted them to build a strong economic base to enter the world of business and commerce. Du Bois did his best to counteract Washington's ideas and was Washington's leading opponent. However, both men did agree on something, their ultimate goal was to reach complete acceptance and integration of the Blacks into American life.[153]

Today, if both men lived, Du Bois's ideas would undoubtedly be more acceptable than Washington's ideas. Both men would be happy with the progress made by the Blacks in recent years. This is what each of them were preparing the Blacks for--leadership positions. Washington might be viewed as an accommodationist while Du Bois would probably be considered a militant elitist. Washington possessed a paternalistic attitude toward his students. Du Bois, on the other hand, was developing his theory of the "talented tenth," in order for his race to attain their status in American Society.

Both of these men were accepted widely by the black community. Each developed a strong power base in which certain weaknesses existed. Washington's main strength came from his establishment of his school, Tuskegee, which proposed industrial education for Blacks. Du Bois's position of power came through his writings. Of course, both men also had major weaknesses. Washington's major weakness was his failure to modernize the curriculum at Tuskegee and to properly prepare Blacks

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[153]John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans, (New York: Random House, 1947), pp. 392-3.

for the world of business and commerce, both at that time and for the future. Du Bois's weakness stemmed from his approach being too radical for the times. This led him to eventually renounce his American citizenship in 1961. An elaboration of those strengths and weaknesses will be included in Part V.

CHAPTER IV

Analysis of the Educational Philosophy of Booker T. Washington by Referring to His Political and Economic Views as Background for His Educational Philosophy.

For Washington, the basis of race advancement is moral and economic, not political. Washington maintained, "cannot make a dependent man an independent man; cannot make one citizen respect another. These results will come...by beginning at the bottom and gradually working up."[154]

In his Madison speech of 1884, Washington's lack of confidence in political cures is clearly evident. In 1875, the Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Act unconstitutional. This decision created despair among many Blacks. However, to Washington this proved that if you had money to pay good teachers this would help you settle the race problem faster than any investigating committees or civil rights bills. Washington believed that "Brains, property and character" are the proper instruments to help the Black race develop. These would prove to be more useful than statutes. But most importantly of all, Washington professed economic progress. He affirmed that at the bottom of politics, education and religion, there must for the Black as for everyone, be an economic foundation, independence and prosperity.[155]

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[154]Samuel R. Spencer, Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life, ed. Oscar Handlin (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1955), p. 94.

[155]Ibid., p. 94.

Another characteristic underlying Washington's philosophical base was the Puritan Ethic which was instilled in him by Mrs. Ruffner. He affirmed that this philosophy along with the Emersonian Self-reliance and the doctrine of self-help, which was developed by the new industrialism, that the Black would rely on himself. Washington was irritated by idleness. In fact, at Tuskegee he told his students that there was no excuse for it. Some Blacks after the long period of slavery thought of work as unmanly. Within the programs of Tuskegee the philosophy that was projected was one of self-reliance. The dignity of labor was at the base of the programs at Tuskegee. Again Washington asked for a "fair chance" for the Black. The Black looked to many to help him solve his problems. For example, he looked to the Federal government, northern friends, the Union Army, etc. Washington wanted to educate the Black "industrially and mentally". At Madison, Washington promised if this was done, the Black man would be responsible for his future.[156]

William Henry Lewis, a Black lawyer, in 1915 noted the following about Washington:

> While most of us were agonizing over the Negro's relation to the State and his political fortunes, Booker T. Washington saw that there was a great economic empire that needed to be conquered. He saw an emancipated race chained to the soil by the Mortgage Crop System and other devices, and he said, "You must own your own farms"--and forthwith there was a second emancipation. He saw the industrial trades and skilled labor pass from our race into other hands. He said, "the hands as well as the head must be educated."[157]

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[156]Ibid., p. 95.

[157]Hugh Hawkins, ed., Booker T. Washington and His Critics: The Problem of Negro Leadership (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1962), p. xiii.

Washington would best be described as a welder of education. He tried to weave together theory and practice. This was accomplished by infusing such courses, for example, as English composition and mathematics, thus relating this subject matter to the vocational training the students were seeking.[158]

Tuskegee was nondenominational, but religion was an important part of its curriculum. In fact, Sunday services usually included the following: 1. at nine o'clock--Christian obligation; 2. at eleven o'clock--chapel; and 3. at one o'clock--Sunday School, with an hour of quiet from three to four o'clock. The more religious usually worshiped at a voluntary devotional after breakfast every day and also worked in the YMCA or YWCA organizations on campus. The most important service of the week was when the principal gave weekly evening talks. This was a practice that was modeled on General Armstrong's "Sunday-evening talks" at Hampton. Within these talks Washington tried to get to the heart of matters by focusing on daily life in the South. His audience consisted of teachers and students at Tuskegee and visitors to Tuskegee. The subjects he dealt with included "The Virtue of Simplicity", "The Importance of Being Reliable", "What Will Pay?", "Keeping Your Word", "A Penny Saved", "Helping Others", and "Have You Done Your Best?" etc. These talks were a mixture of Poor Richard's Almanac, the "self-help" doctrine popularized by Samuel Smiles and The New Testament. These talks which were platitudinous at best, give us an insight into

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[158]Spencer, Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life, p. 81.

Washington's personal philosophy. However, to his unsophisticated audience, these talks were inspirational. Later, each of the talks were printed in the weekly newspaper, "The Student".[159]

Within the academic program at Tuskegee, Washington made sure that each lesson had a direct application to the familiar so that it would have meaning for the student. Through his teaching experiences at Malden, Washington had learned the value of relating ideas to tangible realities. For example, during a recess period, Washington found that the geography lesson was not getting over to the students. Sometimes he would join them as they were wading in a nearby stream to illustrate a special lesson in geography. Washington took advantage of the situation and began to illustrate islands, peninsulas, lakes, etc. The lesson took on new meaning for the students.[160]

A crucial point in Washington's philosophy is that he wanted to uplift a people not just start a school. Washington observed the same kind of life he lived as a child among the Black field hands and farmers etc. Here again Washington viewed scenes of his boyhood seeing families with no table, no forks, knives or spoons etc. Instead of attending school the young took to the cotton fields. Washington's sympathy deepened for this way of life, he felt these people never get a glimpse of the good life. Thus, it became clear to him that the whole pattern of their lives would have to change if his people would

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[159] Ibid., pp. 80-1.

[160] Ibid., p. 81.

be uplifted.[161]

Washington's aim for education was to see what the needs of the people were and then implement these needs into the educational institution through the curriculum. His principle was "leadership consists in finding folk where they are and guiding them to where they ought to be." According to Washington, the distinction between a higher and lower type of education lies between the type of education that lifts the whole life to a higher level and the education that fails to achieve that goal.[162] According to Washington, the educator, the following is true:

> In order to make it possible to put Negro education on a sound and rational basis it has been necessary to change the opinion of the masses of the Negro people in regard to education and labor. It has been necessary to make them see that education, which did not, directly or indirectly, connect itself with the practical daily interests of daily life could hardly be called education. It has been necessary to make the masses of the Negroes see and realize the necessity and importance of applying what they learned in school to the common and ordinary things of life; to see that education, far from being a means of escaping labor, is a means of raising up and dignifying labor and thus indirectly a means of raising up and dignifying the common and ordinary man. It has been necessary to teach the masses of the people that the way to build up a race is to begin at the bottom and not at the top, to lift the man farthest down, and thus raise the whole structure of society above him. On the other hand, it has been necessary to demonstrate to the white man in the South that education does not 'spoil' the Negro, as it has been so often predicted that it would. It was necessary to make him actually see that education makes the Negro not an idler or spendthrift, but a more industrious, thrifty, law-abiding, and useful citizen than he otherwise would be.[163]

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[161]Basil Mathews, Booker T. Washington: Educator and Interracial Interpreter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), pp. 64-5.

[162]Ibid., pp. 66-7.

[163]Emmett J. Scott and Lyman Beecher Stowe, Booker T. Washington, Builder of a Civilization (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1916), pp. 60-1.

Black students in Tuskegee could enter politics or the ministry. In that sense, preparation for political activity did take place at Tuskegee. At one time or another Washington was urged to enter into politics as a career for himself. He always refused.

Washington's educational philosophy was essential to the Tuskegee experiment. The purpose of education to Washington was to train the Black to do better what he had already been doing. He attempted to accomplish this by studying the conditions of the Black in the county and the surrounding areas. These were the conditions that shaped the curriculum at Tuskegee.[164]

There were several problems this curriculum had to accommodate. First, the landlessness of the masses of Blacks; second, the evils of sharecropping that lead to economic insecurity and morally weakened the family; and third, the aimless mobility of the population. Thus, agriculture emerged as the chief course in Tuskegee's curriculum. Tuskegee's mission was to supply well-equipped teachers, not only teachers to teach grammar and arithmetic but also to teach the essentials of gardening and carpentry.[165]

Washington's major problem was to try to help students to free themselves of their own prejudices against this kind of education. Many of the students who entered the Institute had a different idea of what education was all about. Some wanted to escape from work

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[164]Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South from 1619 to the Present, pp. 81-2.

[165]Ibid., p. 82.

rather than a dedication to a different kind of work within the same old world. Education was interpreted to be an instrument that set them apart from the community rather than the influence to make them work closely with their own people. Washington believed that students should work while studying at the Institute to prepare themselves to return to rural areas. This disturbed the parents of the students because they felt their children should be taught, "book learning." The way Washington helped to eliminate some of these prejudices was to have close contact with the students.[166]

The most effective way Washington had to convert the students to his ideology was through his view of integrating theory and practice. The students at the Institute were divided into day and evening students. The evening students worked all day and attended classes at night. The day students were either former evening students, who saved enough to pay for day school, or students who received help from their parents. Each student, day or evening, had to do the same amount of work. Thus, through his course of study the student was exposed to the work idea.[167]

Washington made two very important contributions to education for the Blacks in the South. First, he put to rest the fears the Southern whites had about educating Blacks and most importantly he won the support of whites for the public education movement for Blacks. Second, Washington's greatest influence lies within the weight he gave

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[166]Ibid., pp. 82-3.

[167]Ibid., p. 83.

to the "vocational education" movement. He believed Blacks needed a particular kind of education for their particular situation. He advocated a completely "biracial society of benevolent coexistence with whites".[168]

Washington not only developed a school based on his philosophy, he also provided leadership which helped the South appreciate and accept his program. Few Black educators had presented such a clear-cut educational philosophy and then still had the persistence to implement it into a reality. Washington "accomplished more than anyone else to propagate the doctrine of social regeneration by means of industrial training."[169]

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[168]Ibid., pp. 83-5.

[169]Clift, Anderson, and Hullfish, eds., Negro Education in America: Its Adequacy, Problems, and Needs, p. 63.

CHAPTER V

Analysis of the Educational Philosophy of W.E.B. Du Bois by Referring to His Political and Economic Views as Background for His Educational Philosophy.

Politics as an instrument for liberation of the Black was rated by Du Bois above education and economic advancement. He believed that only through the exercise of franchise could blacks achieve their rights, due to them under the Constitution. Politics was a major concern of Du Bois. This was reflected through the publication of "The Crisis." He stressed the importance of voting. One should vote through careful scrutiny of policies and candidates. In the editorial columns of "The Crisis," he devoted more space to political action and opinion than any other topic. He would analyze elections. For example, he pointed out fraud in Southern elections. Du Bois requested Congress to invoke Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment in order to reduce representation in the House to the states that denied Blacks the right to vote. Du Bois was also an advocate of women's rights. At one time he was the one of the few Black leaders that supported this advocacy. He encouraged Black men to vote for amendments in their own state constitutions to extend the right to women to vote.[170]

In fact, in the first issue of "The Crisis" dated November, 1910 Du Bois wrote: "Let every colored man who can, vote; and

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[170]Du Bois, The Emerging Thought of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. 92-3.

whether he vote the Republican or Democractic or Socialist ticket, let him vote it, not because his father did or because he is afraid, but because after intelligent consideration he thinks the success of that ticket best for his people and his country.[171]

Du Bois was considered to be a radical all his life, according to Martin Luther King, Jr., just before he died. Many of Du Bois's ideas were ideas that many have later popularized. He would refer to the economic interpretation of history and the struggle between the classes in his own theories.[172]

While Du Bois was working with President John Hope at Atlanta University to further the growth of the University, he also taught graduate students. At that time he taught about three courses, one of which dealt with communism. The text he used for this course was the "Communist Manifesto." He also put together one of the best classroom libraries in the South, on communism and socialism. He was not a member of the communist party until 1961; however, he saw the growth of socialism and a possibility of communism. This world movement in his estimation could not be ignored.[173]

In 1911 he joined the Socialist party. Du Bois thought of himself as a socialist who advocated a socialist system of government for Africa, America and the world. In fact in his early days before

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[171]Ibid., p. 92.

[172]Wilson, ed., The Selected Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois, p. 165.

[173]Du Bois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois, p. 308.

he joined the Communist party, he was a critic of the American Communist Movement.[174]

In 1950 Du Bois became a candidate in New York for the U.S. Senate for the Progressive Party, however, he lost. He was always politically conscious in his life as well as in his writings.[175]

Du Bois also viewed economic advancement as a vital instrument to Blacks. He viewed each aspect of economic advancement to be important to open the doors in all fields. Du Bois concerned himself with: trade unions, business, collective bargaining, home ownership, the right to work and agriculture.[176]

Du Bois placed much importance on trade unions. He was also aware of the effects of Jim Crow practices within the American Federation of Labor and railway brotherhoods. He tried very hard to create a good relationship between the unions and the Black workers. However, as much as he was an advocate of trade unions he fought them for discrimination practices. Du Bois was also very supportive of Black business but he thought the goal should be of social benefit not just merely a private profit. He was in favor of the cooperative movement and he encouraged Blacks to move out of the South to the North and West for better educational and job opportunities.[177]

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[174]Wilson, ed., The Selected Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois, p. 165.

[175]Du Bois, Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois, p. 439.

[176]Du Bois, The Emerging Thought of W.E.B. Du Bois, p. 154.

[177]Ibid., pp. 154-5.

Du Bois' writings represent his views on American racial problems. Some of the books that reflect his thinking are: Black Reconstruction; The Philadelphia Negro; and his "Atlanta University Publications." For approximately forty years, Du Bois was the philosopher for the Blacks' struggle for equality in the United States. He provided an intellectual basis for Blacks through his writings, such as The Souls of Black Folk, which was the voice of the civil rights protest for the 20th century, and his editorials in "The Crisis", he made white liberals aware of the problems of the Blacks. Du Bois believed in liberal education and it was he who disputed Washington's idea of industrial education for the masses of Blacks. Through his essays, "My Early Relations with Booker T. Washington", "The Talented Tenth", and "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others", Du Bois expressed his belief for the liberal education of Blacks.[178] Du Bois believed in the higher education of a "Talented Tenth", who through their own knowledge of modern culture could guide the American Black into a higher civilization. This opposed Washington's belief that the Black as an efficient worker could gain wealth and hence, eventually through ownership of capital he would be able to achieve an acknowledgeable place in the American culture and then educate his children as he wished.[179]

Du Bois pointed out the paradox in Washington's position.

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[178]Wilson, ed., The Selected Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. xv-xvi.

[179]W.E.B. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), p. 70.

Washington advocated the common schools as well as industrial training and then depreciates institutions of higher learning. However, Tuskegee itself or the Black common schools could not remain open if it were not for the teachers trained in Black colleges or trained by their graduates. Therefore, the industrial and common school training moved slowly because it had to await trained Black teachers from higher institutions of learning. Cerntainly a Tuskegee was unthinkable before 1880.[180]

Du Bois developed his own educational theories. He advocated a "talented tenth", under which the educated members of his race would devote themselves to providing leadership in the struggle for the equal rights of the Blacks. Du Bois encouraged the students at Hampton and Fisk to strike for better standards and fight against white administration. He proposed Black control of segregated Black schools.[181]

Du Bois believed that the best training was by experience. He firmly encouraged the parents of Black children to first, select and conserve ability thus making it possible for only the best minds to receive college training; and secondly, that all children get an ample amount of general training before teaching them a trade due to the fact that true education makes carpenters of men not men carpenters.[182]

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[180]Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches, pp. 51-3.

[181]Wilson, ed., The Selected Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. 138-139.

[182]Du Bois, Emerging Thought of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp. 119-20.

CHAPTER VI

Examination of Their Views Which Are Relevant to the Education of Blacks and Vocational Schooling.

Both Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois were in agreement concerning long-range goals to improve the status of the Black. The disagreement occurs between these two men as to the means each uses to achieve this end. One thing that made it difficult to develop a satisfactory philosophy and effective program for Black education was the controversy between vocational, also referred to as industrial, education vs. liberal, also referred to as classical, education.[183] Booker T. Washington was known as the apostle of industrial (vocational) education while W.E.B. Du Bois was known as the champion of liberal (classical) education.[184]

The conflict between the philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois was not that irreconcilable as some believed. Both men recognized the merit in each other's position. It was the potentialities inherent in each philosophy that posed the real problem; this is where the rivalry developed: Washington supporters consisted of white southerners and northern philanthropists, while Du Bois followers feared that the industrial education that Washington proposed would

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[183]Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois, The Negro Problem (New York: James Pott and Co., 1903) and John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), pp. 377-396, quoted in Virgil A.Clift, Archibald W. Anderson and H. Gordon Hullfish, eds., Negro Education in America: Its Adequacy, Problems and Needs (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 190.

[184]Clift, Anderson, and Hullfish, eds., Negro Education in America: Its Adequacy, Problems, and Needs, pp. 190-1.

result in the continued isolation of the Black from the broad stream of American culture. The controversy between these two men seems to have a negative effect on the development of a well-rounded system of education for the Black. Also, the proper preparation for careers and full citizenship in a free society was delayed for the Black.[185] Concerning the education of Blacks, Du Bois called for excellence especially mastery of the sciences and humanities, he also wanted special attention given to economics and mathematics. Du Bois believed education was a life-long process not something you acquire in a few years. He viewed education as a process which teaches certain central values such as a nurturing of love for beauty, a concern for courtesy, moderation and an ability to endure. Education should be the builder of character in the youth, according to Du Bois. Through his writings Du Bois transmits a sense of pride in his people, thus always insisting that Blacks have control over their own lives.[186]

Washington put a great deal of emphasis on economic independence and security. This is where we see a difference in Washington's thinking from Du Bois; this is the point where Washington decides to break with traditional political remedies as a means to race advancement. According to Washington many Blacks also believed economic opportunity was more essential than the ballot or social equality or other objec-

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[185]Ibid., pp. 190-1.

[186]W.E.B. Du Bois, The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques 1906-1960, edited with an introduction by Herbert Aptheker (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), pp. x-xii.

tives that lead to protest. Thus, by emphasizing industrial education, Washington points out that economic progress offered a means to integration no less important than political means. He also suggested that these two means, economic and political, complemented each other. Washington's thought was patterned after Benjamin Franklin's ideas of thrift, responsibility, hard work, initiative and integrity. These are the traditional American virtues Washington schooled his race to follow. By following this thought he also helped Blacks to form a common band with their white neighbors.[187]

There are of course weaknesses in both Washington's and Du Bois's ideas of education. Weaknesses found in Washington's economic emphasis consist of: first, his programs were designed to meet the needs of small entrepreneurs and to train craftsmen, while twentieth century industry demanded labor for mass production on the assembly line; secondly, there were two situations he failed to recognize: 1. the fact that consolidation and mechanical farming were eliminating the large agricultural force which he believed was a constant in the economic equation; and 2. the urban migration of the Black which he opposed.[188]

Washington never really grasped the effect of the Industrial Revolution on workers. The jobs he urged the Black to attain such as carpenters, brickmasons etc., were the very same jobs that were being reduced due to the industrial age. The curriculums proposed by

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[187]Hawkins, ed., Booker T. Washington and His Critics: The Problem of Negro Leadership, pp. 108-9.

[188]Ibid., p. 109.

Washington were impractical. He never fully comprehended the relationship of the laboring class to the Industrial Revolution. By not recognizing the effect the new farm machinery would have on the Black farmer, Washington strongly advised the Black to remain in the rural area. Thus, the city became very attractive to the Black because of the opportunities it offered intellectually, economically and culturally. However, despite his opposition Washington was the central figure in Black history until his death in 1915. Thus, his influence was so great that there would be justification to call this period, "The Age of Booker T. Washington."[189]

The growth of Washington's prestige as the spokesman for vocational education brought about opposition. His main opponent was W.E.B. Du Bois who was trained at Fisk, Harvard and Berlin. While Du Bois was teaching at Atlanta University, he was also studying the conditions of Blacks in the South. These series of studies provided him with first hand information on the conditions of Blacks. Du Bois's main objection to Washington's programs was that they were predominantly economic in their objectives. He believed Washington's emphasis on money and work overshadowed the higher aims of life.[190] Du Bois spoke to this issue in his essay entitled the "talented tenth". In it he states, "If we make money the ojbect of man-training, we shall develop money-makers but not necessarily men; if we make technical skill the

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[189]Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans, pp. 396-7.

[190]Ibid., p. 393.

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 Higher Education which must underlie true life."[191] He also suggested that neither Tuskegee nor the Black common schools could remain open if it were not for the teachers trained in the Black college or by the graduates.[192]

The controversy between Washington and Du Bois lasted for many years. Both tried to win Black leaders over to their side. Du Bois's faith in the essential education of a "talented tenth" was at the heart of Du Bois's basic difference with Washington. Du Bois was intellectually and emotionally committed to the preservation of the Black colleges as the source of educated Blacks who would be able to guide their own destiny.[193]

The weakness Washington found in Du Bois's philosophy was his belief in training a cultured elite, referred to by Du Bois as the "talented tenth." Washington felt that this cultured elite would be of little help to a Black race that had been held back in peasantry. Washington was very much aware of the conditions and needs of the ex-slave. The old plantation system had opened the door to the

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[191]Ibid., pp. 393-5.

[192]Ibid., p. 395.

[193]Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South from 1619 to the Present, pp. 209-10.

practice of sharecropping. Most of the Blacks at this time, around the 1870s, were unschooled, landless, debt-ridden, and undernourished. Also they were bound to the most primitive kind of cotton farming with inefficient tools and poor stock. By 1879, Washington realized that independent political power had slipped beyond the Black's grasp. Washington believed that the Blacks would be uplifted through swift acquisition of white culture and political power. At the end of the Reconstruction Period it was clear to Washington that the economic status of the Black needed to be upgraded.[194] Washington emphasized "what our people most needed was to get a foundation in education, industry and property, and for this I felt that they could better afford to strive than for political preferment."[195] He did not object to the Black entering professions in fact, he said, "there was need for something to be done to prepare the way for successful lawyers, Congressmen, and music teachers."[196] It seemed as if Washington's vocation was to do something to get the Blacks to that point.[197] However, on the other hand Du Bois felt Washington never fully understood the growing bond of politics and industry, that he never grasped the deeper foundation of human training and his understanding between white and black was based on a caste system.[198]

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[194]Bernard A. Weisberger, Booker T. Washington (London: The New English Library Limited, 1972), pp. 51-2.

[195]Ibid., p. 52.

[196]Ibid., p. 52.

[197]Ibid., p. 52.

[198]Wilson, ed., The Selected Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois, p. 141.

Du Bois was not in agreement with Washington's methods in dealing with the white south's drastic reduction of the political and civil rights of Blacks. The result of this approach according to Du Bois was that legally it created a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Black. Du Bois believed it was not possible for the Black, under the modern competitive times of the day as businessmen and property owners to defend their rights and exist without the right to vote and influence elections. He believed that only by exercising their right to vote they would force the whites to stop the lynchings and gradually eliminate the Jim Crow laws. However, Washington was the leader of his people at this time Du Bois believed, not because of their choice but because of the recognition and praise he received from the Northern and Southern whites.[199]

There is a good side to Black industrial training in the United States in which much has been accomplished. These accomplishments are: 1. It helped bridge the transition period between freedom to slavery; 2. It helped teach thousands of whites to accept Black education not as a necessary evil but as a social good; 3. It helped bring state support to higher institutions of learning and to a certain extent a system of public schools was developed; 4. It helped make the Black patient when impatience would have destroyed him; 5. It made working with the hands popular and helped remove the stigma associated with social degradation; 6. It helped the Black to become friends with

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[199]Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans, p. 395.

their white neighbor; and 7. lastly and most importantly, it brought about peace, not the sword.[200]

The reason why the industrial school failed according to Du Bois, was because in spite of its definite object to place in American life a trained Black who would be able to earn a living as well as making that living the corner stone of his culture and the civilization of his group (as Washington proposed), it lacked the appropriate method to attain this object. To put it still another way, the industrial school failed because of the changes that occurred in the world were not foreseen by the industrial school, and thus even if it had foreseen the changes, it could not prevent these changes and it did not have the ability to adapt itself to the changes.[201]

According to Du Bois, the Black college along with its students, graduates and teachers have not completely comprehended the age in which they live. By this he means that in today's world there is an organization of capital, industry, commerce and credit which forms a superorganization that rules and dominates the universe, which subordinates to its ends government, religion, education, democracy and social philosophy. The American black man should be able to work within this organization to help reform in order to improve their well-being rather than working against this organization which ultimately will enslave his people. The Black college today has neither the program

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[200]Du Bois, The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques 1906-1960, pp. 68-9.

[201]Ibid., pp. 69-70.

nor intelligent comprehension to incorporate this organizational theory.[202]

It seems as if the average Black undergraduate has swallowed the same bait as the white undergraduate that because one is born into the industrial machine, one does not have to think, therefore one does not think. On the average the college man is untouched by the culture surrounding him. Thus, he begins to believe in selfish and silly ideals, this is demonstrated by the student entering into semi-professional athletics as well as joining Greek letter societies while simultaneously developing a dislike for study and research. According to Du Bois the college years for both the white and Black students were becoming years of liquor, furs and extravagance. In fact according to Du Bois, "I am not counselling perfection; as desperately human groups, we must expect our share of mediocrity. But as hitherto a thick and thin defender of the college, it seems to me that we are getting into our Negro colleges considerably more than our share of plain fools."[203] What is wrong with the Black college? Where did it go wrong; was it in the method? Well, the method of the modern day colleges has been proven for centuries which is the passing on of knowledge by the old to the young and instilling in them the conclusions of experience. But, besides the methods used there must be a detailed and definite object suited to the present group, present age

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[202]Ibid., p. 66.

[203]Ibid., p. 67.

and present set of problems. So, the Black college did not fail in the method it imposed but rather in the practical objects it failed to present.[204] In other words, the object of the college should be to "place in American life a trained black man who can do what the world today wants done; who can help the world know what it ought to want done and thus by doing the world's work well may invent better work for a better world?"[205]

On the other hand, Washington believed an educational program should be supported by a functional philosophy of education. "Institutions, like individuals," according to Washington, "are properly judged by their ideals, their methods, and their achievement in the production of men and women who are to do the world's work."[206] In addition he added, "One school is better than another in proportion as its system touches the more pressing needs of the people it aims to serve, and provides the more speedily and satisfactorily the elements that bring them honorable and enduring success in the struggle of life."[207]

At Tuskegee the industrial educational program that developed was not narrow. The need for developing a well-rounded program for

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[204] Ibid., p. 68.

[205] Ibid., p. 68.

[206] Tuskegee and Its People: Their Ideals and Achievements, p. 1, quoted in Virgil A. Clift, Archibald W. Anderson and H. Gordon Hullfish, eds., Negro Education in America: Its Adequacy, Problems and Needs (New York: Harper & Row 1962), p. 64.

[207] Ibid., p. 64.

the Black youth was recognized. In his own words Washington said, "Mere hand training, without thorough moral, religious and mental education counts for very little."[208] Thus, Washington believed a well-rounded education trained the head, hands and heart.[209]

In summary, a key point to remember is that Washington and Du Bois disagreed on the method of education to be proposed for the Black, however philosophically they both agreed that the white man and the Black should live together in harmony.

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[208] Working With the Hand, p. 5, quoted in Virgil A. Clift, Archibald W. Anderson and H. Gordon Hullfish, eds., Negro Education in America: Its Adequacy, Problems and Needs (New York: Harper & Row 1962), p. 64.

[209] Ibid., p. 64.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

Du Bois believed that the Black should have a liberal education while Washington proposed industrial education for the Black's advancement. These two giants in Black education would probably find terms to compromise within Dewey's philosophy of a liberal education due to the fact that the underlying principle for both Washington and Du Bois was to have the Black fully integrated into American life.

Dewey's philosophy of liberal education deals with educating the total person. Of course, there are problems concerning liberal education which Dewey capsulized. The crux of the problems dealt with the direction of the Liberal Arts College. The word liberating is being used as a synonym for liberal, this marked a break with the traditional idea of what once was meant by the word liberal. Liberal as it is defined by tradition means that certain studies are liberal because of something inherent to them. When you define liberal as that which liberates, what you are doing is bringing the problem of liberal education and of the liberal arts college into the realm of inquiry where the issues are settled by a search of what is accomplished. The test of what is accomplished is found in observable consequences rather than in "priori dogma".[210]

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[210] John Dewey, Problems of Men (New York: Philosophical Library, 1946), p. 83.

This theory that developed about subjects being liberal because of their fixed nature developed before the rise of the scientific method. According to this theory anything knowable is knowable because of its inherent nature, thus knowledge is an intuitive grasp by the pure "intellect" of this nature. Of course, this philosophy did predate the pre-scientific period. The industrial revolution that marked the last few centuries brought about the result of a scientific revolution. The "useful" arts are now technological. In other words, those arts were founded in scientific understanding of underlying principles.[211]

The changes that occurred at the time of the industrial revolution brought with it new thought concerning the liberal arts. Probably, the most important change that occurred was the revolution that social organization was undergoing. Previously, the distinction between "liberal" and "useful" arts lie within the division between free men, serfs and slaves, with only the former receiving an intellectual education. However, the industrial revolution began to break these barriers down between the head and the hand (this was the heart of the disagreement between Du Bois and Washington). Also the political revolution, at this time, gave way to democracy which in turn gave a socially free status to the people who had once been serfs and slaves. This revolution disrupted the foundation that had once traditionally separated the "liberal" arts from the then "useful" arts.[212]

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[211] Ibid., pp. 83-4.

[212] Ibid., pp. 84-5.

The present dilemma of the liberal arts college exists due to irreversible historic movements viewed in the proper context of occurrences. Looking at this situation in a historic perspective, it is clear that despite the resistance to old methods, the scientific had already found its way into the curriculum, due to their growing importance in social affairs. What begins to happen at this point is that a number of new occupations come into existence and begin to compete with three traditional "learned professions". Two of these learned professions, namely, law and medicine, experienced change. For example, new discoveries in physiology and chemistry lead to the founding of pre-med. Also changes in commerce and industry together with the social effects affected how law was practiced.[213]

The result of all this change led to the name "liberal arts college". Thus, we find that the people who represented the old metaphysical and literary point, who were on the defensive now are on the offensive defining the scientific subjects as inherently materialistic and illiberal. It is important to note that social revolutions rarely, if ever, go completely backwards, in spite of the reaction to them.[214]

Dewey points out that at a time when technical education is approaching an intelligent relationship with the humanistic products of the past, we find the reading and studying of the classics are being isolated. To quote Dewey, he believes "The problem of securing

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[213]Ibid., pp. 85-6.

[214]Ibid., p. 86.

to the liberal arts college its due function in democratic society is that of seeing to it that the technical subjects which are now socially necessary acquire a humane direction. There is nothing in them which is "inherently" exclusive; but they cannot be liberating if they are cut off from their humane sources and inspiration. On the other hand, books which are cut off from vital relations with the needs and issues of contemporary life themselves become ultra-technical."[215]

Therefore, the function of the liberal arts college is to use the resources at hand such as science, literature and subjects that are vocational etc., in order to secure the ability to appraise the issues and needs of the world. This type of education would be liberating not because it departs from the seven liberal arts of the medieval period but because it will do for the modern world what the other seven arts did for the world of their time.[216]

There are two schools of thought that emerged for the education of the Black; the first, Du Bois' philosophical position, stressed a training for leadership while the other stressed the necessity of trained skill workers, Washington's position. Both the college and the industrial school had failed and succeeded in their own way. The college produced leaders which helped the Black bridge the economic transition from the road of slavery to the road of freedom, it

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[215]Ibid., pp. 86-7.

[216]Ibid., p. 87.

also helped to place men in industry and on the farm. Work was popularized by the industrial school.[217]

However, both schools have their weaknesses. The college failed by not training its students to occupy a place of leadership in modern life in order to survive. Du Bois believed this leadership would best be communicated in a liberal arts college. On the other side of the coin, the industrial school taught a technique that was disappearing. Thus, the industrial school failed in its method while the college failed because it did not meet its proper objectives.[218]

In August of 1930, Du Bois viewed the industrial school as becoming more a college while the Black college was taking the lead from the white college. The real objective of both schools should be to place in American life Black men of culture and learning who could earn a living in the present economic condition, whatever that may be at the time.[219] Dewey's position agrees with Du Bois. According to Dewey there is a definite need of the interfusion of knowledge of man and nature to prepare him for a vocational education with a sense for the social consequences of commerce and industry.[220]

What Washington wanted the Black to comprehend was the fact that all races got on their feet by first laying a strong economic

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[217]Du Bois, The Emerging Thought of W.E.B. Du Bois, p. 144.

[218]Ibid., pp. 144-5.

[219]Ibid., p. 145.

[220]Dewey, Problems of Men, p. 87.

foundation, second, proper cultivation and third, ownership of land. Again one of the things Washington was against was the Black's move from the country to the city.[221]

Washington in his own words projects the future of Black education, differing from Dewey in method as well as in philosophy in many instances, however, there are similarities in that Washington said, "for years to come the education of the people of my race should be so directed that the greatest proportion of the mental strength of the masses will be brought to bear upon the everyday practical things of life, upon something that is needed to be done, and something which they will be permitted to do in the community in which they reside."[222]

The doctrine of vocational education, proposed by Washington, was for the mass of Blacks and was well accepted by both the Northern and Southern whites. What the people of that era didn't detect at that time, was that Washington was aiming for the same goal as Du Bois. That is, he aimed for complete integration and acceptance of the Black in American life. In his own words he states, "I would set no limits to the attainments of the Negro in arts, in letters or statesmanship, but I believe the surest way to reach those ends is by laying the foundation in the little things of life that lie immediately about one's door. I plead for industrial education and development for the Negro not because I want to cramp him, but because I want to free him.

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[221]Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans, p. 391.

[222]Ibid., pp. 391-2.

I want to see him enter the all-powerful business and commercial world."[223]

The differences between Du Bois and Washington lie in the methods each proposed. Washington did not object to the Black entering the professions, what he did believe was that the Black was starting with little; therefore, he should gradually build up a position of respectability and power in the South.[224] However, the objectives of both men follow the philosophical belief of Dewey, educate the total being to be able to function in the contemporary world, but Du Bois's methods of attaining that objective were more similar to Dewey than Washington's were.

Washington and Du Bois were products of the social, political, economic, intellectual and cultural mold of the times they lived in. Chapter III examines the origins and growth of both Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois through their educational backgrounds. An understanding of how they both matured into two of the most influential leaders of the Blacks begins to come to light in the analysis of their exposure to the leaders and teachers, whom they admired, who shaped their minds on a range of issues such as, education, race, politics and economics. For both men the key to solving the political, social, racial and economic problems of any group, particularly the Blacks, was education.

Their contributions to educational theory and practice are

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[223]Ibid., pp. 392-3.

[224]Ibid., p. 393.

defined and critiqued. Where Washington implemented his ideas along the lines of Tuskegee and industrial education curriculums, Du Bois emerges as the relentless proponent of education for Black leadership as the avenue best to take. Both have their strengths and weaknesses.

Chapters IV and V analyze the educational philosophies of Washington and Du Bois by referring to their political and economic views as background to scrutinize the development of their theoretical positions. Du Bois's theory of the "Talented Tenth" outlined how the Black race could be uplifted by emphasizing liberal education vs industrial training which Washington was stressing. Hence, the ideas of these two greats came into conflict. Both had convincing arguments to defend their respective positions and yet they criticized each other strongly as their theories were put to various tests. In the final analysis, each made his mark on society: Washington's influence came from his vivid and towering personality while Du Bois, because of his uncompromising stand against Washington, developed his position with his pen.

By way of conclusion, these two giants in the history of Black education seemed to have points of rapprochement when viewed from John Dewey's philosophy of liberal or liberating education. At the same time their differences and the rationales for them are inescapable.

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